

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS,
AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

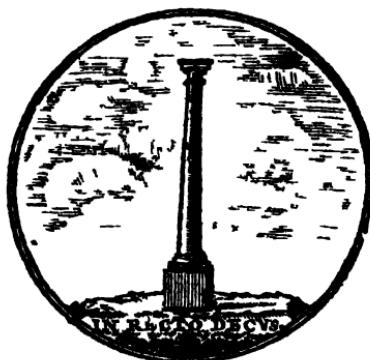
WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ισοριας ἀρχαιας εξερχεται μη κατανοι εν αυταις γαρ ευροσται
ἀκόπως, ἀπερι τετροι συνιηξαν εγκόπως

Basil Imp ad Leon fin.

V O L. X.



L O N D O N:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in Gray's-Inn; A. MILLAR, in
the Strand; and J. OSBORN, in Pater-noster Row. *

M D C C . X L V I I .

A N
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. X.

BOOK II.

The GRECIAN and ASIATIC History.

C H A P. V.

The History of the Cappadocians.¹

S E C T. I.

The Description of Cappadocia.²

THIS country was known to the antients by the name *Name and division.* of *Syria* or *Affyria*, and the inhabitants by that of *Leucosyrii*. It borrowed the name of *Cappadocia*, according to *Pliny^h*, from the river *Cappadox*; according to *Herodianusⁱ*, from one *Cappadocus*, the founder of this nation and kingdom. Others suppose the name of *Cappadocia* derived from some barbarous word, whereof the meaning is unknown to us; for the river *Cappadox* is mentioned only by *Pliny*, and *Cappadocus*, the pretended founder of the nation, is spoken of by none of the antient historians. *Cappadocia*, in ancient times, comprised all that country which lies between mount *Taurus* and the *Euxine* sea; and was divided

^a Lib. vi. c 3.

^b HERODIAN, apud STEPHAN.

by the Persians into two satrapies or governments, by the Macedonians into two kingdoms ; the one called *Cappadocia ad Taurum*, and *Cappadocia Magna* ; the other *Cappadocia ad Pontum*, and commonly *Pontus*. Of the latter we have given the history already ; of the former we are to write in this chapter. *Cappadocia Magna*, or *Cappadocia*, properly so called, lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-first degrees of north latitude ; and was bounded by *Pontus* on the north ; by *Lycaonia*, and part of *Armenia Minor*, on the south ; by *Gallatia*, on the west ; and by the *Euphrates*, and part of *Armenia Minor*, on the east. Under king *Archelaus*, and some of his predecessors, *Cappadocia* was divided, as *Strabo* informs us, into ten prefectures, five of which lay near mount *Taurus* ; viz. *Melitena*, *Cataonia*, *Cilicia*, *Tyanitis*, *Issauritis* ; the other five comprehended the remaining part of the kingdom ; but *Strabo* leaves us in the dark as to their situation, and the towns of note which they contained.

Cities.

THE metropolis of all *Cappadocia*, in antient times, was *Mazaca* or *Eusebia*, called afterwards *Cæsarea* by *Tiberius*, in honour of *Augustus*. This latter name it still retains, being called by the inhabitants *Kesaria*. It is built round a rock, as *Tavernier* informs us, on the top of which stands a castle, and is still a populous and considerable city. It was the see of the renowned St. *Basil*, and its archbishop to this day holds the first rank among the prelates who are under the patriarch of *Constantinople*. The other cities of note in *Cappadocia* are, *Comana*, called *Comana Cappadocia*, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in *Pontus*. This city was famous in antient times for a temple consecrated to *Bellona*, whose priests and attendants of both sexes amounted, in *Strabo*'s time, to the number of six thousand, and upwards. The chief-priest was lord of the adjoining country, and, in honour, next to the king, being commonly of the royal family. *Nyssa* in Christian times, the see of *Gregory*, surnamed *Nyssenus*, and brother to St. *Basil*. *Nazianzum*, the see and place of nativity of another *Gregory*, no less celebrated by the writers of ecclesiastical history. *Archelais*, so called from *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, who either founded, or repaired and embellished it. *Diocæsarea*, placed by *Pliny* in *Cappadocia*, by others in *Pbrygia*, and antiently called, as we read in *Strabo*, *Cabria*. *Faustinopolis*, so called in honour of *Faustina*, wife to the emperor *Antoninus*. *Cabistra*, mentioned by *Tully* in his letters⁹. *Pterium*, memorable for the overthrow of *Cæsus* by *Cyrus*, which was attended with the ruin of the *Lydian* kingdom.

⁹ Cic. lib. xv. epist. ii. ad senat. & ad Attic. l. v. epist. 18.

THE rivers of this country that deserve any notice, are, *Rivers.* the *Melas*, which indeed rises in the western borders of *Galatia*, but passes through the southern borders of this kingdom and *Armenia*, and falls into the *Euphrates*; the *Halys*, which rises near *Nazianzum*; and, bending first to the west, and then to the north, passes through *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, and discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea, between *Synope* and *Amisus*; the *Iris*, now *Casalmac*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, passed through *Amaia*, his own country, and, receiving the *Themiscyra*, falls into the *Euxine* sea, not far from *Amisus*.

THIS country produces excellent wines, and most kinds of *Soil and fruits*; and was formerly rich in mines of silver, brass, iron, *climate.* and alum; affording also great store of alabaster, crystal, jasper, and onyx-stone. But it was chiefly celebrated by the antiquities for its breed of horses, which were, and still are, in great request. Some parts of *Cappadocia* are very mountainous and barren, the *Antitaurus* running through those provinces which border on the two *Armenia*'s. In this part of *Cappadocia* stands mount *Argaus*, of such an extraordinary height, that one may see, as some authors relate, from the top of it, the *Euxine* sea on one side, and the *Mediterranean* on the other.

Cappadocia was probably peopled by *Togarmah*, the last *Origin.* son of *Gomer*, and his descendants ^a. *Bochart* ^c observes, that the *Cappadocians* are said by the fathers to be descended from *Caphtorim*, the last of the offspring of *Mizraim*, and that *Caphtor* is rendered by the septuagint *Cappadocia*. In this, without all doubt, they followed the *Jews*, who explain those names the same way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphrasts. But by *Cappadocia*, in these writings, is not to be understood *Cappadocia in Asia Minor*, as *Bochart* judged; but some place in *Egypt*, generally supposed, by the rabbies, to be *Demyat* or *Demietta* ^f, commonly confounded with *Pelusium*.

As to the state of this nation in the early times, we are *Govern-* quite in the dark. *Ctesias*, as quoted by *Diodorus Siculus*, tells *ment.* us, that from the very beginning it was subject to foreign princes. But that writer is no ways to be depended upon. *Cappadocia* was, without all doubt, a province of the kingdom of *Lydia*; and after the overthrow of *Craesus* passed from the *Lydians* to the *Persians*, to whom the *Cappadocians* paid an annual tribute, as *Strabo* writes ^g, of fifteen hundred horses, two thousand mules, and fifty thousand sheep. The first king of *Cappadocia* we find mentioned in history is *Phar-*

^d See vol. i. p. 376, 377. ^e BOCHART. phaleg. l. iv. c. 31.
^f Rabbi SAADIAS & MAIMONIDES apud LIGHTFOOT. oper. ii. p. 398. ^g STRAB. l. xii. p. 370.

naces, a noble *Perſian*, who, having ſaved *Cyrus* from a ravenous lion, running full ſpeed againſt him while he was hunting, was by him rewarded with his ſister *Atoſſa*, and the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. *Diodorus* styles him only governor of *Cappadocia*. This country was afterwards subdued by the *Macedonians*, and changed into a province; but again reſtored to its former state by *Ariarathes III.* who, laying hold of the opportunity which the diſſenſions that reigned among the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* gave him, put *Amyntas* their governor to death, and, with forces raifed in *Armenia*, reinſtated himſelf in the kingdom, which he transmitted to his poſterity; who held it till the reign of *Ariarathes VIII.* the laſt of the royal race of *Pharnaces*. Two other families reigned in *Cappadocia*, namely thoſe of *Ariabazanes* and *Archelaus*; but under the latter the kingdom was changed into a province of the *Roman empire*, nor ever more returned to its former state. It was greatly inlarged under the emperors, by the addition of *Pontus*, and part of *Paphlagonia*; and thus it stood in the time of *Ptolemy*, who reckons *Pontus Galaticus*, *Cappadocius*, and *Polemaniacus*, as parts of this province. It was afterwards diuided into ten prefeſtures; but in the time of *Constantine the Great*, *Pontus*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia*, being made diuinct provinces, *Cappadocia* was confined to its former bounds (A).

Religion.

THE religion of the ancient *Cappadocians* was much the ſame with that of the *Perſians*, of which we have given elsewhere an accurate account ^b. At *Comana* there was a ſtately and rich temple confeſcated to *Bellona*, whose battles the priests and their attendants used to repreſent on ſtated days, cutting and wounding each other, as if feized with an enthuſiaſtic fury. No leſs famous and magnificent were the temples of *Apollo Catanius*, or *Catanius*, at *Dafſacum*, and of *Jupiter* in the province of *Morimena*, which laſt had three thouſand ſacred ſervants, or religious votaries. The chief-priest was next in rank to that of *Comana*, and had, as *Strabo*

^b See vol. v. p. 143, et seq.

(A) The emperor *Valens* diuided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, *Cappadocia Prima*, and *Cappadocia Secunda*, making *Tyana* the metropolis of the latter. We are told, that *Valens*, who was a great abetter of the *Arian* faction, did this out of spite to *St. Basil*, who, being biſhop of *Ceſarea*, the metropolis of all *Cappadocia*, prevented the spread-

ing of that heresy in places un-der his jurisdiction. In this ſtate *Cappadocia* continued till the erecting of the new empire of *Trebifond*, with which it fell into the hands of the *Turks*, by whom the whole province, with the ad-dition of *Pontus*, is now called *Amasia*, after the name of that city, where the beglerbeg of *Anatolia* reſides.

informs us¹, a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. *Diana Perseca* was worshiped in the city of *Castaballa*, where women, devoted to the worship of that goddess, were reported to tread bare-foot on burning coals, without receiving any harm^k. The temples of *Diana* at *Diospolis*, and of *Anas* at *Zela*, were likewise had in great veneration both by the *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were tendered all oaths in matters of consequence; and the chief among the priests was no way inferior in dignity, power, or wealth, to any in the kingdom, having a royal attendance, and an uncontroled power over all the inferior officers and servants of the temple (B).

THE *Cappadocians*, in the time of the *Romans*, bore so *Character*. bad a character, were reputed so vicious and lewd, so monstrously addicted to all manner of vice, that, besides the share they had in the old *Greek* proverb, they had some peculiar to themselves, reflecting on their enormous wickedness; which made them be so traduced by other nations, that a wicked and impious man was emphatically called a *Cappadocian*. However, this their lewd disposition was, in after-ages, so corrected and restrained by the pure morals of Christianity, that no country whatsoever has produced greater champions of the Christian religion, or given to the church more prelates of unblemished characters.

WE have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal *Laws and trade* to form any particular idea of them. As to their commerce, they carried on a very considerable trade in horses, great numbers whereof their country produced; and we read of them in Scripture, as frequenting the fairs of *Tyre* with this commodity. As *Cappadocia* abounded with mines of silver, brass, iron, and alum, and afforded great store of alabaster, crystal, and jasper, it is reasonable to suppose, that they supplied the neighbouring countries with these commodities. From the reigns of their kings, we shall be able to judge of their military capacity.

ⁱ STRAB. l. xii. p. 375.

^k STRAB. ubi supra.

(B) The *Romans*, who willingly adopted all the superstitions and superstitious rites of the nations they conquered, greatly increased the revenues of this and other temples, conferring the priesthood on such as they thought most fit for carrying on their designs. We are told, that

human sacrifices were offered at *Comana*; and that this barbarous practice was brought by *Oreles*, and his sister *Iphigenia*, from *Taurica Scythica*, where men and women were immolated to *Diana*. But this custom, if it ever obtained in *Cappadocia*, was abolished in the *Roman* times.

S E C T. II.

The reigns of the kings of Cappadocia.

Pharnaces.

THE first king of *Cappadocia*, we read of in history, was *Pharnaces*, who was preferred by *Cyrus* to the crown, who gave him in marriage his sister *Atoffa*, as we have mentioned above. And this is all we read of him in antient writers. *Xenophon* calls him *Aribæus*; and says, that he was killed in warring against the *Hyrcanians*.

Smerdis.

Pharnaces was succeeded by his son *Smerdis*, mentioned only by *Diodorus*; and he by his son *Atannas*, or *Ariaramnes*, as *Ctesias* calls him. He cultivated a good understanding with the *Perians*, and served in the Army of *Darius* the son of *Hydaspes*; by whom he was employed against the *Scythians*. In which expedition he took *Marsagetes*, their king's brother, and presented him bound to *Darius*.

Anaphas.

His son *Anaphas* is celebrated by the antients for his skill in military affairs. He renewed the alliance which his father had made with the *Perians*; and was chosen for one of the seven princes of *Persepolis*, probably in the room of *Intaphernes*, who was put to death by *Darius* for plotting a change in the government.

Anaphas II.

Anaphas II. succeeded his Father; but did nothing worth mentioning. His son *Datames* succeeded him, the first of his family that waged war with the *Perians*; we know not on what provocation. In that war having ventured a general engagement, his army was cut in pieces, and himself slain.

Ariaramnes.

His son *Ariaramnes* reigned fifty years. In his time the *Perians* invaded *Cappadocia*; and, having reduced great part of it, appointed *Datames*, brother to *Ariaramnes*, governor thereof, by way of reward for his services against the *Cadusians*, whom he had subdued.

Ariarathes I.

Ariarathes ascended the throne on his father's death, and admitted his brother *Olophernes* to partake of the same power. He accompanied *Alexander the Great* in his expedition against the *Egyptians*; and, on that occasion, signalized himself above all the other commanders of the *Perian* army. He was succeeded by his brother *Olophernes*, who reigned alone; but, in the succession to the crown, preferred *Ariarathes*, his brother's son, to his own children.

Ariarathes II.

Ariarathes II. reigned in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and continued faithful to the *Perians* at a time when most of the other princes submitted to the conqueror. *Alexander* was prevented by death from invading his dominions; but *Perdiccas*, marching against him with a powerful and well-disciplined

disciplined army, dispersed his forces, and, having taken *Ariarathes* himself prisoner, crucified him, with all those of the royal blood, whom he could get into his power^s. *Diodorus*^t tells us, that he was killed in the battle. He is said to have reigned eighty-two years.

His son *Ariarathes III.*, having escaped the general Ariarathes III. slaughter of the royal family, fled into *Armenia*, where he lay concealed till the civil dissensions, which arose among the *Macedonians*, gave him a fair opportunity of recovering his paternal kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity. *Amyntas*, who was at that time governor of *Cappadocia*, opposed him, but was overcome in a pitched battle, and the *Macedonians* were obliged to abandon the strongholds which they possessed. *Ariarathes*, after a peaceable reign of many years, left the kingdom to his son,

Ariaramnes II. who did nothing worth mentioning, but *Ariaramnes II.* was greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes on account of his good-nature, justice, and other princely virtues. During his reign, the kingdom was in a more flourishing condition than it had been under any of his predecessors, he having maintained a good understanding with the adjoining states, and applied himself more to the arts of peace than war. He was succeeded by his son,

Ariarathes IV. whom he had taken for partner of the *Ariarathes IV.* kingdom during his life-time. *Ariarathes* proved a very war-like prince, and, having overcome *Arsaces*, founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, considerably enlarged his own dominions.

He was succeeded by his son *Ariarathes V.* who, marrying the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, entered into an alliance with that prince against the *Romans*; but *Antiochus* being conquered, he sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he obtained, after having paid two hundred talents, by way of fine, for taking up arms against the people of *Rome* without any just provocation. He afterwards concluded an alliance with the *Romans*, and assisted them with men and money against *Perseus*; on which consideration, he was by the senate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. In some disputes that arose between him and *Pharnaces II.* king of *Pontus*, concerning the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, he referred the whole matter to the *Roman* legates, who favoured him as far as the justice of his cause would allow. He left the kingdom, in a very flouri-

^s *APPIAN.* in *Mithridat.* *CURTIUS*, l. xii.
l. xviii.

^t *DIODOR.*

ing condition, to his son *Mithridates*, who, upon his accession to the crown, took the name of *Ariarathes*.

Ariarathes VI. surnamed *Philopator*, from the filial respect and love he shewed his father from his very infancy, after having performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence his exequies, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate with his accession to the crown, and to renew the alliance which his father had made with the people of *Rome*. The ambassadors were kindly received, the alliance renewed, and the king highly commended by the senate, for the respect he had shewn them. He restored *Mithrobuzanes*, son to *Zadriades* king of the *Lesser Armenia*, to his father's kingdom, merely out of good-nature, though he foresaw that the *Armenians* would lay hold of that opportunity to join *Artaxias*, who threatened him with war, and was ready to invade *Cappadocia*. But all these differences were settled, before they came to an open rupture, by the *Roman* legates, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Lucius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucius*.

Ariarathes, seeing himself thus delivered from an impending war by the mediation of the *Romans*, sent ambassadors to present the senate with a golden crown, and tender his service where-ever they thought fit to employ him. The senate accepted of the crown, and requited the present with a staff, and chair of ivory, which they only bestowed on such as were looked upon as intirely attached to their interest. Not long before, *Demetrius Soter* king of *Syria* had proffered him in marriage his sister, the widow of *Perseus* king of *Macedonia*; but *Ariarathes* had rejected the offer, for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. For this, in particular, the senate returned him thanks; and enjoined the ambassadors to acquaint their master, that the senate and people of *Rome* were fully convinced of his attachment to them, and ready to shew, on all occasions, how much they had at heart the interest of their true friends and allies *, among whom they accounted *Ariarathes* the chief, and most to be depended on. Not long after, the king found, by experience, that their protestations were sincere; for *Orophernes*, or, as others call him, *Holophernes*, pretending to be the lawful son of *Ariarathes V.* and the elder brother, had recourse to *Demetrius Soter*, who was greatly incensed against *Ariarathes* for slighting the match which he had proposed with his sister. *Demetrius* was easily prevailed upon to espouse his cause, though he well knew that *Orophernes*, was but a supposititious, or, as some write, a natural, son of the deceased king.

*His attachment
to the Romans.*

Eumenes king of *Pergamus* was ordered by the *Romans* to join *Ariarathes* with all his forces, and assist him against *Demetrius* to the utmost of his power: which he did accordingly; but to no effect; for the armies of the confederate *Ariarathes* kings were worsted, and *Ariarathes* obliged to abandon the thes ^{driven out} kingdom to his rival ^x.

Orophernes, being thus put in possession of *Cappadocia*, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* with a golden crown of great value; which the senate declined to accept, till such time as they heard his pretensions to the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, the flood which he, by suborned witnesses, made appear so plain, that the senate decreed *Ariarathes* and he should reign together as brothers and partners in the kingdom ^y. But *Orophernes* was the same year driven out by *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, and his successor in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* Is restored to the intire possession of his paternal kingdom. *Orophernes* being driven out, *Ariarathes* sent ambassadors to demand of the *Priensians* four hundred talents, which *Orophernes* had deposited with them. The *Priensians* honestly replied, that, as they had been trusted with the money, they could not, without breach of the trust reposed in them, deliver it to any one except *Orophernes* himself, or such as came in his name. Hereupon the king entered their territories in an *Makē* hostile manner, and, putting all to fire and sword, thought he war a-should frighten them into a compliance with his demands. *gainst the Priensians*; But neither his threats, nor the calamities they suffered, could prevail upon them to betray their trust; nay, in the height of their miseries, while their city was besieged by the joint forces of *Ariarathes* and *Attalus*, they found means to restore the intire sum to *Orophernes*, though the king had threatened them with utter destruction, in case it was not delivered to him upon his entering the city, which he hoped to be master of in a few days. But, in the mean time, the *Priensians* recurring to the *Romans*, the two kings were enjoined by the legates to raise the siege, and withdraw their forces, on pain of being deemed enemies to the republic ^z. *Ariarathes* and *Demetrius* readily complied with the legates orders; and, marching his army into *Syria*, joined *Alexander Epiphanes* against *Demetrius Soter*, by whom he had been formerly driven out of his kingdom. In the very first engagement *Demetrius* was slain, and his army intirely routed and dispersed; *Ariarathes*

^x POLYB. l. iii. p. 161. LIV. l. xlviij. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1.
APPIAN. Syriac. p. 118. ZONAR. ex Dion. ^y APPIAN.
Syriac. p. 118. ZONAR. ex Dion. ^z POLYB. in excerpt.
Vales. p. 173.

having on that occasion given uncommon proofs of his courage and conduct.

Joins the Romans against Aristonicus, and is slain. Some years after, a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Aristonicus*, who claimed the kingdom of *Pergamus*, in right of his father, he assisted the former to the utmost of his power, and was slain in the same battle in which *P. Crassus* proconsul of *Asia* was taken, and the *Roman* army cut in pieces. He left six sons by his wife *Laodice*, on whom the people of *Rome* bestowed *Lycania* and *Cilicia*. But *Laodice*, fearing lest her children, when they came of age, should take the government out of her hands, poisoned five of them, the youngest only having escaped her cruelty, by being privately conveyed out of the kingdom. *Laodice* was soon after put to death by the *Cappadocians*, who could not brook her cruel and tyrannical government, and the young king placed on the throne of his ancestors ^a.

Ariarathes VII. soon after his accession to the crown, married *Laodice*, daughter to *Mithridates the Great*, in hopes of having in that prince a powerful friend to support him against *Nicomedes* king of *Bitynia*, who laid claim to part of *Cappadocia*. But *Mithridates*, without any regard either to friendship or affinity, procured one *Gordius* to poison him; by *Mithridates*, and, on his death, seized the kingdom, under pretence of dates, ^{who} maintaining the rights of the *Cappadocians* against *Nicomedes*, seizes the till the children of *Ariarathes* were in a condition to govern kingdom. and defend the kingdom by themselves. The *Cappadocians* were at first very thankful to *Mithridates*, as not entertaining any manner of suspicion against him; but, finding him unwilling to resign the kingdom to the lawful heir, they rose up in arms, and, driving out all his garrisons, placed on the throne the eldest son of their deceased king, *viz.*

Ariarathes VIII. who was soon engaged in a war with *Nicomedes* king of *Bitynia*, that prince laying claim to some of the provinces that bordered on his kingdom. In this war *Mithridates* joined his nephew, and not only forced *Nicomedes* to abandon *Cappadocia*, but stripped him of great part of his own dominions. A peace being at last concluded between the kings of *Bitynia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates*, seeking some pretence to quarrel with *Ariarathes*, insisted upon his recalling *Gordius*, who had murdered his father: which proposal he rejecting with abhorrence, both princes began to prepare for war. *Mithridates* took the field the first, hoping to over-run *Cappadocia* before *Ariarathes* could be in a condition to make head against him. But, contrary

^a JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

to his expectation, he was met on the frontiers by *Ariarathes*, at the head of an army no-way inferior to his own. Hereupon, having recourse to snares, he invited *Ariarathes* to a conference ; and, in the sight of both armies, stabbed him *Murdered* with a dagger, which he had concealed under his garment, as by Mithri- we have related in the history of *Pontus*. This struck such dates. terror into the *Cappadocians*, that they immediately dispersed, and gave *Mithridates* an opportunity of possessing himself of the kingdom without the least opposition. But he did not long enjoy his unjust conquests ; for the *Cappadocians*, not being able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of his prefects, shook off the yoke, and, recalling the king's brother, who had fled into the province of *Asia*, proclaimed him king.

Ariarathes IX. was scarce settled in his throne, when *Mithridates* invaded his kingdom at the head of a very numer- *the IX.* ous army ; and, having drawn him to a battle, defeated his army with great slaughter, and obliged him to abandon the kingdom to the conqueror. The king soon after died of *Is driven* grief, and *Mithridates* bestowed *Cappadocia* on his son, who *out by Mi-* was then but eight years old, giving him also the name of *thridates*, *Ariarathes* ^b. But *Nicomedes Philopator* king of *Bithynia*, *and dies of* fearing lest *Mithridates* having now got possession of the *grief*. whole kingdom of *Cappadocia*, should invade his territories, suborned a youth to pass himself upon the senate for the third son of *Ariarathes*, and to present them a petition, in order to be restored to his father's kingdom. With him he sent to *Rome Laodice*, sister to *Mithridates*, whom he had married after the death of her former husband *Ariarathes*. *Laodice* declared before the senate, that she had three sons by *Ariarathes*, and that the petitioner was one of them ; but that she had been obliged to keep him concealed, lest he should undergo the same fate as his brothers. The senate assured him, that they would, at all adventures, reinstate him in his kingdom ; for the whole matter was carried on with such craft, that they had not the least suspicion of any deceit. But, in the mean time, *Mithridates* having notice of these transactions, dispatched *Gordius* to *Rome*, to undeceive the senate, and persuade them, that the youth, to whom he had resigned the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, was the lawful son of the late king, and grandson to *Ariarathes*, who had assisted the *Romans* against *Aristonicus*, and lost his life in their service ^c. This unexpected embassy put the senate upon in- *Mithri-* quiring more narrowly into the matter ; whereby the whole *dates* plot was discovered, and *Mithridates* ordered to resign *Cap-* *dered by* *the Ro-*

^b JUSTIN. I. xxxviii. c. 1, 2.

^c JUSTIN. ubi supra.

mans to re-
sign Ca-
padocia.

Cappadocia. *Paphlagonia* was at the same time taken for *Nicomedes*, and both kingdoms declared free. But the *Cappadocians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, acquainting the senate, that they could not live without a king; which the senate was greatly surprised at; but however, humouring their inclination; gave them leave to elect a king of their own nation, for the royal family of *Pharnaces* was now extinct. They chose unanimously *Ariobarzanes*; and their election was approved by the senate, he having, on all occasions, shewn himself a steady friend to the *Romans* ^d.

Ariobarzanes I.

Driven out by Tigranes and Mithridates.

But restored by the Romans.

Resigns the crown to his son.

Ariobarzanes II.

Ariobarzanes had scarce taken possession of his new kingdom, when he was driven out by *Tigranes* king of the *Greater Armenia*, who resigned it to the son of *Mithridates*, according to the articles of an alliance previously concluded between these two princes. *Ariobarzanes* fled to *Rome*, and, having engaged the senate in his cause, he returned into *Asia* with *Sylla*, who was enjoined to restore him to his kingdom; which he did accordingly; having, with a small body of men, routed *Gordius*, who came to meet him on the borders of *Cappadocia* at the head of a numerous army. But *Sylla* had scarce turned his back, when he was driven out anew by *Ariarathes* the son of *Mithridates*, on whom *Tigranes* had bestowed the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. This obliged *Sylla* to return into *Asia*, where he was attended with the same success, and *Ariobarzanes* placed again on the throne. After the death of *Sylla*, he was the third time forced by *Mithridates* to abandon his kingdom; but was soon restored by *Pompey*; who, after having entirely defeated *Mithridates* near mount *Stella*, rewarded *Ariobarzanes*, for his services during the war, with the provinces of *Sophene*, *Gordiene*, and great part of *Cilicia*. But he, being now advanced in years, and desirous to spend the remainder of his life in ease, and free from cares, resigned the crown to his son *Ariobarzanes*, in presence of *Pompey*, and never afterwards interfered with public affairs. *Tully*, in one of his letters, seems to insinuate, as if he died a violent death ^e.

Ariobarzanes II. proved a no less faithful ally and friend to the *Romans* than his father had been. He was very serviceable to *Cicero*, as he himself witnesseth, during the time he was proconsul of *Cilicia*. The civil war breaking out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, he sided with the latter; but, after the death of *Pompey*, was received into favour by *Cæsar*, who even bestowed upon him great part of *Armenia*. While

^d JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 2. STRAB. l. xii. p. 540.
epist. famil. 15.

^e CIC.
Cæsar

Cæsar was engaged in a war with the *Egyptians*, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, invaded his territories, and stripped him of his paternal kingdom, as well as of his new acquisitions. But *Pharnaces* being overcome by *Cæsar*, he was not only restored to his kingdom, but honoured with new titles by the *Romans*. After the murder of *Cæsar*, he refused to join *Cassius* and *Brutus*, who thereupon, having declared him an enemy to the republic, invaded his dominions ; and, having taken him prisoner, caused him to be put to death. *Is put to death by Cassius and Brutus.*

He was succeeded by his brother *Ariobarzanes III.* who, *Ariobarzanes III.* as we have elsewhere mentioned, was by *Marc Antony* deprived both of his life and kingdom. In him ended the family of *Ariobarzanes*.

Archelaus, the grandson of that *Archelaus*, who, in the *Arche-Mithridatic war*, commanded in chief against *Sylla*, as *welaus*. have mentioned above, was, by *Marc Antony*, placed on the throne of *Cappadocia*, though no ways related either to the family of *Pharnaces*, or to that of *Ariobarzanes*. His preferment was intirely owing to his mother *Glaphyra*, a woman of great beauty, but of a very loose behaviour ; who, having gained *Antony's* good graces by indulging his lust, obtained, by way of reward for her compliance, the kingdom of *Cappadocia* for her son. To this alludes the epigram of *Augustus*, related by *Martial*^f. In the war between *Augustus* and *Antony* he joined the latter ; but, at the intercession of the *Cappadocians*, was not only pardoned by *Augustus*, but received from him *Armenia the Lesser*, and *Cilicia Trachea*, for having assisted the *Roman* prætors in clearing the seas of pirates, who greatly infested the coasts of *Asia*. He contracted a strict friendship with *Herod the Great*, king of *Judea*, and even married his daughter *Glaphyra* to *Alexander*, *Herod's* son. *Herod* becoming jealous of his son, as if he aspired to the kingdom, *Archelaus* took a journey into *Judea*, with no other view but to remove his suspicions, and reconcile him to his son ; which he happily effected ; though, on account of new suspicions, *Alexander* was not long after, by his father's order, put to death. *Herod* accompanied in person *Archelaus*, on his return into *Cappadocia*, as far as *Antioch*, where he recommended him to *Titus*, then president of *Syria*, as the best friend he had. After the death of *Alexander*, *Archelaus* gave his children a princely education, and shewed a particular tenderness and concern for them till the day of his death. In the reign of *Tiberius*, he was summoned to appear before the senate ; for he had been always hated by *Tiberius*, *Hated by Tiberius.*

^f MARTIAL. I. xi. epigram. 21.

because,

because, in his retirement at *Rhodes*, he had paid him no sort of court or distinction ; which proceeded from no pride or aversion to *Tiberius*, but from the warning given him by his friends at *Rome*. For *Caius Cæsar*, the presumptive heir to the empire, then lived, and had been sent to compose the affairs of the east : whence the friendship of *Tiberius* was then reckoned dangerous. But when he came to the empire, remembering how *Archelaus* had behaved, he enticed him to *Rome* by means of letters from *Livia*, who, without dissembling her son's resentment, promised him his pardon, provided he came in person to implore it. He obeyed the summons, and hastened to *Rome* ; where he was received by the emperor with great wrath and contempt, and soon after accused as a criminal in the senate. The crimes alleged against him were mere fictions ; but his concern, in seeing himself treated like a malefactor, was so great, that he died soon after of grief ; or, as others say, laid violent hands on himself ^g. He is said to have reigned fifty years. *Pliny* tells us ^h, that he wrote a book of agriculture. Upon his death, the kingdom of *Cappadocia* was reduced to a province, and governed by those of the equestrian order (C).

Where he dies, and his kingdom is reduced to a Roman province.

C H A P. VI.

The History of the Kings of Pergamus.

THE city of *Pergamus* we have already described in our history of *Mysia*, to which province it formerly belonged, and was subject to the same princes, till it became the metropolis of a separate kingdom ⁱ. We shall therefore only add here, the history of the *Pergamenian* kings, who from small beginnings came by degrees to make a considerable figure among the potentates of *Asia*, and proved very serviceable to the *Romans* in all their *Aзиatic* wars.

^g *TACIT.* annal. l. i.
vol. vi. p. 104.

^h *PLIN.* l. xviii. c. 3.

ⁱ See

(C) Other authors tell us, that *Archelaus* would have been condemned by the servile senate, had not one of the evidences produced against him deposed, that he had heard him say, if ever he went back into *Cappadocia*, *Tiberius* should feel what nerves be bad ; which moved such a laughter in the senate, the old king, by reason of the gout,

and other distempers, not being able to stand by himself, that he was dismissed ; *Tiberius* thinking that he could not punish him more effectually, than by suffering him to live. This favour, say they, the old king construed in the best manner ; and, out of gratitude, bequeathed his kingdom to *Rome*.

THE first of this family we find mentioned in history was Philetaerus, an eunuch, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, of a mean descent, and in his youth a menial servant to *Antigonus*, ^{Year of} one of *Alexander's* captains. He afterwards served *Lysimachus*, ^{the} flood king of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, who appointed him a keeper of his treasures lodged in *Pergamus*. While he held this em^t., ^{2067.} But ^{233.} employment, *Lysimachus*, at the instigation of his wife *Arsinoe*, barbarously murdered his son *Agathocles*, who had attended him in all his wars, and by whose conduct he had gained most of his victories. His death was publicly lamented by *Philetaerus*, who was chiefly indebted to him for his preferment. Whereupon *Arsinoe*, highly incensed against him, found means, by degrees, to work him out of his master's favour; which he being apprised of, seized on the cattle of *Pergamus*, and the treasures which he had been intrusted with, to the amount of ninety thousand talents, which he proffered, with his service, to *Selucus* king of *Syria*. But both *Lysimachus* and *Selucus* dying soon after, he kept the treasures, and, with a strong body of mercenaries, held the town till his death; which happened twenty years after he had revolted from *Lysimachus*. He died in the eightieth year of his age, and is by some styled prince, by others king of *Pergamus*; he was ^{at} ¹ the founder of this new kingdom, though perhaps he never assumed the title of king^k. He left the kingdom to *Eumenes* his brother, or, as some write, his brother's son; *Eumenes* who, laying hold of the dissensions that reigned among the ^{1.} *Seleucidæ*, invaded *Asia*, possessed himself of many strongholds in that province, and, having hired a strong body of *Galatians*, defeated *Antiochus* as he was returning home, proud with a remarkable victory which he had gained over his brother *Selucus Callinicus*^l. This victory put him in possession of the greater part of *Asia*; but he did not long enjoy his new acquisitions; for he died the next year of intemperate drinking, a vice which he was greatly addicted to, in the twenty-second year of his sovereignty; for we do not find that he ever took upon him the title of king.

Eumenes was succeeded by *Attalus I.* the son of *Attalus*, ^{2107.} Attalus I. brother to *Philetaerus* by *Antiochis* the daughter of *Aebeus*. Year of For *Attalus*, though of a mean descent, being plentifully supplied with money by his brother *Philetaerus*, visited most of the courts of the *Ajatic* princes, and was every-where had ^{241.} Bef. Chr. in great esteem, being a man of excellent natural parts. He

^k *PARYAN.* Attic. p. 7. & 9. *STRABO.* l. xiii. p. 623. *APPIAN.* *Syriac.* p. 129. ^l *JUSTIN.* l. xxvii. c. 2. & 3.

proved so serviceable to *Achæus*, who, revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, assumed the title of king, that he bestowed upon him his favourite daughter *Antiochis*. By her *Attalus* had one son named also *Attalus*; who, upon the death of *Eumenes*, took possession of *Pergamus*, and the places which *Rents the* he had added to his small principality. In the very beginning *Gauls, and of his reign he routed the Gauls with great slaughter, and takes the* forced them to abandon his territories, where they had proposed to settle. After this victory he took upon himself the title of king, and as such was acknowledged by all the neighbouring princes. *Livy* tells us, that he was the first among the *Asiatic* princes who refused to pay contribution to the *Gauls*, whom he worsted in a pitched battle ^m. While *Seleucus Ceraunus* was employed in other wars, he raised a powerful army; and, entering *Asia*, subdued all the provinces on this side mount *Taurus*; but was soon driven out of his new acquisitions by *Seleucus*, and his grandfather *Achæus*; who, entering into an alliance against him, stript him of all his dominions, and even besieged him in his metropolis. *Attalus*, finding himself thus reduced to the last extremity, invited, with great promises, the *Gauls*, who had settled in *Thrace*, to his assistance; who, marching with all speed to *Pergamus*, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and being headed by the king himself, recovered in a short time all the cities and provinces they had seized.

His conquests *Attalus*, having thus recovered what the enemy had taken, while *Achæus* was busy in *Paphlagonia*, marched into *Ionia*, and the neighbouring provinces, where the cities of *Cuma*, *Smyrna*, and *Phœcea*, voluntarily submitted; the *Teians*, *Colophonians*, with the inhabitants of *Egea* and *Lennos*, sent deputies, declaring themselves ready to acknowledge him for their sovereign; the *Cardsines*, on the other side the river *Lycus*, opened their gates to him, having first driven out *Themistocles*, whom *Achæus* had appointed governor of those provinces. From thence he advanced to *Apia*, and, encamping on the banks of the river *Megistus*, received homage from all the neighbouring nations. Here the *Gauls*, being frightened with an eclipse of the moon, refused to pursue their march; which stopt the career of his conquests, and obliged him to return to the *Hellespont*, where he gave the *Gauls* leave to settle, and allowed them a large and fruitful territory, assuring them that he would always assist and protect them to the utmost of his power. Having thus enlarged his dominions, he returned to *Pergamus*, where he received with great pomp

^m *Liv.* l. xxxviii.

and magnificence the *Roman* legate *Lævius*, and entered into ^{Enters in} an alliance with *Rome*, which secured to him all his ac-^{to an alliance with} quisitions (D).

He joined the *Romans* in both their wars with *Philip* king ^{Rome} of *Macedon*, who invaded his dominions, laying waste whole provinces ; but was not able to reduce one city. In the second war *Attalus* had the command of the *Rhodian* fleet, with which he not only drove the *Macedonians* quite out of the seas, but even, in conjunction with his allies the *Athenians*, invaded *Macedonia*, and obliged *Philip* to march off from *Athens*, which he had greatly distressed, in order to defend his own kingdom. For which services the *Athenians* heaped upon *Attalus* all the favours they could, and even called one of their own tribes after his name ; an honour which they had never before bestowed upon any foreigner ⁿ.

He died of an apoplexy, which seized him at *Thebes* in *His death*. *Bœotia*, while he was making an harangue to the *Bœotians*, and exhorting them with more vehemency than his age and strength could bear, to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* against *Philip* their common enemy. In the midst of his harangue, he fell down speechless ; but, returning to himself, desired to be carried by sea from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, where he died soon after his arrival ^o, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-third of his reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and wrote himself some books, which are often quoted by *Pliny*, *Artemidorus*, and *Strabo*. He caused the grammarian *Daphidas* to be thrown headlong from an high rock for speaking disrespectfully of *Homer* ^p. His generosity towards men of learning knew no bounds : whence

ⁿ LIV. I. xxxi. POLYB. legat. 3. p. 786, 787. ^o Liv. I. xxxiii. POLYB. p. 820. PLUTARCH. in Quinto Flaminio. ^p SUIDAS, VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 8.

(D) In the reign of *Attalus*, brought to *Rome*. Whereupon a certain prophecy was found in the sibylline books, by the college of the *Decemviri*, to whose care those books were intrusted, to this purport : *Whene'er a foreign enemy shall invade Italy, he shall be driven out and over come, if the image of the great mother of the gods at Ida, which fill from heaven, be sent for and*

five embassadors were without delay dispatched to *Attalus*, who received them with all possible marks of friendship and kindness, and, attending them in person to *Pisidius* in *Phrygia*, there delivered into their hands a stone which the inhabitants worshiped as the great mother of the gods (1)

(1) Polyb. l. xxix. Liv. l. ix.

he is highly commended by all the writers that flourished in his time ; as is also his wife *Apollonias*, or, as others call her, *Apollonis* ; whom, though of a mean extraction, they propose as a pattern of all princely virtues. By her he left four sons, ^{2150.} *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus* ^{q.}

Eumenes II. HE was succeeded by *Eumenes* his eldest son, who, upon his accession to the crown, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the *Romans*, and observed it so religiously, that, *Antiochus the Great* having proffered him his daughter *Antiochis* in marriage, he declined his affinity, being apprised that *Antiochus* courted his friendship, with a view to strengthen himself, by his alliance, against the *Romans* ; for his eldest daughter he had bestowed on *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and offered the second to *Ariarates* king of *Cappadocia*, and was at that time making great preparations for war both by sea and land ^{r.} *Eumenes*, who was very jealous of so powerful a neighbour, did not fail to acquaint the senate with all his motions ; who thereupon sent *P. Villius*, and *P. Sulpitius*, under appearance of an embassy to *Antiochus*, but really to inform themselves of the preparations he was making, and by often conversing with *Hannibal*, who was then in great esteem with *Antiochus*, either to abate his hatred towards the *Romans*, or make *Antiochus* jealous of him ; for they apprehended *Hannibal* to be at the bottom of those vast preparations ^{s.} The ambassadors went first to *Elæa*, and from thence to *Pergamus* ; for their instructions were to confer with *Eumenes*, before they went to the court of *Antiochus*.

*Inflames the Ro-
mans a-
gainst An-* *embassadors*. *Eumenes* did all that lay in his power to inflame them against *Antiochus*, assuring them, that he had nothing less in view than the empire of all *Asia*. Soon after the departure of the *embassadors*, who returned very much dissatisfied with *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* sent his brother *Attalus* to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate, that *Antiochus*, at the persuasion of the *Aetolians*, had passed over into *Greece* with an army consisting of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants ; and that the *Aetolians* were all to a man ready to join him. The senate received *Attalus* with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness ; returned thanks both to him, and the king his brother ; provided him with lodgings at the expence of the public ; and dismissed him loaded with presents ; promising to send an army into *Greece*, which should defeat the king's measures, and keep

^{q.} *Suidas* at the word *Attalus*.

^{r.} *LIV.* l. xxxvii.

^{s.} *LIV.* l. xxxiv. xxxv. *JUSTIN.* l. xxxi.

^{6. 4.} *FRONTIN.* *stratag.* l. i. c. 8. *APPIAN* in *Syriac*. p. 90, 91.



in awe the *Etolians*. Which they did accordingly, sending *M. Acilius* consul into *Greece*, who, having vanquished *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, obliged him to fly back into *Asia* ¹.

In this war *Eumenes*, who assisted the *Romans* both with *Commands* his navy, and all the land-forces he could raise, was ap-^{the Roman} pointed to command the *Roman* fleet likewise, in concert *fleet*, with *C. Livius Salinator*. This united navy happening to fall in with the fleet of *Antiochus*, which was returning from *Greece* into *Asia*, under the command of *Polyxenidas*, ² attacked them, sunk ten of their ships, took thirty, and dispersed the rest. This victory was in great measure owing to *Eumenes*, who boarded some of the enemies ships in person, and during the whole action behaved himself with uncommon bravery. Some time after *Eumenes*, with a body of five thousand men, entered the territories of *Antiochus*; and, having laid waste all the country about *Thyatira*, returned to *Canas*, where the *Roman* fleet wintered, with an immense booty ³. While *Eumenes* was thus employed in aiding the *Romans* abroad, he was unexpectedly called home to the defence of his own country. For *Antiochus*, invading his ter- ^{Antiochus} ritories, laid waste the whole country about *Laea*, and even ^{invades his} sent his son *Seleucus* to lay siege to the royal city of *Pergamus*. ^{territories,} *Attalus*, the king's brother, held out with an handful of men, and ^{lays} till the *Achaean*s, the allies of *Eumenes*, sent a thousand foot ^{and an hundred horse} to his assistance. These were all chosen ^{city of Per-} troops, who had served under *Philopamen*, and were com-^{gamus.} manded by *Diophanes*, a man of great experience in war. *Diophanes*, observing from the walls of the town the carelessness of the enemy, obtained leave of *Attalus* to march out of the city, and encamp at a small distance from them. Both *Attalus* and the citizens of *Pergamus* looked upon him as a mad-man, who durst venture out while the city was besieged by an army ten times their number. The enemy likewise were not a little surprised at first; but, finding he kept himself quiet in his camp, they returned to their former negligence and disorder, not imagining that with such an handful of men he would make any attempt upon their camp. Which *Diophanes* observing, sallies out unexpectedly at the head of an hundred horse; and, having put in disorder their advanced guards, attacked *Seleucus* in his camp; and, the *Achaean* foot coming up in the mean time, drove the whole army from their posts, and pursued them with great slaughter as far as he could safely venture, without losing a man.

¹ LIV. l. xxxvi. PLUTARCH. in Cato. Major. APPIAN. in Syriacis. FRONTIN. Strateg. l. ii. ² LIV. l. xxvii.

The Syrians defeat the town, and, drawing out his men, offered the enemy battle ; but Diophanes kept quiet in his camp ; till Seleucus, despairing to bring him to an engagement, began to march his forces raised.

THE next day *Seleucus* encamped at a greater distance from the town, and, drawing out his men, offered the enemy battle ; but *Diophanes* kept quiet in his camp ; till *Seleucus*, despairing to bring him to an engagement, began to march his forces back to the camp ; when, falling upon their rear with his horse, he pursued them to their trenches with greater slaughter than he had done the day before. The boldness of the Achæans struck such terror into the enemy, that *Seleucus* thought fit to abandon the siege, and retire. *Attalus* and the *Pergamenians* beheld from the walls of the town, and admired the gallant behaviour of the Achæans, but had not the courage to venture out ; which if they had done, the army of *Seleucus* might have been that day easily cut in pieces. This cowardly behaviour reflected no small dishonour on *Attalus*, though he had on all other occasions behaved with uncommon gallantry ^x. In the mean time *Eumenes* himself arriving at *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodian* and *Roman* fleets joining that king's, *Antiochus*, and his son *Seleucus*, retired with great precipitation out of his territories ; and, hearing that the consul *L. Scipio* was ready to pass over into *Asia* with all his forces, dispatched ambassadors to *L. Æmilius*, who commanded the *Roman* army, to sue for a peace. *Æmilius* sent for *Eumenes* to advise with him in this conjuncture ; as he likewise did with *Eudamus* and *Pamphilidas*, commanders of the *Rhodian* fleet. The *Rhodians* were not against a peace ; but *Eumenes*, who would hearken to no terms, persuaded *Æmilius* to dismiss the ambassadors with this answer ; that no peace could be concluded before the arrival of the consul ; for *L. Scipio* was then in full march to join them. *Antiochus*, seeing there were no hopes of obtaining a peace upon honourable conditions, either of *Æmilius*, or afterwards of *Scipio*, resolved to venture a general engagement ; in which he was entirely defeated, in great measure

The gallant behaviour of Eumenes ; who not only bore, without giving ground, the first onset of the elephants, and of armed chariots, but drove them back upon their own men ; *Eumenes* which, putting the ranks in disorder, gave the *Roman* horse an opportunity of attacking them, and throwing the whole army into the utmost confusion. After this battle, which was fought at the foot of mount *Sipylus*, not far from *Magnesia*, *Antiochus* was glad to accept a peace upon any terms. One of the conditions was, that he should pay four hundred talents to *Eumenes*, and a certain quantity of corn, to make amends for the losses he had sustained during the war.

^x *Liv.* l. xxxvii. *POLYB.* *legat.* xx. p. 810. *APPIAN.* p. 102.
THE

THE peace being concluded, *Eumenes* took a journey to *Eumenes Rome*, where he represented to the senate, with a great deal goes to of moderation, what he had done in the service of the re-*Rome*. public ; and told them, that he was come to beg of them, that the *Greek cities*, which at the beginning of the war were subject to *Antiochus*, might be added to his dominions, since in him they might promise themselves a faithful friend and ally, and look upon his new acquisitions as their own. His demand was warmly opposed by the *Rhodian* ambassadors, and those of all the *Greek cities* in *Asia*. But both parties being heard, the senate, after a long debate, decreed, that all the countries on this side mount *Taurus*, which belonged to *How re-Antiochus*, should be given to *Eumenes*, together with the *warded by other provinces* lying between the mountain and the river *the Ro-Mæander*, except *Lycia* and *Caria*, which were bestowed *mans*. on the *Rhodians*. Moreover all the cities, which had been tributary to *Attalus*, were ordered to pay the same tribute to *Eumenes* ; but such as had been tributary to *Antiochus* were declared free ^y.

Eumenes, having thus, by siding with the *Romans*, enlarged his dominions, was soon after engaged in a new war with *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who, confiding altogether in *Han* ^{His war with Prusias} *nibal*, whom he entertained at his court, invaded his ter-fitories. But *Eumenes*, being assisted by the *Romans*, gave *Bithynia* him two great overthrows, one by sea, and the other by land ; which so disheartened him, that he was ready to accept of a peace upon any terms whatsoever. However, before the conditions were agreed upon, *Hannibal* found means to draw *Philip* king of *Macedon* into an alliance against *Eume-nes*, and the *Romans*. *Philip*, who was highly incensed against the *Roman*, who had obliged him to evacuate the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* in *Thrace*, and no less exasperated against *Eumenes*, on whom they had bestowed them, sent *Philocles*, an old and experienced officer, with a consider-able body, to join *Prusias*. Hereupon *Eumenes* sent his brother *Athenæus* to *Rome*, with a golden crown valued at fifteen thousand talents, to complain of *Philip* for aiding *Prusias*, and of *Prusias* for making war upon the allies of the people of *Rome*, without any manner of provocation. The senate accepted of the present, and promised to send ambassadors forthwith to settle matters to the satisfaction of *Eumenes*, whom they looked upon as the most steady friend the republic had in *Asia*.

^y POLYB. legat. xxv. & xxxvi. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. x. LIV. l. xxxvii. & xxxviii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116.

BUT in the mean time *Prusias*, having ventured a sea-fight, obtained, by a contrivance of *Hannibal's*, a complete victory over *Eumenes*. For *Hannibal* advised him to fill a *at sea* by great many earthen vessels with various kinds of serpents, & contrivance of other poisonous reptiles, and in the heat of the fight to throw them into the enemies ships, so as to break the vessels. *Hannibal*, and let the serpents loose. All the soldiers and sea-men were enjoined to attack the ship, in which *Eumenes* himself was, and only defend themselves against the others as well as they could; and, that they might not mistake the ship, an herald was sent before the engagement, with a letter to the king. As soon as the two fleets drew near, all the enemies ships, singling out the king's, discharged such a quantity of serpents against it, that neither their sailors nor soldiers could perform their duty, but were forced to fly to the shore, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. The other ships, after a faint resistance, followed the king's example, and were all driven ashore with great slaughter, the soldiers being no less annoyed by the stings of the serpents than the arrows of the enemies. Most part of *Eumenes*'s ships were set on fire, several taken, and the others so shattered, that they could be of no further service. *Eumenes* encamped on the shore, where he had placed some companies of foot; but the enemy did not think fit to abandon their ships². Thus *Prusias* gained a complete victory by sea, and the same year two remarkable victories by land, which were entirely owing to *Hannibal*, who, by one stratagem or other, ever put *Eumenes* to flight (E).

WHEN

² JUSTIN. I. xxxii. c. 4. AEMIL. PROB. in Hannibale.

(E) Having once advised *Prusias* to engage, and the king replying, that he durst not venture, because the entrails of the sacrifices portended no good success; *What!* said *Hannibal*, do you rely more on the entrails of an undistinguishing beast, than on the judgment of an experienced commander? and, commanding the signal to be given, put *Eumenes* to flight at the first onset (2). The crown continued in his family to the third generation, of

which *Suidas* relates an answer given him by the oracle of *Delphi*, in these words: *Go on, Taurocerus; you shall wear a crown, and your son's sons; but to no other shall it pass*. He was called *Taurocerus*, from a pair of bull's horns, which were put, we know not by whom, on the head of his statue. He was also called the *son of a bull*, by another oracle, wherein it was foretold, that he should one day make a great slaughter of the

(2) *Cic. de divinat.* I. ii. *Plut. de exilio.* *Valer. Max.* I. iii. c. 7.

WHEN news of the defeat of Eumenes was brought to Rome, the senate immediately dispatched ambassadors to conclude a peace between the two kings, and to demand Hannibal, who had stirred up Prusias to this war^a (I.). By the mediation of the Roman ambassadors, a peace between the two kings was agreed on; and Prusias even consented, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans. That great general kept himself close in a castle which had been given him by Prusias. He had made seven doors in the castle, whereof some were private, and known to none but himself; for he entertained some dissidence of Prusias, and Romans. therefore had contrived those private outlets, that he might be able to withdraw, in case the king's soldiers should come to apprehend him. But this contrivance stood him in no stead; for the soldiers sent by Prusias surrounded the castle on all sides; which Hannibal observing, had recourse to a present poison, which he ever carried about with him; and thereby prevented the ill-treatment he was likely to meet with from the Romans (G).

A PEACE being thus concluded between Eumenes and Eumenes Prusias, a new war unexpectedly broke out between Eumenes, engaged in and triarius king of Cappadocia, on one side; and Phar-^{a new war} naces king of Pontus, and the Asiatic Gauls, on the other. ^{with Pharnaces, laying claim to some territories possessed by Eumenes, invaded his dominions, and seized on the city of Sinope;} which, by the articles of a former treaty, was to

^a Polyb. legat. xlvi. Liv. I. xxxvi.

Gauls. The answer of the oracle is related by Plutarch in the following words (3): Jupiter shall quickly send them a deliverer, the son of a bull, educated by Jupiter, who shall bring a dismal day on the Gauls.

(F) Polybius (4) tells us, that T. Q. Flaminius was, on this occasion, sent both to Prusias, and to Seleucus king of Syria. But Livy (5) affirms, us, that L. Scipio Asiaticus, and P. Scipio Nasica, were joined with him in the same commission.

(G) He died in the seventieth year of his age. Of his death

the following oracle is said to have been uttered many years before: Αἰγύπτια ρύψει Εωθών. Αὐτὸς δέ μοις: the land of Libya, or Libyssa, shall cover the body of Hannibal. By Libya, or Libyssa, Hannibal understood Libya in Africa; whereas the place meant by this oracle was a little village in Bithynia, near the sea-side, called by the same name; whereof Pliny (6) speaks thus: There was formerly in those parts a little town called Libyssa; where there is now nothing worth seeing except Hannibal's tomb.

(3) Pausan. in Phoenicis, p. 334.
L. xxxvi. x Gal. r. Auct.

(4) Polyb. legat. xlvi.

(6) Plin. Nat. v. 32.

(5) Liv.

remain

remain free. Hereupon *Eumenes*, and *Ariarathes* his ally, took the field, and, in a very short time, obliged *Pharnaces* to sue for a peace ; which was granted on terms very disadvantageous to the king of *Pontus*, as we have related in the foregoing volume.

Eumenes *Eumenes*, being thus delivered from any apprehension of ~~enters into~~ war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* the son of *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, whom ~~with An-~~ *Heliodorus*, after the murder of his brother *Seleucus*, withheld from his paternal kingdom. Some writers say, that he began now to grow jealous of the too great power of the *Romans*.

Eumenes, being thus delivered from any apprehension of ~~enters into~~ war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* the son of *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, whom ~~with An-~~ *Heliodorus*, after the murder of his brother *Seleucus*, withheld from his paternal kingdom. Some writers say, that he began now to grow jealous of the too great power of the *Romans*, and to strengthen himself with other alliances, fearing lest they should at last prove as troublesome neighbours, as *Antiochus the Great* had been, to the kings of *Pergamus*^b. But, be that as it will, *Eumenes*, with the assistance of his brother *Attalus*, drove out the usurper, and placed *Antiochus* on the throne of his ancestors. About the same time *Eumenes*, falling out with the *Rhodians*, his antient allies, not only stirred up the *Lycians* to a revolt, but moreover made frequent incursions into their territories on the continent. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to *Rome*, to complain of the violent proceedings of *Eumenes*. But, as the king himself happened to go to *Rome* at the same time upon another errand, the *Rhodian* ambassadors could not obtain any satisfaction for the damages they had suffered. *Eumenes* had undertaken this journey, to acquaint the senate with the vast preparations which *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, to whom *Eumenes* bore an implacable hatred, was making both by sea and land. The king was received at *Rome* with the highest honours, and entertained in a manner suitable to his dignity.

Goes to Rome to acquaint the senate with the designs of Perseus. Being admitted into the senate, he made a long and elegant harangue ; wherein he told them, that, besides the desire he had of seeing the gods and men, to whom he owed his kingdom, and his present happy situation, he had been induced to expose his person to so dangerous a journey, by the mighty preparations which *Perseus* was carrying on with a design to drive the *Romans* out of *Asia* : he enlarged upon this topic, and exhorted the senators, with great vehemency, to prevent the impending danger, by falling upon the common enemy, before he was in a condition to hurt them, or their allies : he offered himself ready to assist them with men and money to the utmost of his power ; and ended his speech with a modest rehearsal of his own services in behalf of the republic^c. What he said on this occasion, and the senate's

^b APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. ^c LIV. I. xlvi. APPIAN. legat. xv. a FUL. URSIUS edit.

answer, were kept so secret, that no one knew the true motive of his journey to *Rome*, till the war was ended, and *Perseus* taken prisoner (*H*)^a.

AFTER *Eumenes*, the ambassadors of the *Rhodians* were *The Rhodians* heard; who inveighed against *Eumenes*, for encouraging and abetting the *Lycian* rebels; and told the senate, that *Eumenes*, under the shadow of their power, was become troublesome to *Asia* as *Antiochus* himself. But as the *Rhodians* were grown somewhat out of favour with the *Romans*, for having conveyed *Laodice*, the daughter of *Soleucus*, to her husband *Perseus*, their speech, though applauded by the *Asiatics*, rather enhanced the esteem and kindness of the senate to *Eumenes*, on whom they heaped all the honours they could, presented him with a stately chariot, and ivory staff, and sent him home loaded with rich presents ^c. On narrowly his return, as he was going from *Cirrha* to perform a sacrifice at *Delphi*, two assassins, sent by *Perseus*, rolled down two great stones upon him as he entered the straits of the mountain ^{by two assassins sent by Perseus}. With one he was dangerously wounded on the head, with the other in the shoulder. As he fell with the blows from a steep place, and thereby received many other bruises, those who attended him carried him on board of his ship, not knowing whether he was dead or alive. From *Cirrha*, finding he was still alive, they conveyed him to *Corinth*, and from *Corinth* to *Regina*, having caused their vessels to be carried over the isthmus. There he was cured of his wounds, with such secrecy, that, none being admitted to see him, the report of his death was spread all over *Asia*, and even ^{The news of his death spread all over Asia.} arrived at *Rome*^f.

His brother *Attalus*, being over-hasty in giving credit to the public fame, not only assumed the royal ensigns, but also married his brother's wife *Stratonice*, daughter to *Artares* king of *Cappadocia*. But, not long after, hearing

^a *Liv.* ubi supra. *VALER. MAXIM.* 1. ii. c. 2. ^c *Liv.* ubi supra. *DIODOR. SICUL.* ix. legat. xvi. ^f *Liv.* 1. xlii. *APPIAN.* legat. xxv.

(*H*) *Valerius Antias* writes, that *Attalus*, brother to *Eumenes*, and not the king himself, came to *Rome*, to give notice to the senate of the preparations which *Perseus* was making. But all other writers agree, that *Eumenes* came in person; and mention many particulars of his journey, and

reception at *Rome*. Among others, they tell us, that *Cato* could not be induced to visit him, or shew him any kind of civility; and that, being asked the reason of his peculiar conduct on that occasion, he answered, *A king is by nature a carnivorous animal.*

that

that his brother was alive, and on his journey to *Pergamus*, laying down the diadem, he went to meet him, bearing an halbert, as one of his guards. The king embraced both him and the queen with great tenderness; but is said to have whispered in his brother's ear, *Don't be again in haste to marry my wife, till you are sure that I am dead.* Nor did he, during his whole life, ever do or say any thing else that could reflect on his brother's or wife's rash and imprudent behaviour, but shewed them the same love and tenderness as he had ever done ^g. The news of his recovery caused an universal joy at *Rome*; whence ambassadors were sent to congratulate him on his safe arrival into his own kingdom, without any other commission or instructions. But *Eumenes*, laying hold of that occasion, did all that lay in his power to inflame them against *Perseus*; and, this treacherous attempt increasing his antient hatred and aversion to the *Macedonians*, began himself to make vast preparations, in order to join the *Romans*, and their allies, against the king of *Macedon*. His example was followed by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*; and the *Romans* drew into the same alliance *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Masinissa* king of *Numidia*. *Perseus* in the mean time sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge by *Eumenes*: they made an artful speech to the senate; but, as they gave no satisfaction with relation to the treacherous attempt of their master upon the life of *Eumenes*, a war was declared against *Perseus*, and the ambassadors ordered to depart *Rome* the same day, and, within thirty days, all *Italy* ^h.

*Joins the
Romans
against
Perseus.*

Eumenes, upon advice that the *Romans* had at last declared war against *Perseus*, sailed with his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenaeus*, to *Chalcis* in *Bœotia*, leaving his youngest brother *Philetærus* at *Pergamus*, to defend his own dominions. From *Chalcis* he marched into *Thessaly*, where he joined the consul *Licinius* with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Athenaeus* was left at *Chalcis* with two thousand foot to assist *Marius Lucretius*, who commanded a body of ten thousand men at the siege of *Haliartus*ⁱ. The town was taken and levelled with the ground, and great part of *Bœotia* reduced. The like success did not attend *Licinius*, *Eumenes*, and *Attalus*, in *Thessaly*, where they had two encounters with *Perseus*: in the first, both parties claimed the victory; but, in the second, the *Romans*, with their allies, were put to flight; and *Cassignatus*, commander of the *Gauls*, with many

^g LIV. ubi supra. ^h DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Vales. p. 306. PLUTARCH. in apophthegm. ⁱ POLYB. legat. lxvii. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. xvii. LIV. l. xlvi. ⁱ LIV. l. xlii.

other officers, killed on the spot ^b. After this defeat the consul retired to *Larissa*, and from thence sent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home ; the rest of his army he kept, during the winter, in *Thessaly*, in order to be ready to take the field early ^{Various} in the spring. In the mean time the *Achaeans*, foreseeing ^{success of} that, with the kingdom of *Macedon*, the liberties of *Greece* ^{this war.} must inevitably fall, and, in that view, bearing a grudge to *Eumenes*, who had incensed the *Romans* against *Perseus*, abrogated, by a public decree, all the honours they had conferred upon him : which *Attalus*, who then wintered at *Elatia*, no sooner heard, but he sent ambassadors to expostulate thereupon with the common council of the nation. After the ambassadors were heard, at the persuasion of *Polybius* the historian, a decree was made, whereby *Eumenes* was reinstated in all his antient honours, and ambassadors dispatched to *Attalus* with a copy of the said decree. In that council it was likewise decreed, that auxiliaries should be sent to the *Romans* ; and *Polybius* was appointed to command them ¹. Thus *Attalus* prevailed upon the *Achaeans*, not only to restore his brother to the honours they had conferred upon him, but also to join him and the *Romans* against the king of *Macedon*, whom they had favoured to that time.

FARLY in the spring, *Eumenes*, sailing with twenty ships from *Elea*, joined, on the coast of the *Cassandrae*, *Marcius Figulus* the *Roman* admiral, and invested, both by sea and land, the city of *Cassandra* ; but was not able to reduce it. He likewise made unsuccessful attempts on the two strongholds, *Toros* and *Demetrias*, being obliged, with considerable loss, to retire from before them. As *Eumenes*, about this time, grew cold in his affection towards the *Romans*, ^{grows cold} some writers tell us, that he did not exert himself on this ^{in his af-} occasion as he might. What alienated his mind from his antient allies, is uncertain ; but it is agreed on all hands, that ^{wards the} from *Demetrias* he returned home, and could not, though earnestly intreated by the consul *Marcius*, be prevailed upon to leave behind him some troops of Gaulish horse, which would have proved very serviceable to the *Romans*, (I).

Perseus

^b Liv. ubi supra.

¹ Liv. l. xliv. Polyb. legat. lxxviii.

(I) Some say, that a reconciliation between him and *Perseus* was privately negotiated by one *Cydas* of *Crete*, and *Antimachus* governor of *Demetrias*. For *Cydas*, who was greatly in favour

with *Eumenes*, had had private conferences at *Amphipolis* with one *Chitamas*, likewise of *Crete*, and greatly attached to *Perseus* ; and at *Demetrias* had conferred with *Menecrates*, one of *Perseus's* commanders,

*Perse*s no sooner heard, that *Eumenes* had left the *Romans*, but he sent *Cryphontes*, as *Polybius* calls him, or *Eropontes*, as he is named in the printed copies of *Livy*, to propose conditions of agreement between him and *Eumenes*. *Cryphontes* represented to *Eumenes*, that there could be no sincere friendship between a king and a republic; that the *Romans* hated all kings alike, though they shewed the effects of their hatred by *Perse*s, to one only at a time, employing the forces and wealth of one king against another, with a design to compass the utter destruction of them all; that they had reduced *Philip* with the assistance of *Attalus*, *Antiochus* with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and now designed to destroy *Perse*s with the forces of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*; but, when he was destroyed, they would certainly fall upon *Eumenes*, whose territories lay next to theirs; that they already pretended to be dissatisfied with him, in order to have a plausible pretence of treating him as they had treated other kings. *Eumenes* answered, that he apprehended no greater danger from the *Romans*, than from *Perse*s, if he should happen to get the better of them; but however, that he would stand neuter, provided *Perse*s paid him a thousand talents; and, for fifteen hundred talents more, would persuade the *Romans* to hearken to conditions of an honourable peace. *Perse*s promised the sum required; but would not pay it before-hand, though *Eumenes* offered to give hostages for the performance of what he promised. *Perse*s, finding that he could not prevail upon *Eumenes* but with ready money, offered to deposit the sum agreed on in a temple of *Samothrace*, whence it should be conveyed to him as soon as the peace was concluded. But, as the island of *Samothrace* was subject to *Perse*s, *Eumenes* thought himself no surer of the money, while it was there, than if it had been kept in the king's treasures at *Pella*. Besides, he thought that his good offices deserved some acknowledgement, whether they were attended with success or no; and therefore insisted upon this, that part of the sum should be paid before he made any step in the affair. To this *Perse*s, who mistrusted *Eumenes*, could not be brought; and thus the conferences were broken off, but the subject of them kept

commanders, and with *Antimachus*, under the very walls of the city (7). Others say, that, having joined *Marcus*, as he had done the other consuls, he was very coldly entertained by him,

and not suffered to encamp within the same trenches; which he highly resenting, took his leave of the consul, and, with his forces, returned home to *Pergamus* (8).

(7) *Liv.* l. xliv.(8) *Vellei. Paternul. histor.* l. i. c. 9.

secret,

secret, *Eumenes* having sent an express to the *Roman* consul, acquainting him, that their negotiations were concerning the redemption of captives ^m.

HOWEVER, as the truth of the matter was soon after known *The Ro-*
by the *Romans*, they began to entertain no small jealousy of mans
Eumenes, and heaped all their favours on his brother *Attalus*, ^{grew jealous of}
who had staid with the consul, and given undoubted proofs ^{of} *him*.
of his fidelity during the whole time of the *Macedonian war*.
After the overthrow of *Perseus*, and utter destruction of the
kingdom of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* sent his brother *Attalus* to
congratulate the senate on the happy issue of that war, and
at the same time to crave their assistance against the *Astatic Gauls*, who began to be very troublesome neighbours. *At-*
talus was received at *Rome*, and entertained in a princely
manner. Several of the senators, who went to visit him be- *The senate*
fore he had his audience, encouraged him to lay down the ^{encourages} character of an ambassador from his brother, and treat for his brother
himself; assuring him, that, as the minds of the *Romans* were ^{demand the} alienated from *Eumenes*, his brother's kingdom would be given ^{for him}
to him, if he requested it of the senate. These promises at ^{kingdom} first awakened his ambition; for he approved, or seemed to ^{for himself}
approve, of the motion, and even promised to beg of the ^{self}
Senate his brother's kingdom. But his honest nature was
soon reclaimed by the wholesome admonitions of *Stratius*
the physician, a man of great trust and authority with *Eu-*
menes, who had been sent with him to *Rome*, as a mon-
itor, in case the *Romans* should tempt his fidelity. *Stratius*
represented to him, that at present he reigned no less than
his brother; and, in a short time, considering his brother's
old age and infirmities, would have the kingdom intirely to
himself, without being guilty of rebellion; that the king-
dom could scarcely be defended against the power of the
Gauls by their mutual agreement, much less could they hold
out against so warlike a nation, if their strength were im-
paired and divided by civil dissensions.

THESE considerations had so good an effect upon *Attalus*, that, ⁿwhen he was admitted into the senate, he first congratu-
lated them on their victory over *Perseus*; then modestly re-
hearsed his own services during the *Macedonian war*; and
lastly, acquainted them with the motive of his journey, in-
treating them to send ambassadors to the *Gauls*, who, by
their authority, might oblige them to lay down their arms,
and forbear all hostilities against his brother *Eumenes*; he re-
quested ^othe senate, that the cities of *Aenus* and *Maronea*

^m in *APPIAN*, *Macedonic.* in excerpt. *VALES.* p. 502.

ⁿ might

The generous behaviour of Attalus. might be bestowed on himself. As he omitted to sue for his brother's kingdom, they supposed that he designed to ask another day of audience for that affair alone. Wherefore they not only granted him all his requests, but sent him more rich and magnificent presents than they had ever done to any before. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but left *Rome*, contented with what they had granted him already. His unexpected departure provoked the senate to such a degree, that, while he was yet in *Italy*, they declared the cities of *Aenus* and *Maronea* free; thereby making their promise ineffectual, which otherwise they could not without shame revoke. And, as for the *Gauls*, who were ready to fall upon the kingdom of *Pergamus*, they dispatched ambassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than prevented their design ^a.

Eumenes ^{resolves to go to Rome to justify his proceedings.} being informed by his brother of what had passed at *Rome*, thought it well worth his while to go in person and justify his proceedings before the senate. But, his design being understood at *Rome*, a law was there enacted, that no king should be permitted to come to *Rome*; for they did not think it expedient to treat him as an enemy; and to entertain him as a friend, was more than their displeasure for his ingratitude, as they stiled it, would permit. Upon the first

But is presented by the senate. notice of his landing at *Brundusium*, the senate dispatched the quæstor to him with a copy of the edict, enjoining him to acquaint the king, that, if he had any thing to lay before the senate, he was commissioned to hear and propose it; but, if he had no affairs to transact with the senators, to command him, without delay, to depart *Italy*. *Eumenes*, understanding from the quæstor the pleasure of the senate, told him, that he had no business of consequence to transact, and did not stand in any need of their assistance; and, without adding one word more, retired on board his ship, and sailed back to *Pergamus*. This treatment not only abated the courage of the king's friends, but animated the *Gauls* to invade his territories, seeing he could not expect any help from the *Romans* ^b. But *Eumenes*, raising a powerful army, not only drove the *Gauls* out of his own dominions, but invaded at the same time *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, laying waste those countries, plundering the cities, and possessing himself of many strong-holds. Whereupon *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain of these violent proceedings, and acquaint the senate, that *Eumenes* had entered into an

^a POLYB. legat. xclii. LIV. l. xlvi, LIV. l. xvi,

^b POLYB. legat. xcvi,

alliance

alliance with Antiochus king of Syria, and countenanced all those who shewed any aversion to the Romans^r. With the ambassadors of Prusias came also those of the Gauls, of the Selgeses, and many other cities of Asia, to accuse Eumenes, as if he kept a secret correspondence with Perses, which was also confirmed by some letters which the Romans themselves had intercepted.

Eumenes fearing, lest the senate should declare him an enemy, and join the Gauls and Prusias, charged his two brothers, Attalus and Athenaeus, to clear him at Rome of the crimes objected to him by his enemies. They were both received with all possible marks of honour, but could not dissipate the jealousies which the senate had conceived against Rome.

Eumenes. For, not long after their departure, C. Sulpitius Gallus, and Marius Sergius, were sent into Asia in quality of legates, and enjoined to make a strict inquiry into the counsels and designs of Antiochus and Eumenes. Sulpitius Legates Gallus, upon his entering Asia, caused a proclamation to be made in all the cities of that province, whereby all those who had any complaints against Eumenes, were ordered to repair to Sardis, where they should have justice done them. The legate himself arriving by the time appointed at Sardis, of Eumenes caused a tribunal to be erected in a public place, on which, for ten days together, he received all the accusations and complaints against Eumenes that were laid before him, as if he had been sent on purpose to pick a quarrel with the king.

Eumenes, who was well apprised of his design, but unwilling to engage in a war against so powerful an enemy, especially in his old age, again sent his brother Attalus to Rome, hoping that by his mediation he might be suffered to end his days in peace. Attalus did all that lay in his power to appease the wrath of the senators, and bring his brother again into favour. But all was to no purpose; they could by no means be prevailed upon to forget his behaviour during the Macedonic war, and seemed obstinately bent upon his destruction. But their designs were prevented by the death of the king, which hap-

died soon after the return of Attalus, to whom he bequeathed both his wife and his kingdom. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, leaving one son behind him, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. But, he being an infant at the time of his father's death, was incapable of governing the kingdom; and therefore Eumenes chose to put his brother Attalus into

^r Ponx. legat. civ. Liv. dubi supra.

the present possession of the crown, reserving the next succession to his son⁴ (K).

Attalus. Attalus was scarce seated on the throne, when *Prusias*, Year of king of *Bithynia*, surnamed the *Hunter*, invaded, upon what the flood provocation we know not, his dominions, and committing 2189. every-where most dreadful ravages, advanced to the very Bef. Chr. walls of *Pergamus*, overthrew *Attalus* in a pitched battle, 159. and made himself master of the capital of his kingdom. He expected to have found Attalus in the city, but that prince having saved himself by a timely retreat, Prusias Reduced to vented his rage upon the unhappy citizens, putting a great great number of them to the sword, and setting fire to their straits by houses⁵. Hereupon *Attalus* dispatched embassadors to *Italy*, *Prusias* to lay before the *Roman* senate the condition to which the king of Bi-kingdom of *Pergamus* was reduced. But *Nicomedes*, the *thynia*. son of *Prusias*, who was then at *Rome* for his education, answered the complaints that were made against his father, and even returned them against *Attalus*, as if he had been the aggressor. However, two commissioners were sent into the east, to put an end to the disputes of the two kings on the spot: But *Prusias*, without paying them the least deference, continued ravaging the territories of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* therefore, taking the advantage of the return of one of the embassadors, sent his Brother *Athenaeus* with him to make new complaints to the senate. As he advanced nothing but what was confirmed by their own embassador, the senators were at last convinced that *Prusias* was the aggressor, and therefore sent him forthwith orders to withdraw his forces from the territories of *Attalus*. But *Prusias*, under various pretences, pursued the war for the space of three whole years, and reduced the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a most deplorable condition. At length he pretended to be ready to obey the decrees of the senate, and desired a conference with *Attalus*. At his request it was agreed, that the contending princes should meet on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, each attended by a guard of a thousand men, in

⁴ POLYB. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in apophthegm. STRAB. l. xiii. p. 624. ⁵ DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VALES. p. 169, 170, 337. SUID. in voce *Prusias*.

(K) *Suidas* calls him the greatest and most powerful king of his time. We have elsewhere made mention of his famous library at *Pergamus*, wherein were lodged two hundred thousand choisen books, all collected by himself. Theſt Marc Antony afterwards bestowed upon Cleopatra, by whose order they were carried from *Pergamus* to *Alexandria*.

order to put an end to their differences in the presence of the *Roman* envoys. But *Prusias*, who had no other view in *Treachery* than to seize *Attalus*, marched his whole army to the *frontiers* of *Prusias*, and concealing his troops behind the neighbouring hills, gave them orders to surround the *Romans* and *Pergamenses*, as soon as they should appear. But *Attalus* and the *Romans*, having timely notice of his design, saved themselves by flight before the *Bithynian* forces could put the king's orders in execution. *Prusias* followed them to *Pergamus*, after he had plundered the baggage of the ambassadors; and then marched to *Elæa*, a maritime city of *Aeolis*, hoping to surprise it. But as the place was well garrisoned, and stored with all sorts of provisions, he did not think it adviseable to attempt the reduction of it. He therefore sent back his land-forces to *Bithynia*, and embarking on board his fleet set sail for *Thyatira*.

THE senate being, upon the return of their ambassadors, informed of these proceedings, were highly provoked against *Prusias*; but, however, instead of declaring war against one who had affronted their ambassadors, and despised their orders, they contented themselves with sending ten commissioners, whose number at least might make some impression on the *Bithynian*. Among these were *L. Anicius*, *C. Fannius*, and *C. Fabius Maximus*. Their instructions were to put an end to this war, to oblige *Prusias* to satisfy *Attalus* for the damages he had suffered by it, and to break off the alliance of the republic with the *Bithynian*, in case he did not acquiesce to the decree of the senate¹. In the mean time *Attalus*, having got together a considerable army, (for both *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, sent him underhand powerful supplies) took the field, and meeting the *Roman* ambassadors at *Quada*, marched directly against *Prusias*, who was advancing towards the frontiers of *Pergamus*, at the head of a numerous army. The two kings, at the request of the ambassadors, came to a conference in a place equally distant from both camps. The two *Prusias*, by many shifts and evasions, endeavoured to amuse the ambassadors; but they at length exerting themselves, told him, that he must either comply with the decree of the senate, or be declared an enemy to the republic; and accordingly, as he still persisted obstinate and untractable, they solemnly renounced the alliance and amity which had been between him and *Rome*. *Prusias* endeavoured to gain them by promises and submissions; but they were inflexible, and after

¹ Polyb. legat. cxxviii.

¹ Polyb. legat. cxxii.

having exhorted *Attalus* to continue on the defensive, dispersed themselves in the several states of *Aisa*, to assemble forces against the king of *Bithynia*. *Rhodes*, *Cyzicum*, and many other maritime cities, fitted out ships, and sent them to the assistance of *Attalus*; who having, out of these reinforcements, formed a fleet of eighty gallies, gave the command of it to his brother *Athenaeus*, with orders to ravage the coasts of *Bithynia*; which he did accordingly, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off an immense booty. *Prusias* finding he could not hold out against the storm that threatened him, submitted to the decree of the senate, and accepted the terms which *Rome* sent him by three new ambassadors, *Appius Claudius*, *Lucius Oppius*, and *Aulus Posthumius*. The terms were, that he should forthwith deliver up to *Attalus* twenty ships with decks; that he should pay five hundred talents within the space of twenty years; that both of them should be contented with what they had before the breaking out of the war; and lastly, that *Prusias* should pay the *Methymneans*, *Egeans*, *Cumæi*, and *Heracleats*, an hundred talents, by way of reparation for the damages he had done them. These conditions being agreed on, and signed by the contending parties, *Attalus* returned to *Pergamus* with all his sea and land-forces, and *Prusias* into *Bithynia*, after having evacuated all the cities and strong-holds which he had taken during the war^u.

Attalus being thus, by the assistance of the *Romans*, delivered from so dangerous a war, sent his nephew, the son of *Eumenes*, named also *Attalus*, to thank the senate for their kind offices, and to renew the friendship and alliance which had been formerly between his father and the people of *Rome*. Young *Attalus* was received by the senate with all possible marks of distinction, the antient treaties with his father were renewed, and he, loaded with presents, sent back to his uncle; all the cities of *Greece*, through which he was to pass, being ordered to receive and treat him in a manner suitable to his condition^x.

Prusias having discharged part of the sum which he was to pay to *Attalus*, hoped, by the interest of his son *Nicomedes*, who resided at *Rome*, and was in great favour with the senate, to prevail upon the senators to forgive the remainder. With this view he sent one *Menas*, a chief-lord of his court, to *Rome*, in quality of ambassador; his instructions were, to make use of *Nicomedes's* interest to gain his point; and in

* POLYB. legat. cxxxvi, cxxxvii. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 173.

^x Idem legat. cxi.

case he did not succeed, to dispatch *Nicomedes*, of whose great interest at *Rome* he began to be jealous. For the more easy execution of this wicked design, he commanded two thousand men to embarque with his ambassador; an extraordinary guard, but necessary to facilitate the escape of *Menas* after the assassination, and protect him after his return into *Bithynia*. *Menas*, on his arrival at *Rome*, employed *Nicomedes* to use his best offices with the senate; but *Andronicus*, the ambassador of the king of *Pergamus*, pleaded his master's cause so well, that the former decree of the senate was confirmed. What therefore remained was, to put the barbarous orders of *Prusias* in execution, and murder *Nicomedes*. But upon the makes an attempt as the young prince was greatly beloved at *Rome*, it seemed life of his dangerous to *Menas*, notwithstanding the numerous guard, son *Nicomedes*, which he concealed on board his ships, to make any attempt upon his life in the sight of the senate. After he had been long in suspense, not knowing what to do he resolved at last to communicate to the son his father's design, and to turn the plot against the author and contriver of it. Accordingly *Menas* discovered to him his private instructions, and at his request imparted the whole matter to *Andronicus* the *Pergamian* ambassador, who obtained leave of his master to transport *Nicomedes* into *Asia* on board his ship, that prince promising to take him under his protection, and support him against his father, who was no less intolerable to his neighbours, than to his own subjects.

THE two ambassadors sailed from *Ostia* much about the same time, and arrived, as it had been agreed on beforehand, at *Berenice*, a small city on the coast of *Epirus*. There they both landed their men, under pretence of refreshing them after the voyage, and met privately to consult together with *Nicomedes*, about the measures that might seem most proper for the execution of their design. The next morning *Nicomedes*, as it had been concerted the night before, went ashore in a purple robe, with the royal diadem on his head, claimed and a sceptre in his hand. Hereupon *Andronicus*, with an ^{king of} hundred men he had with him, saluted and proclaimed him *Bithynia*. *Menas*, pretending to be surprised at this step, assembled in great haste his two thousand *Bithynians*, and, in an artful speech, exhorted them to side with that party which was most likely to prevail, insinuating, at the same time, that *Prusias* was generally hated, and *Nicomedes* beloved, not only by the *Bithynians*, but by the *Romans*, and the subjects of the king of *Pergamus*, who were ready to assist him to the utmost of their power. Having ended his speech, he observed in the countenances of his men an unanimous

unanimous determination to adhere to the young prince; whereupon, seconding their inclination, he immediately joined the troops of *Andronicus*, and saluted *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. After great shouts, and repeated acclamations, they all re-imbarked, set sail, and landed in a port of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* received young *Nicomedes* with great joy, and immediately dispatched messengers to *Prusias*, requiring him to deliver up some provinces to his son, and fix certain revenues on him for his subsistence. To this demand the old king proudly answered, that *Nicomedes* should soon have the whole kingdom of *Pergamus* assigned to him.

Attalus encourages Nicomedes to make war upon his father. **BUT** notwithstanding this haughty answer, he forthwith sent ambassadors to *Rome*, desiring the senate to send commissioners into *Bithynia*, and settle matters between him and *Attalus*, in an amicable manner. But in the mean time *Attalus*, having encouraged *Nicomedes* to make war upon his father, by interpreting, in his favour, the answer of an oracle in *Epirus*, as if the god promised the young prince the kingdom of *Bithynia* ²; took the field; and, entering with *Nicomedes* the dominions of *Prusias*, was every-where received with great joy, and loud acclamations. The king, not daring to trust his *Bithynians*, had recourse to *Diegyles*, one of the petty sovereigns of *Thrace*, whose daughter he had married for his second wife. But all the succours that prince could spare him were only five hundred men. With these he shut himself up in the city of *Nice*; but observing that the citizens were ready to revolt, and only waited for the arrival of *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*, he left that place, and took refuge in *Nicomedia*, which he thought strong enough to endure a long siege, not doubting but in the mean time ambassadors would arrive from *Rome*, and by the interposition of their authority, and good offices, make up matters between him and his son ¹. But he was herein greatly disappointed; for though his ambassadors, on their arrival at *Rome*, desired an audience of the senate without delay, yet the prætor, to favour *Attalus*, put it off under various pretences from day to day. At length he presented them to the conscript fathers, and being ordered to appoint three ambassadors to be sent into *Bithynia*, he made choice of such as were no ways qualified for that commission; for they were men of no parts, and besides, made a very ridiculous figure, one of them being strangely disfigured with scars, the other lame, and the third a mere

¹ *Appian.* in *Mithridatic.* p. 174, 175.
l. ii.

² *Appian.* *ibid.*

² *Zosim.* *Histor.*

idiot : whence the saying of *Cato*, that the *Bithynian* embassy had neither head, feet, nor understanding ^b. It may be easily imagined, that men of this low figure and character had no great weight in the two courts. *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* made as if they were ready to submit to the authority of the senate ; but the *Bithynians*, tampered with underhand by them, openly declared, that they could no longer bear the tyranny of *Prusias*, and therefore intreated the ambassadors to return to *Rome*, and lay their complaints before the senate, not doubting but they should be able to settle *Nicomedes* on the throne before any new resolutions could be taken by the conscript fathers. The ambassadors were easily prevailed upon to leave *Bithynia*, and return for new instructions to *Rome*.

THEY were no sooner gone, than *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*, at the head of the *Pergamian* troops, advanced to *Nicomedea*, which readily opened its gates to them, and left the old king at his son's mercy. *Prusias* seeing himself thus deserted and Nicomedes betrayed by all, fled for refuge to the temple of *Jupiter*, ^{des, with} But the sanctity of the place could not screen him from the ^{the affi-} violence of his son, who, as he had been brought up at ^{ance of} *Rome*, was tainted with the depravity of manners that pre- ^{Attalus,} vailed there : for he no sooner heard that his father had taken ^{drives his} sanctuary in the temple of *Jupiter*, but he sent thither ^{father} assassins ^{from the} to murder him ^c. (L).

SOON after *Attalus* joined the *Romans* against *Andriscus*, who pretended to be son of *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, and heir to his dominions. This was the last enterprize *Attalus* engaged in ; for *Andriscus* being taken prisoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his sea and land-forces, and gave himself up to an idle and dissolute life, as *Attalus*

^b PLUT. in Cat. Major.
p. 174, 175.

^c APPIAN. in Mithridat, *self up so*
gives him-
an idle and
dissolute

(L) *Diodorus Siculus* (9) tells us, that the unnatural son killed him with his own hand ; *Strabo* (10) charges *Attalus* with the death of *Prusias* ; *Dio Cassius* and *Zonaras* say, that he was assassinated by his own subjects (11) ; but *Livy* (12) divides the guilt of this heinous murder between

Nicomedes and *Attalus*. The ^{life.} *Romans* took no notice of what had passed in *Bithynia*, but treated *Attalus* with the same kindness they had formerly shewn him, and suffered *Nicomedes* to enjoy peacefully the fruit of his wickedness.

(9) *Diodor. Sicul. in Ptoleii Biblioth. cod. 244.* (10) *Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.*
(11) *Dio. Cass. l. xiii. Zonar. l. vi.* (12) *Liv. epitom. lib. 1.*

Plutarch informs us, adding, that *Philopæmen*, one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleasure; insomuch that no body applied to *Attalus*, but to his prime minister *Philopæmen*, for favours or employments, the whole management of affairs being committed to his care alone^a. We have observed above, that *Eumenes* had a son, who, as he was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince, with the crown, was left to *Attalus* the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that *Death* of him not only carefully bred up his pupil, but at his death, *Attalus*, which happened in the eighty-second year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign, left the crown to him, passing by his own children: for he looked upon it as a mere depositum intrusted with him for his nephew, and therefore restored it to him in the next succession; an instance of honesty seldom to be met with, princes being commonly no less solicitous to preserve their crowns for their posterity than for themselves^c (*M*).

Attalus III. *Attalus*, the son of *Eumenes*, was scarce seated on the throne, when he began to act more like a madman, as Year after *Justin* expresses it, than a prince^f. In the first place, he the flood caused most of his relations, and the best friends of his family, 2210. to be inhumanly massacred, charging some of them with the Bef. Chr. death of his mother *Stratonice*, who died in an advanced 138. age, and others, with the murder of his wife *Berenice*; though it was well known, that she died of an incurable His cruel. distemper, and was generally lamented. Many, upon ground- ty. less suspicions, were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In these executions he made use of his mer-

^a PLUT. in apoph. ^e PLUT. ibid. & in lib. περὶ φιλαδέλφιας.

^f JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

(M) He was surnamed *Philadelphia*, from the sincere affection which he had for his brother, whereof we have related a very remarkable instance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleasure in the conversation of learned men, especially of *Lycon*, a native of *Treas*, and a philosopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a

king. He built two cities in Lydia, the one called *Attalia*, from his name, and the other from his surname *Philadelphia*. The author of the first book of the *Maccabees*, mentions him among the allies of the *Roman* people (13); and *Tully* tells us, that he was a constant friend to *Rome*, and sent magnificent presents to *Scipio Aemilianus*, while he lay at the siege of *Numantia* in Spain (14).

(13) *Maccab.* l. i. s. 15.

(14) *Cic.* in orat. pro Deiotaro.

cenaries,

C. VI. *The History of Pergamus.*

cenaries, whom he had hired for this purpose out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations. After he had thus filled the city of *Pergamus*, and the whole kingdom, with blood and slaughter, and in a wild fury cut off the best men in his kingdom, and those who had served his father and uncle with the greatest fidelity, being conscious of the many murders he had committed, and imagining that the manes of his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him, he fell into a deep melancholy, and, confining himself to his palace, put on a mean apparel, let his hair and beard grow, and quite sequestered himself from the rest of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and shut himself up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, sowing it with all sorts of poisonous herbs. These he mixed with wholesome pulse ; and, in his mad fits, sent packets of them to those whom his gloomy temper led him to suspect. In these, and such-like wild extravagancies, he spent the whole time of his reign ; the best commendation of which was its shortness ; for it ended after five years in his death ; which happened in the following manner.

And wild
extrava
ganies.

As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near him, he took a fancy to employ his time in the trade of a founder ; and having undertaken to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the brass, the heat of the sun and furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died the seventh day after, delivering his people from the most cruel and barbarous tyrant that ever swayed a scepter ^{His death.} & (N).

AT

& JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

(N) All the antients speak of him as a madman ; and some writers tell us, that the grief, which he conceived for the death of his mother *Stratonice*, whom he loved with great tenderness, threw him into a deep melancholy, which at length deprived him of his senses. From his tender affection for his mother he was surnamed *Philometor*, and not ironically, as *Zonaras* would have it, as if he had hated,

and even murdered her. *Justin* tells us in express terms (15), that he well deserved that name for the extraordinary affection he always bore her ; and, nevertheless, the above - mentioned author quotes *Justin* to prove what he advances, though diametrically opposite to what we read in that writer. *Lucian* and *Zonaras* accuse this prince of having dispatched his uncle *Attalus* with poison ; but other

(15) *Justin, ibid.*

writer.

Makrs the At his death he left a will, whereby he made the Romans Roman heirs of all his goods; in virtue of this will, the republic people heirs seized on his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and of all his reduced it to a province, which was known by the name of goods. *Asia Propria, or Proper Asia.* Eudemus of Pergamus brought this will to Rome, and there delivered it to Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, together with the deceased king's crown, and purple robes ^b (O).

^b JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. PLUTARCH. in Tiber. Gracch.

writers, without taking notice of any violence used on him, tell us, that he died in the eighty-second year of his age, leaving the crown to his nephew, whom he had brought up with great care. *Vorro* (16) and *Columella* (17) reckon *Attalus Philometor* among those who have wrote of agriculture; and add, that he was skilled in physic, and had a thorough knowlege of simples. Hence some have conjectured, that the physician *Attalus*, mentioned by *Pliny* (18), was the king of *Pergamus*, since that author elsewhere (19) mentions him among those who have wrote of physic.

(O) The words of *Attalus*'s will were, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres es*; Let the people of Rome be the heirs of my goods: These words the senate interpreted as comprehending his kingdom, which they reckoned among the king's goods. But some of the neighbouring princes, namely, *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* (20), looked upon this will as a mere forgery, others were of opinion, that the Romans, allowing it to be genuine, were, in virtue of the above-mentioned words, intitled only to the deceased king's move-

able goods, the kingdom itself belonging, by right of succession, to *Aristonicus*, the only surviving prince of the blood-royal. 'Tis true, he was the natural son of *Eumenes*; but this, according to the custom which obtained among all the eastern princes, did not by any means debar him from the crown, when there were no lawful children to succeed to it. *Horace*, among the Latin writers, seems to insinuate, as *Acron* observes in his notes on that poet, that the Romans were intruders, and not lawful heirs to king *Attalus*, in the following words:

— Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres, regiam occupavi (21).

Nor have I forg'd a royal name,
The throne of *Attalus* to claim.

It is not therefore true, that the kingdom of *Pergamus* belonged, in strict equity, to the Romans, that the republic had an indisputable right of dominion over the Pergamians, that *Aristonicus* had no manner of claim to the kingdom of *Attalus*; as certain modern writers confidently affirm (22.)

(16) *Vario de rustic.* l. i. c. 1.

(17) *Plin.* l. xxiii.

(18) *Idem,* l. viii.

(19) *Horat.* l. ii. Ode 18.

(20) *Sallust.* l. iv. *Historiar.*

(21) *Catrou and Rouille hist.* Rom. l. ii. ad ann. urb. 624.

(22) *Columell. de rustic.* l. i. c. 1.

(23) *Sallust.* l. iv. *Historiar.*

(24) *Catrou and Rouille hist.* Rom. l. ii. ad ann. urb. 624.

BUT *Aristonicus*, the next heir, did not tamely submit to the will which *Attalus* was said to have made. He was the son of *Eumenes*, and brother of *Attalus*, though by another mother, viz. by an *Ephesian* courtesan, the daughter of a musician. As son of *Eumenes*, he laid claim to the crown; and, *Aristonicus* having assembled a considerable army, he put himself in *acus latus* condition to maintain his pretensions. With the assistance *claim to* of a body of *Thracians* and *Phœceans*, whom he took into *the crown*, his service, he made himself master of some strong places, which opened him a way into the heart of the kingdom, where he was joined by great numbers of *Pergamians*, who, being accustomed to a monarchical, dreaded a republican government; and therefore, without minding the birth of their new leader, preferred his authority to that of a foreign *prætor*. Having by this means got together, in a short time, a numerous and powerful army, he besieged the places which were for maintaining the late king's will, and took the cities *And makes* *Samos* and *Colophon* in *Ionia*, and *Myndos* in *Caria*. The *bimself* *master of* other places surrendered upon terms; so that he became, *the whole* without meeting with any considerable opposition, *master kingdom*. ¹ of the whole kingdom ¹.

THIS news was brought to *Rome* about the time the people were to chuse consuls; and among the candidates were two men of great abilities, but whose employments seemed to render them incapable of making war in *Asia*. These were *Licinius Crassus* high-pontiff, and *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, *flamen Martialis*, or, in other words, *high-priest of Mars*. Both obtained the *consulate*, for which they stood, and were both very desirous of leading the armies of the republic into *Asia*, no commission being more profitable than that of commanding in those distant countries; but, after a sharp contest, it was determined in the *comitia*, that *Crassus* might, though *pontifex maximus*, head the armies of the republic in *Asia*; and he was accordingly appointed to dispossess *Aristonicus* of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce it, agreeable ^{sent by the} ^{senate a-} ^{gainst him.} to the late king's will, to a *Roman* province. *Crassus*, notwithstanding the intestine broils which then reigned at *Rome*, immediately set out for *Asia*; but as we find no mention made by historians of troops, fleets, or provisions, sent with the consul, he, without all doubt, took it for granted, that the eastern kings and nations in alliance with *Rome*, would furnish him with sufficient forces on the spot to drive out the usurper.

¹ LIV. I. lix.. VEL. PATRIC. I. ii, c. 4, STRAB. I. xiv. p. 646, FLOR. I. iii, c. 20.

*Is assisted
by the
kings of
Pontus,
Cappa-
dicia, &c.*

*Crassus
defeated,
taken pri-
soner,*

And killed, *deliberation,* *run the consul through,* *and killed him on the spot.* By this means *Aristonicus* was deprived of the pleasure of having a *Roman* consul, and a *pontifex maximus*, in his power: however, the consul's head was carried to the

* STRABO, Ibid. JUSTIN. I. xxxvii. c. 1. EUTROP. I. iv.
enemy's

ON his arrival in *Asia*, he found that neither *Syria* nor *Egypt* were in a condition to lend him any assistance, both those kingdoms being at that time involved in great troubles. The consul therefore had recourse to the kings of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bitynia*, and *Paphlagonia*, who all furnished him with troops; so that he advanced at the head of a numerous army, or rather of four armies, towards the frontiers of the kingdom of *Pergamus* ^k. *Aristonicus* did not care to engage the consul, but retiring as he advanced, suffered him to lay waste the country, in hopes of finding an opportunity of falling upon him unawares; which soon offered; for *Crassus*, who was a man of an avaricious temper, having got together an immense booty, began to retire from the inland parts of the kingdom towards the coast, in order to ship it off for *Italy*; but as the season was far advanced, and the roads almost impassable, the army advanced very slowly; besides, the great number of waggons, loaded with the riches almost of the whole kingdom, retarded their march still more, and frequently occasioned a great confusion in the army; which *Aristonicus* being informed of, lay in wait for the consul in a narrow passageway between steep hills, and there fell upon him when he least expected it. *Crassus*, though thus surprised, might have easily repulsed the enemy, having under his command a very numerous and well-disciplined army; but being wholly intent on preserving the spoils, he unadvisedly thinned the ranks, to put a stronger guard on them; so that the allies, being attacked by *Aristonicus*'s men with great vigour, and in a close body, were intirely routed. In the flight, the consul himself was taken prisoner, by a body of *Thracians*, between *Ælea* and *Myrina*; but, as they were carrying him in triumph to the camp of *Aristonicus*, he began to consider the reproach it would cast both on himself and his republic, if a consul, and a *pontifex maximus*, should become a slave to so despicable an enemy as *Aristonicus*; and, on that consideration, would have laid violent hands on himself, had he not been disarmed; but as he had a rod in his hand to govern the horse on which he was mounted, he struck the soldier, who was nearest to him, so violently with it, that he beat out one of his eyes. Hereupon the *Thracian*, in a transport of rage, drew his sword, and, without further

enemy's camp, and there presented to *Aristonicus*, and exposed to public view ; but his body was honourably buried at *Myrina*, or, as others will have it, at *Smyrna*¹.

WHEN news of this defeat was brought to *Rome*, the tribes promoted two persons to the consulate, who were very unequal in rank ; viz. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, a man of an illustrious family ; and *M. Perpenna*, a soldier of fortune. The *Perpenna* latter was sent into *Asia*, to revenge the death of the consul, *sent into* and put an end to the *Pergamian* war. He appeared unexpectedly in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where he found *Aristo-room. nicus* wholly intent on enjoying the fruits of his victory. Feasts, revels, and entertainments, after the *Asiatic* fashion, took up all his thoughts and time ; but he was soon roused out of his lethargy by the new consul, who having assembled, with incredible expedition, the troops of the allies, came unexpectedly upon him, and having obliged him to venture an engagement, gained a complete victory over him. *Aristonicus*, after the defeat, fled to *Stratonice* (P), where he had no sooner shut himself up, than the conqueror was before the place, which he blocked up on all sides ; and, by that means, without exposing his men to the dangers of an assault, reduced the garrison to such straits, that they delivered both *Aristonicus* the city and their leader into his hands. The philosopher *Blosius* (Q), who had assisted *Aristonicus* with his counsels and during taken.

¹ LIV. l. lix. VEL. PATERC. l. ii. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. ii. FLOR. l. ii. c. 20. JUST. l. xxxvi. c. 4. JUL. OBSEQ. de prodig. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. v. c. 10.

(P) The antient geographers mention three cities in *Asia* by this name. That which is here spoken of stood in *Garia*, and was, according to *Strabo* (23), originally a *Syro-Macedonian* colony. It took its name, as *Stephanus* informs us, from *Stratonice*, the wife of *Antiochus Soter*. The emperor *Adrian*, who rebuilt it, called it from his own name *Adrianopolis*; but in the antient *Topistica*, it retained its old name. *Strabo* (24) mentions another city, bearing this name, in the neighbourhood of mount *Taurus*;

and *Ptolemy* a third, which he places in *Mesopotamia*.

(Q) *Blosius* was a native of *Cume*, and a philosopher of great note. He warmly pressed *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had a great opinion of his integrity and understanding, not to drop his design of passing the famous *Agrarian* law. After the death of his friend *Gracchus*, he was cited to appear before the consul ; and being asked why he had engaged in the party of the seditious tribune ? he boldly answered, Because he thought it the most just.

(23) *Strabo*, l. xiv.

(24) *Idem ibid.*

during the whole course of the war, exhorted him to prefer a voluntary death to a shameful captivity ; and encouraged him to it, by dispatching himself in his presence ; but he, like the other *Asiatic* princes, not having courage enough to lay violent hands upon himself, even in the most calamitous circumstances, suffered himself to be carried to the consul, who kept him in chains to grace his triumph ^m.

IN the mean time, new consuls being created at *Rome*, viz. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *Manius Aquilius*; the latter was appointed to succeed *Perpenna* in *Asia*, and put an end to that war, by reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a *Roman* province. On his arrival, he sent a proud message to *Perpenna*, commanding him to deliver up to him *Aristonicus*, as belonging to his triumph rather than to *Perpenna's*. This order *Perpenna* refused to comply with ; and his refusal was very likely to be attended with bad consequences ; but his death, which happened soon after the arrival of *Aquilius*, decided the question. He had quite exhausted himself in pursuing *Aristonicus*, and hurrying from place to place after him ; however, before his death, he took care to ship off for *Rome* all the treasures of the deceased king ; which was a great disappointment to the consul *Aquilius* ⁿ.

THE *Pergamians*, notwithstanding the captivity of their leader *Aristonicus*, and the signal victory gained by the brave *Perpenna*, still held out against the *Romans* ; the fear of serving a new master, and receiving laws from a foreign re-

^m LIV. STTABO, FLORUS, JUST. OROS. EUTROP. VAL. MAX. ibid. ⁿ STRABO. l. xiv. p. 646. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. v. c. 10.

The consul further inquired, why he went so far as to be his agent ? To this question the philosopher replied, That he did all that lay in his power to serve him, because he deserved to be served and obeyed. Would you then have burnt the capitol, said the consul, if he had ordered you to do it ? Spare his memory, replied *Blosius*, with a surprising confidence ; he was not capable of so black an attempt ; but, if he had given me such an order, I should have certainly put it in

execution, thinking his ordering it a sufficient proof of its being necessary for the publick good (25). The intrepidity of *Blosius* surprized the consul, who found means to rescue him from the punishment which the senate had inflicted on the other friends of the tribune. He afterwards went over into *Asia*, where he assisted *Aristonicus* with his counsels ; and, after having done all the mischief he could to the *Romans*, ended his life in the manner we have related.

Public, keeping the people every-where in arms; so that *Aquilius* was obliged to besiege almost all the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce them one by one. As most of the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus* had no other water but what was brought from far in aqueducts, the consul, provoked at their obstinate resistance, instead of demolishing their aqueducts, as was customary in war, poisoned the springs, and by that means spread death and desolation in the places he besieged (R).

Aquilius having at last reduced the whole kingdom of *Pergamus*, ^{The king-} the *Roman* senate appointed ten commissioners to ^{dom of Per-} resettle it as a prætorian province, and put *Aquilius* at the head ^{gamus re-} of the commission. By them this great state was divided into ^{duced by} several districts, each of them depending on the metropolis, ^{Aquilius} where the *Roman* prætor fixed his residence (S). ^{to a Ro-}
^{man pro-}

As for the unhappy *Aristonicus*, he was led in chains before ^{vince.} the triumphal chariot of *Aquilius*, as appears from the letter ^{Year after} which *Mithridates the Great* wrote to *Arsaces* king of *Par-* the flood ^{2219.} *thia*. The *Romans*, says he, in that letter ^{o,} forging a will, ^{2219.} whereby *Attalus* bequeathed to them his kingdom, led *Aristo-* ^{Bef. Chr.} *nicus*, the son of *Eumenes*, in triumph, for attempting to ^{129.} recover, by force of arms, his father's kingdom; which happened three years after the intire reduction of the *Perga-* ^{129.} *miden* kingdom (T).

Rome.

• *SALLUST.* *historiar.* I. iv.

(R) All the antient declare their detestation of this perfidious and inhuman way of waging war, condemning it as a most notorious infraction of the law of nature; but *Rome*, it seems, was not so much offended at it, since she suffered the cruel *Aquilius*, who practised it, to govern the kingdom of *Pergamus*, in quality of proconsul, for three whole years after his consulship was expired (26).

(S) The whole province comprehended *Lydia*, *Caria*, the *Heli-* ^{lephant}, and the two *Phrygias*. Some of these countries were be-
frowned on the four kings who helped to conquer them. *Ly-*

caonia and *Cilicia* were given to the sons of *Ariarathes*, who was killed in this war. *Phrygia Major* or the Greater *Phrygia*, was, according to *Justin* (27), conferred upon *Mithridates Euergetes* by the senate; according to *Appian* (28), sold to that prince by *Aquilius* for a considerable sum of money, which the king paid on the spot. However that be, it is certain, that, after the death of *Mithridates*, the senate took *Phrygia* from his son in his minority, and declared it a free and independent state.

(T) *Velleius Paterculus* tells us likewise, that he was led in triumph by *Manius Aquilius*, and

(26) *Flor.* I. ii. c. 20.

(27) *Justin.* I. xxxviii. c. 5.

(28) *Appian*, in

Mithridat. p. 177 & 208. & *de bell. civil.* p. 362, 363. *Justin*, *ibid.* *Strabo*,

L. xliii. p. 624. *Ogil.* xiv. p. 646.

afterwards

The History of Pergamus.

Rome having thus reduced the kingdom of Attalus to a province, maintained from this time a perpetual intercourse with the Asiatics; and hence that inundation of vices of all kinds, which over-ran the whole state. The republic gained indeed a considerable increase of power and riches by this new conquest; but she paid dear for it in that universal degradation of manners which it introduced. Rome, says Justin ^P, gave law to Asia; but Asia, in her turn, revenged herself on Rome, by teaching the Romans refinements in debauchery, and profuseness in entertainments and furniture. (U).

P JUSTIN. ibid.

afterwards beheaded (29). Strabo says, that, after the triumph, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled by an order from the senate (30); and, with him agree Eutropius (31) and Orosius (32). It is therefore surprising, that certain modern writers (33), in opposition to these glaring authorities, should tell us, that Aristonice died before Aquilius's triumph, which happened three years after the entire reduction of the Pergamian kingdom.

(U) Pliny looks on the conquest of Pergamus, as the origin of the many disorders which afterwards prevailed in Rome. "With the wealth of Pergamus, says he, debauchery, effeminacy, luxury, and all kinds of vices, came in crowds to Rome, and overwhelmed the capital of the world. Modesty and innocence were no longer counte-

nanced in a city given up to the pleasures and delights of Asia. The citizens, dazzled with the splendor of the rich moveables that were strewn them, began to be ashamed of their ancient simplicity. They piqued themselves on knowing how to value what their ancestors took pride in despising. They rivaled one another in the richness of their dress, in the furniture of their houses, and expence of their tables. Thus Asia, when subdued, had her full revenge on us, by bringing our city under a much worse yoke, that of effeminacy." Thus far Pliny (34), whose testimony is confirmed by Florus, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Juvenal, and all the other writers, who make any mention of the general dissolution of manners, which at this date began to reign, without restraint, at Rome.

(29) Vell. Patr. l. ii. c. 4. (30) Strabo, l. xiv. p. 546. (31)
l. iv. (32) Oros. l. v. c. 10. (33) Tacron & Rutil. His. Rom. l. II. ag
ann. urb. 624. (34) Plin. l. v. c. 7. & l. xxiii. c. 11.

THE HISTORY OF Thrace.

BY A. P. WH.

THE HISTORY of Thrace.

This country frequently mentioned by the Greek Name, *sic*, and Latin historians, derives its name, according to some writers, from *Thras* the son of *Mars*; according to others, from the barrenness of the soil, or the barbarity of the inhabitants; the Greek original bearing either of these significations.^a *Tlepheus*, whose opinion seems to us the most probable, thinks it was called *Thrace* and *Thracia*, from *Thras* the son of *Japhet*, who first peopled this country; for in his time it still retained the names of *Thyras*, *Thyrcia*, and *Thracia*; which, with a very small alteration, were changed into *Thracia* and *Thrace*.^b His opinion is confirmed by *Iudorius*^c, St. *Jerom*^d, *Zonaras*^e, and most of the ecclesiastic writers; who tell us, that *Thracia* was first called *Thyrcia*, from *Thras*, whose descendants first inhabited the large provinces comprehended under that name. It was bounded on the north by mount *Hæmus*; on the south by the *Aegean* sea; on the east by the *Euxine* sea, the *Hellespont*, and the *Propontis*; and on the west by *Macedonia* and the river *Strymon*^f. Some of the ancient geographers extend the bounds of *Thrace* far beyond the river *Strymon* and mount *Hæmus*. *Pliny* carries its frontiers to the *Ister* or *Danube*; *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum*^g, and *Herodotus*^h calls it the largest country in the world, except *India*.

Cities of note on the *Aegean* sea were, *Oesyma*, *Neapolis*, *Cities* *Topiris* or *Toperus*, all three placed by *Stephanus*, *Pliny*, and *Pomponius Mela*, between the rivers *Strymon*, and *Nestus* or *Nessus*; *Datus*, on the eastern bank of that river; and near it *Abdera*, antiently one of the most famous cities of *Thrace*. *Mela* tells us, that *Abdera* was founded by the sister of *Diomedes*, but *Stephanus* makes *Heracles* the founder of it, and adds, that he gave it the name of *Abdera*, in memory of *Abderus*, one of his companions, who was devoured by the famous, or rather fabulous, horses of *Diomedes*. In process of time, a colony of *Clazomenians* settled there; whence the city is by some writers called also *Clazomenæ*. The *Clazomenians* were driven out by the natives, who suffered the

^a *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 443. *PLINY*, l. v. c. 11. ^b *JOSEPH. antiqu.*
^c *IUDOR. de origin. l. ix.* ^d *HIERONYM. de
quint. Hieron.* ^e *ZONAR. l. iv.* ^f *POMP. MELA,*
l. xi. c. 11. ^g *PROTOMÆDUS.*, l. iii. c. 11. ^h *PLIN. l. iv. c. 11.*
ⁱ *APPIAN. in Syriæ.* ^j *HERODOT. l. v. c. 3.*

Tetians to live peaceably in *Abdera*, and other places of *Thrace*, after they had been driven out of their own country by *Cyrus the Great*; and hence *Abdera* is called by *Strabo*^k, and other writers, a colony of the *Tetians* (A).

THIS city is now generally known by the name of *Polyfilo*, tho' *Niger* calls it *Aasperosa*, and *Nardus Astrizza*. Near *Abdera*, were the famous gold and silver mines, spoken of by *Plutarch*^l, *Thucydides*, *Antianus Marcellinus*, and most of the ancient historians and geographers. The place was called *Scaptesyle*. *Stephanus* says it was a small town, and places it over-against the island of *Thasus*. Here *Thucydides*, as *Plutarch* informs us^m, wrote the history of the *Peloponnesian war*, his wife being a native of that place, as we read in *Marcellinus*ⁿ. On the same coast of the *Ægean sea*, were the cities of *Dicæa*, *Tirida*, *Ismaros*, *Styma*, *Maronea*, and *Ænos*. The two last places were conquered by *Philip* the father of *Perseus*, and upon the defeat of the latter by the *Romans*, promised by that republic to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*; but afterwards, for political reasons, declared by the senate free and independent^o. On the *Propontis* were the cities of *Macrontichos*, *Bisanthe*, *Ganos*, *Arzus*, *Perinthus*, called afterwards *Heraclea*, *Selymbria*, and *Bitynia*. On the *Thracian Bosporus*, *Byzantium*, and the port of *Daphne*. On the *Euxine sea*, *Phinopolis*, *Phrygia*, *Philea*, *Aulæum*, *Apollonia*, *Anchialus*, and *Mesembria*. *Byzantium*, now known by the name of *Constantinople*, was founded, according to *Eusebius*^p, about the XXXth *Olympiad*, while *Tullus Hostilius* reigned at *Rome* (B). *Perinthus*

^k STRAB. l. xiv. p. 443.
de exilio. ^l MARCEL. in vita Thucyd.
c. 31. POLYB. l. v. c. 34.

^m PLUT. in Cim. ⁿ Idem.
LIV. l. xxxi.
^o EUSEB. in chron.

(A) The *Abderitani* were looked upon by the ancients as a dull, stupid people; but, nevertheless, their city gave birth to some great men, namely, to *Protagoras*, and the famous *Democritus*. This made *Juvenal* say, in speaking of the latter,

*Cujus prudentia monstrat
Summos posse viros, & magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patria, crastoque sub aere nasci* (1).

(B) But *Diodorus Siculus* will have the foundations of this city to have been laid in the time of the *Argonauts*, by one *Byzas*, who then reigned in the neig-

bouring country, and from whose name the city was called *Byzantium* (2). This *Byzas*, if *Eustathius* is to be credited (3), arrived in *Thrace* a little before

(1) *Juvenal. satir. x.* (2) *Diodor. Sicul. l. v.* (3) *Eustath. in Dionys. the*

C. VII. The History of Thrace.

51

Perinthus, was founded, according to *Stephanus*, by a companion of *Hercules*, bearing that name, and afterwards called *Heraclea*, from *Hercules*, who conquered it (C).

This city maintained its liberty against *Philip* the son of *Anymas*, after all the other cities of *Thrace* had submitted to him.

THE inland cities of *Thrace* were, *Gamphorina*, the metropolis of the *Maeotis*; *Pantalia*, the capital of the *Danubetum*; *Uscudama*, the chief city of the *Bessi*; *Philippopolis*, built by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, near the *Hebrus*; *Nicopolis*, founded by *Trajan* on the banks of the *Nestus*; *Mulolitum*, standing between the *Nestus* and the *Hebrus*; *Tempyrum*, mentioned by *Ovid* ¹ as situated on the banks of the *Hebrus*; *Adrianopolis*, built by *Adrian*, between the *Hebrus* and mount *Rhodope*; and *Plotinopolis*, so called from the wife of *Trajan*; that emperor having founded it.

THE mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of, are *Hæmus*, the highest of all the mountains in *Thrace*, and parting it from *Lower Mysia* to the north; *Rhodope*, the highest after that of *Hæmus*, and famous among the poets for the fate of *Orpheus*; *Pangaus*, separating

Mountains
and rivers.

¹ OVID. trist. l. i. eleg. 9.

the *Argonauts* came into those seas, and settled there with a colony of *Megarenses*. *Velleius Paterculus* ascribes the glory of founding this great metropolis to the *Mileians* (4), and *Ammianus Marcellinus* to the inhabitants of *Attica* (5). Some ancient medals of *Byzantium*, which have reached our times, bear the name and head of *Byzas*, with the prow of a ship on the reverse, probably of that ship which brought him into *Thrace*. *Justin* was greatly mistaken as to the origin and founder of this city, when he wrote, that *Pausanias* king of *Lacedæmon* built it; since it is certain, that *Pausanias* took it from the *Perians*, who had made themselves masters of it

had ever set foot it *Asia* (6). It underwent many revolutions, having been sometimes subject to the *Perians*, sometimes to the *Lacedæmonians*, and sometimes to the *Atbenians*. It is not without reason that the situation of *Byzantium* was looked upon by the ancients as the most pleasant, and also the most convenient for trade, of any in the world; but we shall have occasion hereafter to speak of it more at length.

(C) *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that it was built by *Hercules*; but *Marcius* of *Heraclea* will have it to be a colony of *Samians*. *Eusebius* says it was founded in the XLIVth Olympiad, which was many years after the time of *Hercules*.

(4) Vd. *Patri.* l. ii.
Herculis, l. iv.

(5) *Ammian. Marci.* l. iii.

(6) *Thucyd.* l. iii.

Thrace from Macedon ; and *Orbelus*, not far from the river *Nestus*. *Hæmus* and *Rhodope* are two long chains of mountain, running almost in a parallel line from the confines of *Macedon* to the *Euxine* sea. *Pomponius Mela* tells us, that, from one of the summits of mount *Hæmus*, one may discover the *Euxine* on one side, and the *Adriatic* on the other¹ ; but herein he was certainly mistaken. The rivers of note are, the *Hebrus*, which springs from mount *Hæmus*, and, watering the territories of *Philippopolis*, *Adrianopolis*, *Plotinopolis*, and *Trajanopolis*, discharges itself by two mouths into the *Ægæan* sea, over-against the island of *Samothrace* ; the *Strymon*, which rises on mount *Pangeus*, on the borders of *Macedon*, and falls into the same sea between *Amphipolis* and *Oesyma* ; the *Nessus* or *Nestus*, springing from mount *Rhodope*, and disemboguing itself into the sea over-against the island of *Thasus* ; the *Melas*, the *Arzus*, the *Panyus* ; the first emptying itself into the *Ægæan*, the second into the *Propontis*, and the third into the *Euxine* sea².

The Thracian Chersonesus is a peninsula, inclosed on the cian *Cher-south* by the *Ægæan* sea, on the west by the gulf of *Melas*, *sonesus*. and on the east by the *Hellespont*, being joined on the north to the continent by a neck of land about thirty-seven furlongs broad. It contained the following cities, *Cardia*, *Agdra*, *Panormus*, *Alopeconnesus*, *Elæus*, *Sestos*, *Madytos*, *Cissa*, *Callipolis*, *Lysimachia*, and *Pætyle*. *Cardia* was situated on the gulf of *Melas*, at the entrance into the peninsula, and so called, according to *Pliny*³, from its being built in the form of an heart. *Agora*, *Panormus*, and *Alopeconnesus*, stood on the same gulf ; the latter was so called, from the great number of foxes which infested its territory. *Pliny*⁴, misled by the name, which signifies in the original Greek, the *island of foxes*, took it to be an island ; but all the other geographers speak of it as standing on the *Chersonesus*. *Elæus* stood on the coast of the *Hellespont* over-against cape *Mastusia*, now *Capo Græco*. *Callipolis*, now *Gallipoli*, is placed by *Strabo* and *Pliny* on the coast of the *Propontis*, near the northern mouth of the *Hellespont*. It gives its name to the famous straits which divide *Europe* from *Asia*. Of *Sestos* and *Lysimachia* we have spoken in the histories of *Perisia* and *Syria*. As for the other cities of the *Chersonesus*, they contain nothing worthy notice.

The inland parts of Thrace are very cold and barren, the snow lying on the mountains the greatest part of the year ;

¹ POMP. MELA. l. xi. c. 12. ² Vide POMP. MELAM, ibid.
PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. STRAB. l. vii. p. 220. ³ PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ⁴ PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

but

but the maritime provinces are productive of all sorts of grain, and necessaries for life; and withal so pleasant, that *Mela* compares them to the most fruitful and agreeable countries of *Asia* ^v.

THE antient *Thracians* were deemed a brave and warlike *Manners*, nation; but of a cruel and savage temper; being, generally *religion* speaking, quite strangers to all humanity and good-nature. &c. In point of *religion*, they scarce differed from the *Macedonians*, their neighbours, adoring *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Diana*, *Bacchus*, and more especially *Mars*, and *Hermes* or *Mercury*, by whose name alone their kings used to swear, pretending to be descended from him ^x. *Herodotus* gives us the following account of their customs and manners: When a child is born, his relations, sitting round him in a circle, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he must suffer in the course of his life, enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind; but, when any one dies, they inter him with great rejoicing, repeating the miseries he has exchanged for a complete happiness. Among the *Cresonianians*, who inhabit the mountainous parts of *Thrace*, each man has many wives; who, at his death, contend warmly, being supported by their several friends, who shall be accounted to have been the most dear to the husband. In the end, she who is adjudged to have merited that honour, after having received great commendations, both from the men and women, is killed upon the grave by the nearest of her relations, and buried in the same tomb with her husband; which is a great mortification to the rest, they being ever after looked upon by all with the utmost contempt ^y. The *Thracians* in general, as our historian tells us, sell their children, and take no care of their daughters, suffering them to live with whom, and in what manner they please; nevertheless they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their relations at a very great rate. To be marked on the forehead, is honourable; and a man, without such marks, is accounted ignoble. Idleness is esteemed an appendage of greatness: husbandry is looked upon as unbecoming; and to subsist by war and rapine, highly glorious. The funerals of eminent persons among them are celebrated in the following manner: they expose the dead body to public view for three days; during which time they perform their lamentations, and sacrifice to the infernal gods various sorts of animals. When the sacrifices are over, they either burn the body, or bury it

^v *POMP. MELA*, *ibid.*

^x *HERODOT.* I. v. c. 3, 4, & seq.

^y *Idem ibid.*

in the ground ; and, having thrown up a mound of earth on the grave, they apply themselves to feasting, and celebrate all manner of combats and sports round the place ^a.

*Govern-
ment and
inhabit-
ants.* *Thrace* was antiently divided into numberless kingdoms, quite independent of each other. *Herodotus* tells us, that if the *Thracians* had been either under the government of one prince, or unanimous in their counsels, they would have been the most powerful nation in the world : but that they were no-way formidable, being divided, as it were, into many different nations, and ever at variance among themselves ^b. These different nations were the *Dolonci*, *Denseletæ*, *Bessi*, *Bisones*, *Odomantes*, *Cicones*, *Edoni*, *Brygi*, *Thyni*, *Pieres*, *Odrysæ*, *Autonomi*, *Crabyzi*, *Mædi*, *Sapæi*, and *Dolonci. Celotæ*. The *Dolonci* were so called from *Dolonus*, one of their kings ; who, according to *Eustatius*, first introduced polygamy among them ^c. At the time of *Darius's* expedition into *Greece*, they were possessed of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and governed by princes of the family of *Mitridates*, who acquired the sovereignty in the manner we have related elsewhere ^d.

*Dense-
letæ.* THE *Denseletæ* are mentioned by *Tully* ^e, *Pliny* ^f, *Strabo* ^g, who calls them *Dentbelitæ*, and *Livy* ^h. All we know of them is, that they had at first a king of their own ; that they were afterwards reduced by the *Macedonians* ; that they assisted the *Romans* against *Philip* and *Perseus* kings of *Macedon*, and continued faithful to *Rome*, till being provoked by the oppressions and cruelties of *Piso*, they took up arms against him, and committed great devastations in the neighbouring countries subject to the *Romans* ⁱ. In the reign of *Augustus*, they were still governed by their own princes ; for we find one *Sitas*, mentioned by *Dion Cassius* ^k, as reigning over them, and making war upon the *Bastarnæ*, whom he entirely defeated with the troops sent to his assistance by *Crassus*, at that time praetor of *Macedon*.

Bessi. THE *Bessi* inhabited mount *Hemus*, living there in huts, and maintaining themselves by plundering their neighbours. They were by far the most savage and inhuman of all the *Thracians*, as appears from *St. Jerom* ^l, *Paulinus of Nola* ^m,

^a HERODOT. l. v. c. 3, 4, & seq. ^a HERODOT. l. v. sub init.
^b EUSTATH. in Dionys. ^c See vol. vi. p. 374, 375, in the notes. ^d CIC. orat. in Pison. ^e PLIN. l. iv. c. 11.

^f STRAB. l. vii. ^g LIV. l. ix. decad. 4. ^h CIC. ibid.

ⁱ DIO CASS. lib. li. ^k HIERON. in epitaph. Nepotiani. ^l PAUL, NOLAN. carm. 17. ad Nicet. ver. 206.

Eutropius ^m, and *Ovid* ⁿ, who make particular mention of their cruelty. Their chief city *Uscudama* is now known by the name of *Aristiopolis*. They lived under their own kings, the neighbouring princes not thinking it worth their while to disturb them, till the consulate of *M. Licinius Lucullus*, and *C. Caecilius Varus*; when the consul *Lucullus* invaded their country; and, having gained a signal victory over them, took their metropolis, and subjected the whole nation to the *Roman* laws ^o. The *Romans*, notwithstanding they had reduced them by force of arms, still suffered them to live under their own kings; for *Piso*, while he governed *Macedon* in quality of proconsul, having treacherously seized *Rabe-*
centus, whom *Suetonius* calls prince of the *Bessi*, caused him to be publicly beheaded; which affront so exasperated the whole nation, that they shook off the *Roman* yoke; but were overthrown in a great battle by *Octavius* the father of *Augustus* ^p. During the civil wars of *Rome*, they attempted anew to recover their liberty; but were again conquered by the famous *M. Brutus* junior ^q. In the reign of *Augustus*, one *Vologæses*, a native of the country, and priest of *Bacchus*, having, under pretence of religion, drawn to himself great crowds of people, made himself master of the whole country; and, entering the *Chersonesus*, committed there most dreadful ravages; but was at last overcome by *L. Piso*, who obliged the savage inhabitants to lay down their arms, and submit to such conditions as he was pleased to impose upon them. From this time the *Bessi* continued subject to the *Romans*, without making any further attempts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty ^r.

THE *Bistones* inhabited that part of *Thrace* which lies between *Rhodope* to the north, the river *Hebrus* to the east, the *Nessus* to the west, and the *Ægæan* sea to the south. Their metropolis *Tinda* is famous among the poets on account of the fabulous horses of *Diomedes* king of this country. The *Bistones* underwent the same fate as the other people of *Thrace*, having been first subdued by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*.

THE *Odontantes* bordered on *Macedon*, being parted from *Odoman* that country by the river *Strymon*. *Pliny* confounds them with the *Odrysæ* ^s; but *Thucydides* speaks of them as a distinct people ^t. *Suidas*, upon the authority of *Aristophanes*,

^m EUTROP. l. vi. c. 8.

ⁿ OVID. trist. l. iv. eleg. i.

^o EUTROP. ibid. OROS. l. vi. c. 3. Hist. miscel. l. vi. FLOR. in epit. l. xcviij. ^p SUET. in Octav.

^q DIO CASS. l. xvii.

^r DIO CASS. lib. liv. FLOR. l. iv. c. 12.

^s THUCYD. l. ii.

^t PLIN. l. iv. c. 11.

tells us, that they used circumcision. In the time of the Peloponnesian war they were governed by *Polles*; the only king of the *Odomantes* we find mentioned in history; who, in that war, sided with the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides*^a.

Cicones.

THE *Cicones* inhabited the country lying between the *Hbrus* and the *Melas*, and are mentioned by *Homer*^b, *Virgil*^c, *Ovid*^d, and *Pliny*^e. The city of *Aenae*, famous on account of the tomb of *Polydorus*, was their capital. *Homer* speaks of three of their kings, to wit, *Pirous*, *Imbrasus*, and *Rhigmus*. *Pirous*, if that poet is to be credited, espoused the cause of the *Trojans*, and was killed by *Thoas the Etolian*^f. *Rhigmus*, his son and successor, was killed in the same war by *Achilles*^g.

Edoni.

THE *Edoni*, or *Edones*, possessed that country which lay between the *Strymon* and the famous city of *Philippi*; and are mentioned by *Herodotus*^h, *Thucydides*ⁱ, *Pliny*^j, &c. *Thamyris*, the celebrated musician, was a native of this country. He is said to have been the disciple of *Linus*, and contemporary with *Hercules* and *Orpheus*. He was so eminent for his skill in music, that he had the confidence to challenge the muses themselves, by whom he was overcome, and deprived both of his art and sight^k. The *Edoni* were governed by kings, like the other *Thracian* nations. The following princes are mentioned by the antients; *Dryas* I. *Lycurgus*, *Dryas* II. and *Pittacus*. *Dryas* is mentioned by *Apollodorus*^l and *Ovid*^m; *Lycurgus* by *Virgil*ⁿ, *Apollodorus*^k, *Hyginus*^o, and *Diodorus Siculus*^p; who tells us, that he made war with *Bacchus*. *Dryas* II. was killed, according to *Apollodorus* and *Hyginus*^q, by his father *Lycurgus*. *Pittacus* lived in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and was murdered, as *Thucydides* informs us^r, by the children of *Goaxes*, another petty prince of *Thrace*.

Brygi.

ALL we know of the *Brygi* is, that they were subdued by *Mardonius*, and served under *Xerxes*, when he invaded *Greece*^s. Of the *Thyni* we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the *Bithynians*. *Pieres* first inhabited part of *Macedon*, where they consecrated the muses, from them called *Pierides*, the countries of *Piturus*, *Liberetus*, and *Pimplia*, as they did also

^a THUCYD. I. v. ^b HOMER. Iliad. β'. ^c VIRG. georg. I. iv. ^d OVID. metam. x. ^e PLIN. I. IV. c. 14. ^f HOMER, Iliad. β' & α'. ^g IDEM, Iliad. v. ^h HERODOT. I. V. c. 11. & 124. & I. vii. c. 110. 114. & I. ix. c. 74. ⁱ THUCYD. I. V. c. PLIN. I. IV. c. 11. ^j Vide HOMER. Iliad. β. PLATO. dialog viii. de legib. DIONOR. SICUL. I. iii. c. ult. PAUSAN. in Atticis, & NATAL. COM. I. vi. c. 14. ^k APOLLODOR. I. iii. OVID. in Ibin. ^l VIRG. Aeneid. iii. ^m APOLLODOR. ibid. ⁿ HYGIN. fab. 132. ^o DIODOR. SICUL. I. vii. c. 5. ^p APOLLODOR. & HYGIN. ibid. ^q THUCYD. I. IV. P. HERODOT. I. vi. c. 45.

Hellenes in *Bœotia*, having sent some colonies into that country, Being driven out of *Macedon* by the *Temenidae*, they settled under mount *Pangaion*, near the banks of the *Strymon*. Those who had settled in *Bœotia*, were likewise driven from thence; and on this occasion it was that they settled in *Thessaly*, and consecrated mount *Parnassus* to the muses¹. The kings of the *Pieræ*, mentioned by the antiquaries, are, *Atlas*, *Tharops*, and *Oeager*. *Linus* and *Orpheus*, so much celebrated by the poets, were the sons of the latter².

THE *Odrysæ* possessed great part of that country which lies *Odrysæ*, between the mountains of *Haemus* and *Rhodope*, and were by far the most powerful people of all *Thrace*. When this kingdom began is uncertain: *Ovid*³ will have *Eumolpus*, who waged war with *Erechtheus* king of *Athens*, to have been the founder of the kingdom of the *Odrysæ*. However that be, it is certain, that the *Odrysæ* made no figure till the reign of *Teres*, who was contemporary with *Perdiccas II.* king of *Ma-*⁴*Kings of cedon*. He was the son of *Sitalces*, the first king of the *Odrysæ* the *Odrysæ* whom we find mentioned in history. *Sitalces* attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*, and lost his life in that war, as *Sitalces* we read in *Æschylus*⁵. He was succeeded by *Teres* the first, *Teres*, according to *Thucydides*⁶, who raised the kingdom of the *Odrysæ* above the other petty states of *Thrace*; whence he is called by that writer the first king of the *Odrysæ*. He reduced great part of *Thrace*, and made himself formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at last overthrown in a great battle by the *Thyni*. He died in the ninety-second year of his age, having spent most part of his life in waging war with the other kings of *Thrace*⁷; for *Plutarch* tells us, that he used to say, there was no difference between a pacific king and a groom⁸.

He was succeeded by his son *Sitalces*, who entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* against the *Lacedæmonians*, and even delivered up to the former the ambassadors who had been sent to his court from *Sparta*, in order to persuade him to abandon his allies. He received into his kingdom, and entertained with great magnificence, *Scylis* king of the *Scythians*, who had been driven out of his kingdom, for attempting to introduce among his subjects the customs of the *Greeks*; but *Ostamasus*, the banished king's brother, who had been raised to the throne, threatening to invade *Thrace* with a numerous army, unless *Sitalces* delivered up the fugitive prince into his hands, he chose rather to betray his guest, than engage in so dangerous a war.

¹ THUCYD. I. ii. &c. STRABO. I. ix. ² Vide DIODOR. SICUL. I. iii. c. 5. EUSS. de prepar. evang. I. x. c. 2. ³ OVID. I. ii. de Ponto, eleg. 9. ⁴ ÆSCHYL. Persis. ⁵ THUCYD. I. ii. ⁶ THUCYD. I. i. XENOPH. anab. I. vii. ⁷ PLUT. in apoph. ⁸ This

Scuthes.

Amado-

cus.

Mesades.

Scuthes II.

Cotys.

Cherfo-
bleptes.

This prince afterwards made war upon the *Pizonians*, *Mardonians*, and *Chalcedonians*; in which he is said, by *Thucydides*, to have had one hundred and fifty thousand men under his command^y. In all these expeditions he was attended with good success, which struck such terror into the other princes of Thrace, that most of them voluntarily submitted to him; insomuch that, at his death, he was possessed of all those provinces which extend from the city of *Abdera* on the *Aegean* sea, to the mouth of the *Ister*, which discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea^z. *Sitalces* dying without children, left the kingdom to

Scuthes, the son of his brother *Sparadocus*, who, having married *Stratonice* the daughter of *Perdiccas II.* king of *Macedon*, entered into an alliance with that prince, and, being assisted by him, made several new acquisitions, extending the confines of

his dominions even beyond mount *Hermus*^a. *Amadocus* and *Mesades*, the sons of *Scuthes*, succeeded each other in the kingdom; but performed nothing worth mentioning. *Scuthes II.*

Scuthes II. who succeeded his father *Mesades*, subdued the *Tbyni*; joined the *Lacedaemonians* against the *Perfians*; obtained a considerable victory over the *Athenians*, who had made a descent on the coasts of Thrace, &c. But as he was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, to defray the expences of the many wars he was engaged in, the chief lords of his kingdom, entering into a conspiracy against him, drove him from the throne; however, he was afterwards restored by *Iphicrates*, and left the kingdom to *Cotys* the son of *Amadocus*^b. *Cotys* was a most voluptuous prince; but, at the same time, a man of courage and resolution. He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a war with the *Athenians*; and was at last assassinated by *Python* and *Heracidas*, both natives of *Aenos*; who, after the murder, flying to *Athens*, were kindly received by the *Athenians*, made free of their city, and presented with crowns of gold, for having thus delivered them from so troublesome an enemy^c.

Upon his death, his son *Cherobleptes* took possession of the kingdom, which the *Athenians* obliged him to divide with his two brothers *Berisades* and *Amadocus*. The *Chersonesus* he gave up to the *Athenians*, choosing rather to part with that peninsula, than engage in a war against so powerful an enemy. However, he could not avoid coming to a rupture with *Philip* the father of *Alexander*; by whom he was overcome, and stripped of great part of his dominions^d. He died

^y THUCYD. I. ii. * IDEM Ibid. HERODOT. I. iv. c. 80. & vii. c. 137. DIODOR. SICUL. I. xii. ^z THUCYD. Ibid. & I. iv. ^b XENOPH. Ibid. ^c DEMOSTHEN. contra Aristocrat. ATHEN. I. xii. c. 14. ^d DEMOSTHEN. Ibid. POLYAEN. I. vii. ISOCRAT. orat. de pace.

after a reign of eleven years, leaving the kingdom to his son *Scuthes*, who was then an hostage at the court of *Philip* king *Scuthes* of *Macedon*, who immediately sent him home to take possession III. of the throne ; but he was scarce well seated in it, when he fell upon the *Macedonians* who inhabited the countries which had been taken from his father, drove them quite out, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the *Odrysa*. These he held under *Alexander the Great*, whom he assisted against the *Perians* ; but, upon that prince's death, he marched against *Lyfinachus* at the head of twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse ; protesting, that he would not submit to the division which the captains of *Alexander* had made. He engaged *Lyfinachus* twice : in the first battle, no considerable advantage was gained on either side ; but, in the second, *Scuthes* was entirely routed, and his army cut in pieces ^c. He died soon after this overthrow, and was succeeded by his brother *Ariopharnes*, who having, on his *Ariopharnes* accession to the throne, espoused the cause of *Eumelus* against *nes*. *Satyrus* king of *Bosporus*, was by the latter overthrown, with the loss almost of his whole army ^d ; which so grieved him, that he died soon after.

NEXT to him reigned *Scuthes IV.* who, as we read in *Livy*, *Scuthes* was attacked in the heart of his dominions by *Philip* the father IV. of *Perse*, and by that prince reduced to great straits, having lost *Philippopolis*, and several other strong-holds ^e. *Scuthes* was succeeded by *Cotys II.* who joined *Perse* against the *Romans*, *Cotys II.* assisting him with a body of a thousand chosen horse ; but *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* having stirred up against him a neighbouring prince named *Atlesbis*, and sent a body of troops into his dominions, under the command of *Corrabus*, one of his generals, *Cotys* was obliged to leave *Perse*, and hasten to the defence of his own kingdom. As he had ever been faithful to *Perse*, and almost the only ally on whom he could depend, the king of *Macedon* followed him in person, put the *Pergamians* and *Thracians*, who infested his territories, to flight, retook the cities he had lost, and restored tranquillity to his dominions. *Perse*, on his parting with *Cotys* to return to *Macedon*, distributed two hundred talents among the *Thracians*, who had served under him the last campaign ; but as this was only six months pay, whereas he had promised a whole year's, *Cotys*, taking it amiss that his men should be thus defrauded of what was their due, refused to assist him the ensuing year ; and no sooner heard he was defeated and taken by the *Romans*, than

^a ΑΙΓΑΙΩΝ. de fals. Regat. DIODOR. SICUL. I. xviii. CURT. I. xi. ^b DIODOR. SICUL. I. xx. ^c LIV. decad. 5. I. ii. & decad. 4. I. ix.

he sent ambassadors to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the success of their army, and excuse his joining *Perse*. The ambassadors were received very kindly by the senate, and the *Thracian* hostages that had been taken, together with *Perse*, restored to them without ransom ^b. *Cotys* was succeeded by

Diegylis. *Diegylis*, who having led a body of *Thracians* to the assistance of *Prusias*, his son-in-law, was defeated and taken prisoner by *Attalus*¹; and this is all we know of him. *Sotymus*, the son of *Diegylis*, reigned at the time of the social war, or the war between *Rome* and her *Italian* allies. These domestic divisions he improved to his advantage, invading *Greece*, and laying waste *Macedon*; whence he returned with an immense booty; but was at last overcome, and obliged to abandon the countries he had possessed himself of, by *C. Sennius*, prætor of *Macedon*².

Cotys III. *Cotys III.* the son of *Sotymus*, succeeding his father, entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and prevailed upon *Piso*³, proconsul of *Macedon*, by a present of three hundred talents, to put to death *Rabocentus* king of the *Bessi*, and bestow part of his dominions on him. In the civil war of *Rome*, he sent five hundred horse to the assistance of *Pompey*⁴. *Cicero* and *Cæsar* call him *Cottus*; but *Lucan Cotis*^m. His son *Sasales*, after his death, followed the same party, and had great share in the signal victory which was gained over *L. Cassius Longinus*. He distinguished himself in the battle of *Pharsalia*; but, nevertheless, was pardoned by *Cæsar*. He died not long before the battle of *Philippi*, and left his kingdom, as he had no children, to the people of *Rome*; but *M. Brutus* seized it after *Cæsar's* death ^a (D).

Cotys IV. THOUGH he had bequeathed his dominions to the *Romans*, yet *M. Brutus* bestowed them on his brother *Cotys*; who, dying soon after, left them to his son *Rhymetalces*, who being, at his father's death, under-age, was carefully educated, together with his brother *Rhasiporis*, by *Rhymetalces* their uncle by the mother. Both brothers served under *Tiberius* in the *Pan-*

^b LIV. decad. 5. 1. ii. & v. ZONAR. tom. ii. EUTROP. t. iv. OROS. l. iv. c. 20. Hist. miscell. l. iv. ^c STRABO, l. xiii. p. 372. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. ^d OROS. l. v. c. 18. Hist. miscell. l. v. ^e CIC. in PISON. CÆS. de bell. civili l. ii. LUCAN. l. v. ^m CIC. CÆS. LUCAN. ibid. ⁿ DIO, l. xli. & xlvii. CÆS. l. iii. de bell. civili. LUCAN. l. v.

(D) Plutarch tells us, that he was still alive at the time of the battle of *Azium*, and served in that war under *Antony* (7). That

writer calls him *Sadalus*, as does also *Cæsar*; but we have followed *Cæsar*, who gives him the name of *Sasales*.

(7) Plut. in ANTONY.

war, and had a great share in the victories he gained over those barbarians.

UPON the death of *Rhymetalces*, *Augustus* divided his kingdom between *Rhascoporis* his brother, and *Cotys* his son. In *Rhascoporis* partition, the cities and countries bordering upon *Greece* and fell to *Cotys*, and the mountainous and barren provinces to *Cotys* V. *Rhascoporis*; who thereupon, invading his nephew's dominions, seized the most fruitful parts of them for himself. *Cotys*, thus provoked, raised a powerful army; but while the two princes were ready to take the field, *Tiberius*, who had succeeded *Augustus* in the empire, dispatched messengers to them, ordering them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of their differences to the arbitration of the *Roman* people. *Cotys* forthwith dismissed his army; and, at the request of *Rhascoporis*, came to an interview with him; where he was treacherously seized, and loaded with chains, *Rhascoporis* pretending that he had formed a design of seizing him. When news of these proceedings were brought to *Rome*, *Tiberius* dispatched messengers to *Rhascoporis*, injoining him to send *Cotys* to *Rome*, and to appear himself in person before the senate, to give an account of the whole matter; since neither he, nor the senate, could pronounce sentence without hearing the cause. Hereupon *Rhascoporis* caused *Cotys* to be murdered; giving out, that he had laid violent hands on himself. This *Tiberius* feigned to believe; but, however, insisted upon the king's coming to *Rome*; which he refusing to do, *Tiberius* preferred to the government of *Moesia*, which bordered on the country of the *Odrysæ*, *Pomponius Flaccus*, an intimate friend of the king's, who having treacherously drawn him into the *Roman* territories, caused him to be seized, and sent to *Rome*, where he was accused by the wife of *Cotys*; and, being convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, condemned to exile, and sent to *Alexandria*. He was soon after put to death by an order from *Tiberius*, for attempting to fly from the place of his banishment*. This prince is called, by *Dio Cassius*, *Rhascopolis*; by *Tacitus*, *Rhescoporis*; by *Velleius*, *Rhescopalis*.

UPON the banishment of *Rhascoporis*, the kingdom was divided between *Rhymetalces* his son, who had opposed all his Rheme-father's measures, and the sons of *Cotys*. As these were minors, *Trebellenius Rufus* was appointed their guardian, and charged with the administration. The sons of *Cotys* having, by some means or other, displeased the emperor *Caligula*, were by him driven out of their kingdom; which was conferred upon *Rhe-*

* *TACITUS*, annal. l. ii. *SUET.* in *Tiber.* *DIO*, l. xlv.
VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ultim.

metates ; who, by this means, became the sole master of all the countries that had ever belonged to the *Odrysa*¹. From this time we find no mention made of the *Odrysa* till the reign of *Vespasian*, who, as we read in *Stephanius*², reduced their country to a *Roman* province.

The Autonomi. THE *Autonomi*, so called, because every man among them was a law to himself, inhabited the most rocky and barren places of Thrace, being separated from *Mæcia* by mount *Hermus*³. *Herodotus* calls them sometimes *Autonomi*, and sometimes *Seræ*⁴. They were, according to that writer, the most gallant and warlike people of all Thrace. They were not afraid even to engage *Alexander*; and, on that occasion, behaved with extraordinary valour; but their army was cut in pieces, their baggage taken, and their wives and children made prisoners. After this overthrow they submitted to the conqueror; who, to prevent them from revolting in his absence, took along with him into *Asia* all the chief men of their nation⁵. They served under *Perse* against the *Romans*; but, however, were allowed to live according to their own laws till the reign of *Vespasian*, who made their country part of the province of Thrace. The *Crobyzi* possessed that part of Thrace which lay between mount *Hermus* and the *Euxine* sea. They are mentioned by *Herodatus*⁶ and *Athenæus*; the last writer telling us, that they had kings of their own; and, amongst others, one *Istantus*, who was one of the most wealthy and comely princes of his age⁷.

Mædi. THE *Mædi* inhabited that part of Thrace which bordered upon *Macedon*, and are mentioned by most of the antiquits; namely, by *Thucydides*⁸, *Plutarch*⁹, *Vegetius*¹⁰, *Pliny*¹¹, *Livy*¹², *Stephanius*, &c. who all tell us, that they were a brave and gallant nation, strangers to all manner of effeminacy, and incurious to the fatigues of war. Their warlike temper gave occasion to poets to feign, as *Vegetius* observes¹³, that *Mars*, the god of war, was born in their country. However, they were reduced by *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*; but having shaken off the yoke while he was employed against the *Bryanti*, they were anew subdued by his son *Alexander*, who possessed himself of their metropolis, called formerly *Hypocritæ*; but from him *Macedonopolis*¹⁴. But, notwithstanding the great loss they sustained on this occasion, *Alexander* so sooner left *Macedon*,

¹ DIO CASS. lib. ix. TACIT. annal. l. ii. s. 12. ² SERT. in VESPAS. ³ THUCYD. l. i. ⁴ HESIOD. l. viii. s. 119, &c. ⁵ ARRIAN. l. i. PROPTER. l. i. ⁶ HESIOD. l. iv. c. 49. ⁷ ATHEN. l. xii. c. 17. ⁸ THUCYD. l. i. ⁹ PLUT. in ALEX. PAUL. ¹⁰ VEGET. l. i. c. ult. ¹¹ PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ¹² LIV. decad. 3. l. vi. ¹³ VEGET. ibid. ¹⁴ PLUTARCH. in ALEXAND.

they invaded that country now, and penetrated as far as Greece, committing every-where most dreadful ravages ; and then they continued to harass the *Macedonians*, till that kingdom became a Roman province ; when they were at last, after a long war, entirely reduced by the *Romans*, in the consulate of *Cn. Octavius*, and *C. Scribonius*. They had four years before plundered the rich temple of *Delphi* ; and, with part of the booty, bribed *L. Sertorius*, who had been sent against them, to let them depart unmolested, and even to conclude an alliance with them. To this sacrilegious connivance of the *Roman* general *Appian* ascribes the civil wars, and the many calamities which not long after fell upon *Rome*¹.

The country of the *Sapaei* lay between the rivers *Melas* and *Sapaei*. *Araus*, bordering on the gulf of *Midas*, on the *Chersonesus*, and the *Propontis*. The *Sapaei* were governed by their own kings. Those, whose names have reached us, are, *Olorus*, *Timotheus*, *Rhascopolis*, *Rhasius*, and *Cotys*. *Olorus* gave his daughter *Hegefirole* in marriage to *Miltiades*, the second of this name (E).

Timotheus is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as reigning in this part of *Thrace* ; but neither he, nor other writers, give us any account of his actions. *Rhascopolis*, and *Rhasius* reigned many years, or rather ages, after *Olorus* ; that is, in the time of the civil wars between *Caesar* and *Pompey* ; but as to the actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, we are quite in the dark, the works of *Gallienus* and *Socrates*, who wrote a particular and distinct account of the affairs of *Thrace*, as *Plutarch* informs us², having been long since lost. *Rhascopolis* and *Rhasius*, in the civil wars, sided with *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Brutus* ; but being pardoned by *Octavianus*, afflled *Antony* with three thousand horse, till he fell out with *Octavianus*, when they both declared for the latter. *Cotys*

* LIV. decad. 3. l. vi. POLYB. I. x. APPIAN. in Illyric.
† APPIAN. ibid. § PLUT. in parall.

(E) From this *Olorus* was descended the father of *Ibuzides*, the historian, called also *Olorus*, as *Plutarch* informs us (3), but at what time, or on what occasion, he settled at *Atigae*, is uncertain. *Ibuzides* had great possessions, and rich slaves, in *Thracia* (9) ; and although they

sought hayastane to him by his wife, who were natives of *Cappadocia*, no one have affirmed, yet it is mentioned from *Plutarch* (1), *Cicero* (2), and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3), that the great men of this country looked upon him as nearly related to them before his marriage.

(3) Plut. in Cyprian. (9) Thucyd. I. ii. (1) Plut. ibid. (2) Cic. l. u. de orator. (3) Ammian. Marcellinus, l. iii.

was the son of one of these two brothers, and became king of the Thracian Kingdom, and enjoyed it till the latter was slain by *Polydorus*, when he was treacherously murdered by his own subjects, and his kingdom reduced to the status of a province.

Celetæ. THE *Celetæ* inhabited part of mount *Hæmus*, and part of mount *Rhodope*; and are called by *Pliny*¹ the most savage of all *Thracians*. *Livy* tells us, that they fell upon *Cn. Manilius*, as he was returning out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and took from him great part of the booty which he had got by plundering some rich cities of *Gallagrecia*². And this is all we find recorded of them in history.

Kings of the Thracian Chersonesus had likewise its own kings; the Thracians among whom mention is made of *Polymnestor*, *Eusorus*, and *cian Cher-* *Acamas*. *Polymnestor* married *Ilione* the daughter of king *Sonesus*. *Priam*; and, after the destruction of *Troy*, treacherously murdered *Polydorus*, who had been sent by his father *Priam* to be brought up at his court, as in a place of safety³ (F).

Eusorus and *Acamas* are mentioned by *Homer*⁴; and the latter said to have led a body of *Thracians* to the relief of *Troy*; during the siege of which city, he was killed by *Ajax*. His daughter *Acte* married *Oeneus*, a *Thessalian*, by whom she had *Cyzicus*, who built the famous city bearing his name⁵ (G).

C H A P.

¹ APPIAN l. v. de bell. civil. DIO, l. xlvii. LUCAN. l. v. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. iii. ² PLIN. l. iv. c. 7. ³ LIV. decad. 4. l. viii. ⁴ PLUT. in parall. EURIPID. in Hecub. VIRGIL. Æneid. l. iii. v. 45, & seq. OVID. metam. l. xii. ⁵ HOMER. Iliad. β' & ζ'. ⁶ Scholiast. APOLLONII, p. 149.

(F) *Hyginus* tells us, that *Polydorus* being sent very young into *Thrace*, *Ilione* his sister, brought him up as the son of *Polymnestor*; and that not *Polydorus*, but his own son *Deribulus*, was murdered by the cruel *Polymnestor*.

(G) Before we dismiss this subject, we cannot help observing, that the *Greeks* were chiefly indebted to the *Thracians*, for the polite arts that flourished among them; for *Orpheus*, *Limen*, *Mnesis*, *Thamyris*, and *Demodocus*, all *Thracians*, with the like, as *Ennius* informs us (4), who charmed the inhabitants of *Greece*,

with their eloquence and melody, and perfidiously to exchange their fierceness for a sociable life, and peaceful manners; nay, great part of *Greece* was antiently peopled by *Thracians*. *Terens*, a *Thracian*, governed at *Daulis* in *Phocis*, where the tragical story of *Philemela* and *Progne* was acted. From thence, a body of *Thracians* passed over to *Eubœa*, and possessed themselves of that island. Of the same nation were the *Aonii*, *Tembices*, and *Nyantibians*, who made themselves masters of *Bœotia*; and great part of *Attick* itself was inhabited

(4) Ennius. in Iliad. β'.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of the antient Kingdom of Epirus.

EPIRUS, the antient kingdom of the *Aeacidae*, was at *Name*, ^{first} first called *Epirus Dodonæa*, that is, *the continent of the tuation*, *Dodonæans*, or the continent inhabited by the *Dodo*- &c. *næans*, and afterwards *Epirus*, or *the continent*, without any addition, that being the import of the Greek word *Epeiros*. Of the limits of this kingdom we have spoken already ^a. It was antiently divided into three districts or provinces ^b namely, *Chaonia*, *Thesprotia*, and *Molossia*; to which some authors add *Cassopia*, *Cassope* or *Cæstrine*, and *Pindus*. *Chaonia*, the most northern part of *Epirus*, was so called from its antient inhabitants the *Chaones*, who were descended, according to the scholiast of *Aristophanes*, from the *Thracians*; according to *Aristotle*, from the *Oenotrii*, one of the most antient nations of *Italy*. Cities of note, in this part of *Epirus*, were, according ^{cities of} to *Ptolemy*, *Oricum* or *Oricus*, situated on the coast of the *Chaonia*, *Ionian* sea, at the foot of the *Ceraunian* mountains. It was founded, according to *Pliny* ^d, by a colony from *Colchis*; had a famous harbour, and was in the *Roman* times a place of great note, but of no strength, as we read in *Livy* and *Cæsar* ^e. *Cassope*, or *Cassope*, famous on account of the temple of *Jupiter Cassius*; whence some are of opinion, that it borrowed its name. *Torrentius*, and most of the modern writers, confound *Cassope* in *Epirus*, with another city in the island of *Cerkyra*, bearing antiently the same name ^f. This city was the metropolis of the province *Cassopia*, or *Cassope*, which contained, according to *Strabo* ^g and *Pliny* ^h, three other small towns; to wit, *Buchætium*, *Elatria*, and *Pandosia*. The inland towns of *Chaonia* were, *Antigonia*, founded by *Antigonus*, *Phœnix*, *Heatomedum*, *Omphalium*, *Elæus*, and the strong town, or, as *Pliny* calls it ⁱ, castle of *Chimæra*, much frequented on account of its hot baths.

^a See vol. vii. p. 403. ^b PLIN. I. iii. c. 23. ^c LIV.
I. xxiv. c. 40. CÆS. de bell. civil. I. iii. c. 7, 8. 15. ^d Vide
JAC. PALMERIUM, I. ii. antiqu. Græc. c. 4.
p. 223. ^e STRABO, I. viii.

^g Idem ibid.

^h Idem ibid.

by *Thracians*, under the command of the celebrated *Eumolpus* (5). It is not therefore without the utmost ingratitude and injustice that the *Greeks*

style them *Barbarians*, since to them chiefly they were indebted, both for the peopling and polishing of their country.

(5) Strabo, I. v. p. 392.

Of The-sprotia. THE most remarkable cities in *Thesprotia*, which lay between the *Ambracian* lake and the sea, were, *Buthrotum*, *Ephyra*, *Nicopolis*, built by *Augustus* after the *Aetiac* victory, and called by *Pliny*^h a free city, and a *Roman* colony, *Ma-andria*, *Cæstria*, *Charadra*, and *Ambracia*. The latter city, which was one of the most considerable of *Epirus*, stood not far from the mouth of the river *Arabthus*, near the gulf to which it gave its name. It was in the *Roman* times a place of great strength, as we have observed in the history of *Greece*, full of people, and about three miles in compass. In antient times it was a free city; but afterwards reduced by the *Aetideæ* kings of *Epirus*, who chose it for the place of their residenceⁱ. In process of time, the *Aetolians* made themselves masters of it, and held it till they were subdued by the *Romans*^k.

Of Molossis.

Molossis was an inland province, and, according to *Scylax*, only forty stades or furlongs in compass^l. It was called *Molossis* from *Molossus* the son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, and contained the following cities, *Dodona*, *Passaron*, *Tecmon*, *Phylace*, and *Horreum*. *Dodona* is placed by some writers in *Thesprotia*^m, and by others in *Molossis*ⁿ; but *Strabo*^o reconciles these two opposite opinions, by telling us, that antiently it belonged to *Thesprotia*, and afterwards to *Molossis*; for it stood on the confines of these two provinces. This city was once famous for the temple and oracle of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, much spoken of by all the antient writers (A). The other

^h PLIN. I. iv. c. 1. ⁱ POLYB. legat. xxviii. POMP. MELA, I. xi. c. 1. STRABO, I. vii. p. 225. ^k FLORUS, I. xi. c. 9. LIV. I. xxxviii. c. 6. ^l SCYLAX, in periplo. ^m MARCIAN. CAPELLA, I. vi. ⁿ PAUSAN. in Attic. c. 17. ^o STRABO, I. vii. p. 227.

(A) The city of *Dodona* is said to have been built by *Deucalion*, who, in that universal deluge, retreated to this place, which, by reason of its height, secured him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all those who had escaped from the inundation. With these he peopled his new-built city, calling it *Dodona*, according to some, from a sea-nymph of that name; according to others, from *Dodon* the son, or *Dodone* the daughter, of *Ju-*

piter and *Europa*. At the same time *Deucalion* is said to have founded a temple, which he consecrated to *Jupiter*, who is from thence styled *Dodonæus*. This was the first temple of *Greece*; for the *Epirots* were antiently reckoned among the *Greeks*. But the oracle seems to have been a considerable time before it; for *Herodotus* (1) tells us, that it was the most antient of all the oracles of *Greece*; which could not be true, if it had not

other cities of Molossis contained nothing worthy of observation. The kingdom of Epirus must have comprehended, in

been before Deucalion's time; for he, having escaped the deluge, advised with the oracle of Themis on mount Parnassus, about the means he should use to repeople the country; and the same oracle is said to have belonged to the Earth and Neptune, before it was possessed by Themis. Herodotus (2) gives us two accounts of the origin of this oracle: in the first, which he received from the priests of Jupiter, at Thebes in Egypt, he tells us, that the Phoenicians having carried away two priestesses from that place, and sold one of them in Libya, and the other in Greece, each of them established the first oracles in those nations, the one of Jupiter Ammon, the other of Jupiter Dodonaeus. The other account was given him by the priestesses at Dodona, and confirmed by all those who ministered in the temple; That two black pigeons taking their flight from Thebes in Egypt, one of them arrived in Libya, where she commanded an oracle to be erected to Jupiter Ammon: the other came to Dodona, where she perched on an oak, and admonished the inhabitants, with an articulate voice, to found an oracle in that place, in honour of the same Jupiter. Afterwards Herodotus delivers his own opinion, relating to this subject; that, if the Phoenicians did really carry away two women from Thebes, and sell one of them in Libya, and the other in Greece, the latter was, in all likelihood, bought by the Thessalians, who inhabited that country, which, in his time,

(2) Herodot. l. ii. c. 52. 55.

(4) Tracbin. ver. 176.

was called Hellas but formerly named Pelasgia; where, during her servitude, she consecrated an altar to Jupiter under an oak, nothing being more natural than to suppose, that she, who had been a priestess of that god in Thebes, would not be unmindful of his worship in another place. To confirm this conjecture, he adds, that these two oracles had a near resemblance to each other; and moreover tells us, that, in his opinion, the two pigeons, or rather women, were said to be black, because they came from Egypt; and called pigeons, because they were barbarians or foreigners, and their speech no more understood than the chattering of birds; but as soon as they learned the Greek tongue, they were said to speak with an human voice. Eustathius gives two reasons more for this appellation (3), to wit, that they were called πελαστις, or doves, because they made their predictions by the observation of those birds; as those who made use of crows in divination, were named κορακουδινις; and, secondly, because, in the Molossian language, old women were styled πέλει, and old men πέλαιον; and that those prophetesses being old women, either by a mistake of the word, or a poetical equivocation, were called doves. Why old persons should be thus termed, the old scholiast upon Sophocles informs us (4): for the old prophetesses, says he, were called πέλαις, because of their grey hairs. Servius gives another reason for this appella-

(3) Eustath. Odys. l. p. 541, '4.'

in the *Roman* times, a great many cities, of which no mention is made by the antient historians or geographers, if what

tion (5); to wit, that, in the *Thebalian* tongue, the word *zenetis* signified both a dove and a prophetess. Others tell us, that, in the hieroglyphical way of writing, by a black pigeon was signified a widow, who remained unmarried till death. Some writers say, that this oracle was founded by the *Pelasgians*, who were the most antient of all the nations that inhabited Greece. Of this opinion is *Strabo* (6), being led hereunto by *Homer*, who bestows upon the same *Jupiter* the names of *Dodoneus* and *Pelasgicus* (7). The same *Strabo* relates another fabulous opinion, concerning the origin of this oracle, out of *Suidas's Thebæa*. That writer, says *Strabo* (8), to gratify the *Thebilians* with a new-invented fable, relates, that the oracle of *Dodona* was translated out of *Pelargia*, a country of *Thessaly*, into *Epirus*, being accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the prophetesses in after-ages were descended; and that from them *Jupiter* received the appellation of *Pelasgicus*. The persons who delivered the oracles, were at first men, as *Strabo* and *Eustathius* observe out of *Homer*, who calls them, in the masculine gender ΙΙ. ὄρντα, and ζελλάς (9). The same *Strabo* tells us (1), in his description of *Bœotia*, that, in after-ages, all these who consulted the oracle, received answers from women, except the *Bœotians*, who had theirs from

(5) *Servius in Virg. eclog. ix. ver. 13.
Iliad. π', ver. 235.*

(6) *Strabo, l. vii.
ibid.*

(7) *Homer, ibid.
l. ix.*

men; and of this custom he gives the following reason: In a war between the *Bœotians* and *Pelasgians*, the former, consulting the oracle of *Dodona* about the event of the war, received for answer, that their enterprize should be crowned with success, if they acted wickedly. Hereupon the *Bœotians*, suspecting that the prophetesses spoke in favour of the *Pelasgians*, seized her, and threw her into the fire. Those who ministered in the temple, immediately apprehended the *Bœotians*; but, not thinking it lawful to put them to death in so sacred a place, before they were tried, and juridically condemned, advised them to refer the matter to the two surviving prophetesses. On the other hand, the *Bœotians* alleging, that no laws in the world allowed women to sit upon life and death, it was agreed, that two men should judge them jointly with the two prophetesses. When the judges came to pronounce sentence, the *Bœotians* were found guilty by the women, and cleared by the men; whereupon they were disfrisched without any punishment, as was usual, when the number of voices was equal on both sides; but on that occasion it was established, that men only should give answers to the *Bœotians*. The prophets of this temple were commonly called *Tomuri*, and the prophetesses *Tomuræ*, from *Tomurus*, a mountain in *Thebria*, at the foot of

which

what *Polybius*, as quoted by *Strabo*^p, and after him *Livy*^q, tells us, be true; to wit, that *Emilius Paulus* dismantled and plundered about seventy cities subject to the *Epirots*. *Strabo*^r counts the *Athamanes*, *Aethices*, *Tymphæi*, *Oreßæ*, *Paroræi*, *Atintanes*, and *Perrhæbi*, among the *Epirotic* nations; but *Pliny*^s and *Livy*^t reckon the *Athamanes*, *Tymphæi*, and *Perrhæbi*, among the *Aetolians*.

In *Chaonia* were the *Ceraunian* or *Acroceraunian* moun-*Moun-*
tains, now *monti della Chimera*, parting the *Ionian* and *Adriatic* ^{towns}, *ri-*
feas, and so called from their being frequently struck with ^{vers}, &c.
lightning. In *Thesprotia* were the *Acheronian* lake, and the
river *Acheron*, much spoken of by the poets. It had its springs,
according

^p STRABO, l. vii. p. 223. ^q LIVY, l. xlvi. c. 34. ^r STRABO,
ibid. ^s PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. ^t LIVY, l. xxxviii. sub init.

which stood the temple. In pro-
cess of time, this word came to
be a general name for any pro-
phet; for thus *Hesychius* expounds
it; and in this sense *Lycophron*
applies it to *Prytis*, the son of
Mercury (2).

Near the temple was a sacred
grove of oaks and beeches, which

was supposed to be inhabited by
the *Dyades*, *Fomii*, and *Satyri*,
who, we are told, were often
seen dancing under the shades of
the trees. Before toving was in-
vented, when men lived upon
acorns, those of this wood were
in great request, as appears from
the following verses of *Virgil*:

Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaonium pingui glandem mutavit urista (3.).

And again in the same book;

Prima Ceres ferro mortales verneret terram
Instituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
Deficerent sykæ, & vicium Dodona negaret (4.).

These oaks or beeches were
said to be endued with an human
voice, and prophetical spirit; for
which reason, they are called
Speaking and prophesying oaks.
Argo, the ship of the *Argonauts*,
which was built with the timber
of this wood, is feigned to have
been endued with the same power
of speech; whence *Lycophron* calls
it *λαληθεον κισσαν*, *a chattering*

magpy (5). What gave occasion
to this fiction was, as some wri-
ters tell us, that the prophets,
when they gave answers, placed
themselves in one of these trees,
so that the oracle was thought to
be uttered by the oak, which was
only pronounced out of its hol-
low stock, or from amongst its
hollow branches. Some are of
opinion, that the oracles were

(2) *Lycoph.* *Cassand.* ver. 223.
(4) *Idem ibid.* ver. 147.

(3) *Virgil.* *georg.* l. i. ver. 7.
(5) *Lycoph.* *Cassand.* ver. 1319.

according to *Pliny*^u, in the above-mentioned lake, and emptied itself into the *Ambracian* gulf; but, according to *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Thucydides*^w, it rose in the country of the *Molossi*, and, passing through the *Acherusian* lake, discharged itself into the *Thesprotian* bay. The rivers *Aphas* and *Arachthus* are mentioned by *Livy*^x, as rising in the same country. The celebrated mount *Pindus* parted *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and was therefore, by some geographers, placed in *Thessaly*, by others in *Epirus*. The inland parts of *Epirus* were very barren, and full of forests, but the coast pretty fruitful. The horses of this country were in great request among the antients, as were also the mastiffs of *Molossi*, from thence called by the *Latins*, *Molossi*^y. The *Epirots* of the in-habits. were deemed a very warlike people, and generally behaved, as we shall see in the history of their kings, with great gallantry; but continued in their former savage condition long after their neighbours were civilized; whence the islanders used to threaten their offenders, as we read in *Athenaeus*^z, with transportation to the continent, namely to *Epirus*.

Inhabitants. THIS country was first peopled by *Dodanim*, the son of *Javin*, and grandson of *Japhet*, or at least by some of his posterity, as *Josephus* informs us^a (B).

THE

^u PLIN. ibid. ^w THUCYD. I. ii. ^x LIV. I. viii. c. 24.
^y Vide VIRG. georg. I. iii. ver. 405. & SERVIUM ibid. ^z ATHEN. I. ii. c. 7. ^a JOSEPH. antiqu. I. iii. c. 7.

delivered from the branches of the tree, because the prophetic pigeons are reported, by *Herodotus*, to have perched upon a tree (6); and the scholiast upon *Sophocles* tells us, that above the oracle there were two pigeons (7). Others are inclined to believe, that the oracles were uttered from the hollow stock, because the prophets could best be concealed there (8). The brazen kettles of this place were no less famous than the speaking oak. Some writers affirm, and others deny, that they were made use of in delivering the oracles: however that be, *Demon* in *Suidas*

says, that they were so artificially placed about the temple, that, by striking one of them, the sound was communicated to all the rest. These kettles were consecrated by the *Corycæans* to *Jupiter Dodoneus*, as *Strabo* informs us (9). About what time, or on what account, this oracle ceased, is uncertain; but the above-mentioned writer, who flourished under *Augustus*, tells us, that, in his time, the gods had deserted that and most other oracles (1).

(B) *Eusebius* says, that *Dodanim* first settled in the island of *Rhodes*; and that some of his

(6) Herodot. ibid. c. 55. 57. (7) Trachin. ver. 174. (8) Hesiod. Eos.
 (9) Strabo, I. vii. (1) Idem ibid.

descendents,

THE various nations we find mentioned by the most antient writers, as inhabiting *Epirus* before they became one people, and were blended under the common name of *Epirots*, are, the *Selli*, *Chaones*, *Moloffi*, *Dolopes*, *Parcae*, *Oresti*, *Dryopes*, *Hellobes*, *Aenianes*, and *Pelasgi* (C).

THE form of government, which prevailed in *Epirus*, ^{Form of} was, without all doubt, monarchic^{al}, the whole country ^{govern-} _{ment.} being divided into many small kingdoms, quite independent of each other. *Strabo* indeed tells us, that first the *Chaones*, and after them the *Moloffi*, were masters of all *Epirus*; but this, if true, must have been in the most early ages; for we find several kings mentioned by *Homer*, and other antient writers, as reigning at the time of the *Trojan war*; to wit, *Aidoneus*, *Orcus*, *Phidon*, *Echetus*, and *Harpalicus*. The other *Epirotic* nations continued for a long time to be governed by princes of their own blood; but the *Moloffi* fell very early under the power of *Pyrrhus*, a foreign prince, whose descendants were from him styled *Pyrrhidae*, and from his family *Aeacidae*, they being the progeny of *Aeacus* ^b. Some of these petty kingdoms, in process of time, exchanged the monarchical for a republican form of government; for *Thucydides* ^c tells us, that in his time the *Thesprotæ* and *Chaones* were governed, not by kings, but by annual magistrates. But when, and on what occasion, this change happened, is

^b STRAB. l. vii.

^c THUCYD. l. ii.

descendents, being freightened there for want of room, passed over to the continent, and fixed their abode in *Epirus*, where they built a city, calling it *Dodona*, from their progenitor *Dodanim* (2). If the opinion of *Eusebius* be true, the *Dodoneans* were originally *Greeks*, and not *Barbarians*, as most of the antients style them. However, in process of time several barbarous nations settled among them; and hence they are said by *Strabo* (3), to have spoken promiscuously the languages of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*.

(C) But, as to the origin of these different tribes, there is a

great disagreement among authors, whose various opinions it would be too tedious to relate. We shall only observe, that the *Selli* were, by profane authors, thought to have been the first inhabitants of *Epirus*, and to have ministered in the temple of *Dodona*. *Homer* speaks of them as priests, *living round the robe of the Pelasgian Jove king of Dodona*; that is, round the temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*; and insinuates, that they lay on the ground, and never washed their feet (4); whence *Strabo* concludes, that they were not originally *Greeks*, but sprung from some savage and unpolished nation (5).

(2) *Euseb. in elyon.*
(5) *Strab. ibid.*

(3) *Strab. l. vii.*

(4) *Homer. Iliad. x. v. 225.*

what we find no-where recorded. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the *Paravæi* and *Oresti* were still ruled by kings of their own nation ; the former by *Antiochus*, and the latter by *Oroedus*. But the kingdom of the *Molossi* soon eclipsed all the others, the *Molossian* princes having subjected the whole country, and united the many small kingdoms, of which it consisted, into one, known to the antients by the name of *Epirus*. And this alone affords us matter for an history, there being nothing upon record relating to the others, but the names of some of their kings, and a few fabulous accounts of their actions ; for which we refer our readers to *Hyginus*^a, and *Cyrillus*^c, it being beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

Pyrrhus.

WE shall begin the history of the kings of *Epirus* with *Pyrrhus*, the first of the *Aeacidae*, who reigned in that country, the times which preceded his reign, being overcast with an impenetrable mist, and the kings who are supposed to have ruled over the *Molossi* before his arrival, more spoken of by the poets than the historians. *Pyrrhus* was the son of *Achilles*, by *Deidamia*, the daughter of *Lyomedes* king of the island of *Scyros*. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the siege of *Troy*, he was prevailed upon by *Dionedes* and *Ulysses* to leave his grandfather's court, where he had been brought up, and take upon him the command of the troops, which his father had led against *Troy*. He distinguished himself at the siege of that city, if the poets are to be credited, by his brave and gallant behaviour ; and, after it was taken, killed old king *Priam* with his own hand ; threw *Astyanax*, the son of *Hector* and *Andromache*, headlong from an high tower ; sacrificed *Polyxena*, the daughter of king *Priam*, on the tomb of his father ; and carried *Andromache* with him into *Epirus*, where he settled, by the advice of the famous footsayer *Ileenus*, one of *Priam*'s sons, with the *Myrmidones*, who had served, during the *Trojan war*, both under his father and himself. He maintained himself in this new settlement with the assistance of the *Pelopidae*, to whom he was nearly related, against the natives ; who, finding they could not drive him out, submitted at length, and acknowleged him for their king. But his reign was not long ; for he had scarce settled the affairs of his new kingdom, when he was murdered by *Orestes* in the very temple of

^a HYGIN. fab. 193. 252.
Julian.

^c CYRILL. l. i. contra

Delphi, for marrying *Hermione*, the daughter of *Menelaus*, who had been betrothed to the said *Orestes* (D).

His body, by command of the oracle, was buried in the temple where he had been murdered ; but no honours were there paid to him till the irruption of the *Gauls*, which happened many ages after, when he is said to have appeared among other dead heroes, and to have, with his ghastly looks, struck great terror into those sacrilegious *Barbarians*. From that time he was honoured with yearly sacrifices, and solemn sports, exhibited at his tomb ^f. The *Pyrrhica*, a kind of tournament, or dance in arm our, was so called from him, he having first used it round the tomb of his father *Achilles* ^g. *Pyrrhus* had two wives, *Lanassa* the daughter of *Cleodaeus*, one of the descendants of *Hercules*, and *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*. By the latter he had no children ; but the former brought him three sons, *Pyrrhus*, *Alevas*, and *Ethneftus*, and five daughters. By *Andromache*, whom some count among his lawful wives, others among his concubines, he had likewise three sons, *Molossus*, *Pielus*, and *Amphialus*. *Pyrrhus*, his eldest son by *Lanassa*, died in his infancy. *Alevas* was brought up by *Peleus* his great-grandfather, king of *Phthia* in *Theffaly*, and by him appointed his heir and successor in that kingdom ^h. *Ethneftus* lived in *Theffaly* with his brother, and gave his name to the tribe of the *Etbneftæ* mentioned by *Stephanus* ⁱ.

Molossus lived, after the death of his father, under the tuition of *Helenus*, the son of king *Priam*, on whom *Pyrrhus* had bestowed *Andromache* in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom ; having always shewn a great kindness, and

^f Vide SER. in ii. AENEID. & CONSTANT. MANASS. ^g PRISCIAN. 1. xiv. PLIN. I. vii. c. 56. & ERASMI chiliad. ^h SUIDAS voce Alevadæ. ⁱ STEPHAN. VOCE Εύσεβι.

(D) Some writers tell us, that, under pretence of consulting the oracle of *Delphi* about his issue by *Hermione*, he attempted to plunder the temple, and was, in that attempt, killed by the priests (6). His death gave rise to the proverb *Neoptolemic revenge*, used by the antiets, when one suffered the same evils which he had brought upon others ;

for *Pyrrhus*, surnamed *Neoptolemus*, had barbarously murdered king *Priam* at the altar of *Jupiter Hercæus*, and was himself murdered at the altar of *Apollo Delphicus*. The surname of *Neoptolemus*, or the young warrior, was given him when he first went to the siege of *Troy*, he being then very young.

(6) Vide scholiast. Pindar. Virgil. Aeneid. I. iii. v. 333, & seq. Pausan. in B. etot. Euseb. in cbrm.

Piclus.

particular friendship, for that prophet ^k. *Helenus* brought him up with all possible care, and at his death, left him that part of the kingdom which had been given him by *Pyrrhus*. As *Molossus* died without children, he bequeathed the whole kingdom to his brother *Pielus*; for he had succeeded his father *Pyrrhus* as well as *Helenus* (E).

Amphialus, the third son of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, surnamed *Pergamus*, passed over into *Asia* with his mother; and, having there killed in single combat *Arias* king of *Teuthbrania*, reigned in his stead, fixing the place of his residence at *Pergamus*, whence he was styled *Amphialus Pergameus*^l (F).

AMONG the descendants of *Amphialus*, we find one *Praces* mentioned by *Pausanias*^m, who is said to have founded a temple in honour of *Achilles* in *Laconia*, whither the young men resorted to offer sacrifices to that hero, before they entered the lists in the public combats. The five daughters, which *Pyrrhus* had by *Lanassa*, as we have observed above, were married, according to *Justin*ⁿ, to the neighbouring princes.

THE descendants of *Aleuas* reigned in *Thessaly*, and are said by *Herodotus*^o to have invited thither *Xerxes* king of *Perseia*, and betrayed the country to him. When *Alexander* the *Pherean* attempted to make himself master of all *Thessaly*, they had recourse to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who assisted them with a powerful army, as we have related in the history of *Macedon*^p. They were at last stript of all their dominions, and the cities they possessed declared free by *Philip* the brother of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, as we read in *Ulpianus*^q, *Diodorus Siculus*^r, and *Polyænus*^s. As to the immediate descendants of *Pielus*, we are quite in the dark,

^k PAUSAN. in Attic. SCHOLIAST. PINDAR. ^l HYGIN. fab. 97.

^m PAUSAN. ibid. ⁿ JUSTIN. l. xvii. ^o HERODOT. l. vii.

c. 61. ^p See vol. viii. p. 436. ^q ULPIAN. in Olynthiac.

^r DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ^s POLYÆN. l. iv.

(E) Some authors write, that *Molossus* was succeeded by his son; and that from him were descended the *Æacidae* or *Pryribidae* of *Epirus*: but we have followed *Pausanias*, who tells us in express terms, that *Molossus* died without children; was succeeded by his brother *Pielus*; and that from him the kings of *Epi-*

rus were, by the most antient writers sometimes styled *Pielidae* (7).

(F) *Pausanias* will have the city of *Pergamus* to have been so called from him; but is herein contradicted by most of the antients, who tell us, that this city was built long before his time by the *Myrians*.

(7) *Pausan.* in *Bæctic.*

both

both as to their exploits and succession, there being scarce any mention made of them by the antients, till the time of the *Perſian war*, when *Admetus* reigned in *Epirus*, and was master of the greatest part of that country (G).

Admetus reigned, as we have hinted above, in *Epirus*, *Admetus*, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, and refused to join either party. Upon the defeat of the *Perſians*, he courted the friendship of the *Athenians*, offering to enter into an alliance with the republic; but his proposals were, at the instigation of *Themistocles*, rejected with scorn, because he had not lent them any assistance against their common enemy. Notwithstanding the ill offices done him on this occasion by *Themistocles*, he afterwards received him, when banished from his own country, with great marks of friendship and esteem; refused to deliver him up to the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, though threatened with war; and plentifully supplied him with money and other necessaries, on his leaving *Epirus* to pass over into *Asia* ¹.

He was succeeded by *Tharymbas*, the only child he had by *Tharymba*, his wife *Phthya*; but, as this prince was very young at his brother's death, he was, by a decree of the people, put under the tuition of *Sabylintus*, a man of great distinction in his country, and of an unblemished character. *Sabylintus* attended him to *Athens*, where he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of polite literature; for he was reckoned one of the most learned princes of his age, and is said to have been the first who introduced and encouraged learning among the *Epirots* his subjects. He likewise made many wise and wholesome laws, and is, on that account, reckoned by *Plutarch* amongst the antient lawgivers (H).

¹ THUCYD. I. IV. DIODOR. SICUL. I. XVI. ARISTID. IN ORAT. PRO QUATUOR VIRIS. SCHOLIAST. PINDAR.

(G) *Antonius Liberalis* indeed names the following intermediate princes; to wit, *Drius*, *Munnichus*, *Aphidas*, *Genous*, and *Alcon*: but upon what authority we know not.

(H) He is mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Ibucydides*, *Pausanias*, and *Julin*, under the following names, *Tharrytas*, *Tharyps*, *Tharypus*, *Arymbas*, and *Tharymbas*. The *Chœnes*, who had been formerly subject to the *Molossian*

kings, were, in the reign of this prince, as we read in *Thucydides* (8), subject to no king, but governed by their own laws and magistrates; the *Molossians* and the *Antitanians* alone acknowledged *Tharymbas* for their king, the several other nations of *Epirus* having either their peculiar kings, or being free from all subjection, as is evident from the above-mentioned writer (9).

(8) Thucyd. I. ii.

(9) Thucyd. ibid.

Alcetas. *Alcetas* is the next king of *Epirus* we find mentioned in history : he was driven from the throne by his own subjects ; on which occasion he fled to *Dionysius* tyrant of *Syracuse*, by whom he was assisted with a body of *Illyrians*, who replaced him on the throne, after having overthrown his rebellious subjects in a pitched battle. His dominions were soon after invaded by *Jason* of *Pheræ* ; but having, by means of *Timothenus*, prevailed upon the *Athenians* to enter into an alliance with him, *Jason*, thinking it adviseable not to provoke so powerful a republic, withdrew his forces from *Epirus*, and suffered *Alcetas* to spend the remainder of his reign in peace ^u.

Neoptolemus. *Alcetas* was succeeded by his son *Neoptolemus*, who, finding that his brother *Arybas* began to raise disturbances, and dreading the consequences of a civil war, took him of his own accord for his partner in the kingdom. Upon the death of *Neoptolemus* (for we are intirely in the dark as to the particulars of his reign) *Arybas* remained sole master of the kingdom, which, contrary to the expectation of his subjects, he governed with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He was an encouage: of learning, and shewed great favour to such as excelled in any branch of polite literature. To him *Xenocrates*, the *Chalcedonian* philosopher, dedicated, as *Laertius* informs us ^v, four books, which he wrote on the art of reigning. He brought up, with great care, his brother's children, to wit, *Alexander*, *Neoptolemus*, *Arybas*, *Troas*, *Olympias*, and *Cadmia* ; and married his niece *Olympias* to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had by her *Alexander the Great*. At his death, which happened after a reign of ten years, his nephew *Alexander*, whom *Gellius* calls *Molossus*, was raised to the sole possession of the throne, by the favour of *Philip* his brother-in-law, who gave him in marriage *Cleopatra*, his daughter by *Olympias* ; so that *Alexander* was also son-in-law to *Philip*.

Alexander.

Not long after the accession of *Alexander* to the crown of *Epirus*, *Archedymas* king of *Lacedæmon* being killed in fighting for the *Tarentini* against the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, the former invited *Alexander* into *Italy* to their assistance. The king of *Epirus*, promising himself nothing less than the subduing of the west with as much rapidity as *Alexander the Great* his nephew and brother-in-law had begun to conquer the east, readily closed with the proposal ; and, having made a descent at *Pæstum*, a maritime city near the mouth of the *Passes* over into *Italy*.

^u *Idem*, l. iii. *PAUSAN.* in *Bœotic.* *DIODOR. SICUL.* l. xvi.
^v *LAERTIUS*, in *vit. philosoph.*

river *Sibarus*, reduced several cities of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, and became formidable to all the eastern parts of *Italy*. The *Romans* being at that time employed in suppressing the revolt of the *Latinis*, and not caring to engage in a war with two so powerful enemies at once, entered into an alliance with the *Epirot*, as did also the *Metapontini* and *Pediculi*, after he had gained a signal victory over the united forces of the *Brutii* and *Lucani*. The success which attended his arms in the two first campaigns, made him believe, that he should reap as great an harvest of glory in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, as his nephew was reaping in *Persea*, and the rest of *Asia*; but the unhappy prince lost his life, where he hoped to have enlarged his conquests.

THIS memorable event is thus related, and no doubt blended with many fables, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians *. Before *Alexander* left *Epirus*, say they, he consulted the celebrated oracle of *Dodona* about the success that was to attend him during the remaining part of his life. The god returned *The answer* him this answer; to wit, that the waters of *Acheron* would count prove fatal to him; and at the same time admonished him *which the* to avoid the city of *Pandosia*, lest he should there finish his *antients* days. *Acheron* was a river of *Epirus*, and *Pandosia* a city of *give of his death*. the same country: *Alexander* therefore, not knowing that in the country of the *Brutii* were a river and a city bearing the same names, willingly complied with the invitation of the *Tarentini*, and left his own country, fearing it might prove fatal to him, to make war in that of the *Brutii*. As he was fully persuaded, that his life could be in no danger there, he exposed his person to the greatest dangers, took several cities, namely *Heraclea*, *Cosentia*, *Sipontum*, *Terina*, &c. and sent above three hundred hostages to *Epirus*, all chosen out of the best families of the places he had conquered. Having overcome the *Brutii* and *Lucani* in a second battle, to reduce their country the sooner, he divided his army into three bodies, posting them on three hills divided by deep valleys, and sending out from thence numerous parties to ravage the neighbouring countries. One of these valleys was washed by the *Acheron*, on the banks of which stood the small city of *Pandosia*. While *Alexander* continued in this camp, the valleys were, by sudden rains, laid under water, which broke off the communication between the three bodies of the king's forces. The enemy laid hold of this favourable opportunity to attack first the two posts, where the king was

* DIODOR. SICUL. I. xvii. STRABO, I. vii. PAUSAN. in Boeot. LIV. I. viii. c. 24. QROS, I. vi. PAUL. DIAC. hist. miscell

not, and which, by reason of the inundation, he could not any ways assist. These two bodies being, without much ado, defeated, and put to flight, the *Brutii* and *Lucani*, without loss of time, surrounded, with all their forces, the hill on which the king himself was encamped. His guard consisted of two hundred *Lucani*, who, being driven from their country, had fled to him for refuge. These wrote to the generals of their nation, promising to deliver up to them the king of *Epirus* dead or alive, provided they would receive them into favour, and suffer them to return to their native country. The proposal was accepted, and the traitors only waited for a favourable opportunity to put their treachery in execution. As *Alexander* was a prince of great courage and resolution, in spite of all opposition, he forced his way through the enemy's army, killed one of their generals with his own hand, and, having with a small attendance made his escape, and gained a neighbouring wood, he took his route from thence to the river, the name of which he knew not, with a design to break down the bridge after he had crossed it. But, finding the bridge carried away by the violence of the inundation, he threw himself into the river on horseback, when one of the *Epirots*, who attended him, seeing him in danger of being drowned, cried out, *Cursed Acheron, thou art justly called by a fatal name*; for the Greek word *Acheron*, signifies a torrent of grief. At these words *Alexander* remembering the answer of the oracle, and fearing his fate approached, began to hesitate, being in suspense whether he should go quite cross the river or no. While he was thus wavering, one of his attendants cried out to him, *Hasten, betrayed prince, hasten to the opposite bank; the Lucani, your guard, seek to destroy you.* At these words the king turning about, and seeing the *Lucani* ready to fall upon him, drew his sword, and made what haste he could to reach the bank, which he had already gained, when one of the traitors, discharging a dart at him, killed him on the spot. His body fell into the river, which carried it to the enemy's camp, where it was used with all the indignity which rage and *ill used by venge* could suggest. After they had barbarously defaced it, *his enemies* they cut it in two, sending one part to *Cosentia*, and setting up the other as a mark for the soldiers to discharge their arrows and darts at. At length a woman, whose husband and children had been taken by *Alexander's* troops, intreating the soldiers, with tears in her eyes, to give her the scattered remains of the unhappy prince, since she could easily purchase with them the redemption of her husband and children; that part of the body, which the soldiers possessed, was delivered to

to her, and conveyed by her means first to *Metapontum*, and from thence removed to *Epirus*, where they were consigned to *Cleopatra* and *Olympias*, the former the wife, the latter the sister of the deceased king. All the antients speak of this prince as no ways inferior, either in courage or conduct, to his nephew *Alexander the Great*; but he had the misfortune to engage, on his first setting out, with nations inured to the toils of war, and no less brave than his own *Epirots*: whence he used to say, that the country, which he proposed to conquer, was inhabited by men, whereas the provinces his nephew *Alexander* went to subdue, were peopled by women only.^y Thus he styled the effeminate nations of *Asia*, which the *Macedonian* had subdued (I).

Alexander was succeeded in the kingdom by *Aeacides*, the *Aeacides*, son of *Arybbas* or *Arybas*, and grandson of *Alcetas*. This prince, espousing the cause of *Olympias* against *Cassander*, raised a powerful army, with a design to relieve her while besieged in the city of *Pydna*. But, having on this occasion forced many of his subjects into the service, much against their will, they began to mutiny in the camp, especially after they found all the passes leading to *Pydna* seized on by *Atarchias*, *Cassander's* general. Hereupon *Aeacides*, being resolved at all events to attempt the relief of *Olympias*, disbanded all those who seemed unwilling to follow him in this expedition, and taking with him such only as shewed themselves ready to run the same risk with himself, he advanced toward *Pydna*; but he had scarce left *Epirus*, when those he had sent back revolted from him, and, drawing their fellow-citizens into the same revolt, declared, by a common decree of the state, that *Aeacides* had forfeited the crown, banished him the kingdom, and entered into an alliance with *Cassander*. This, as *Diodorus Siculus* observes, was the first rebellion that had happened in *Epirus*, from the time that *Neo-*

^y AUL. GELL. I. xvii. c. 21.

(I) *Orosius* (1) tells us, that he was killed by the *Sannites*, while he was making the necessary preparations for a war with *Rome*; and adds, that he was in such favour with *Philip* his brother-in-law, as made the world believe, that the inclination which that prince had for him, was

more agreeable to the wickedness of those times, than to the laws of nature. *Thridates* wrote a panegyric on this king, as *Suidas* informs us; he is also mentioned by *Demosthenes* (2), and extolled as an able and experienced commander by all the antients who mention him.

(1) *Oros. I. vi.*

(2) *Demosthen. in orat. de Haliene.*

Ptolemus, the son of *Achilles*, had reigned there, the kingdom having ever before descended by right of succession from father to son². *Cassander* immediately dispatched *Lysicus* into *Epirus* to take upon him, in his name, the government of that kingdom, injoining him to use the natives with all possible moderation. However, the *Epirots* were soon reconciled to their king, and, recalling him from banishment, replaced him on the throne of his ancestors; which he did not long enjoy, being killed the same year in a battle fought with *Philip* the brother of *Cassander*².

Alcetas
II.

Defeats
Lysicus.

Is in his turn de- feated by they gained afterwards, hastened into *Epirus* to succour his general; but, being informed, on his arrival, of the success that had attended him in the second engagement, instead of pursuing the war, he thought it adviseable to enter into a treaty with the *Epirots*; and having concluded a peace upon honourable terms, he withdrew his troops, and restored

UPON his death, the crown was conferred upon *Alcetas* his brother, who had been banished by his father *Arybas* on account of his violent temper. As he was an inveterate enemy to *Cassander*, *Lysicus*, *Cassander's* general in *Acarnania*, marched with an army into *Epirus*, hoping, as the affairs of that kingdom were not yet well settled, to depose him. *Alcetas*, hearing of the enemy's march, dispatched two of his sons, *Alexander* and *Teucer*, into all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to raise what forces they could; and in the mean time marched out himself, with the few troops he had, to make head against *Lysicus*, whom he found encamped at *Cassopia*. As *Lysicus's* army was far more numerous than the king's, they fell upon him before he had time to fortify his camp; and obliged him, after he had been abandoned by most of his troops, to shut himself up in the city of *Eurymenas*, where he was closely besieged. But, in the mean time, his son *Alexander* arriving with powerful succours, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers of *Lysicus's* men were cut off, and amongst the others *Micythus*, a commander of great reputation, *Lysander* the *Atbenian*, governor of *Leucadia*, and many other persons of distinction. A few days after this victory, *Dinias* brought new supplies for *Lysicus*; whereupon a second battle being fought, *Alexander* and *Teucer*, with their father *Alcetas*, were forced to save themselves by flight, and abandon the city of *Eurymenas* to the enemy, who plundered and rased it to the

² *DIODOR. SICUL. I. xix.* ² *Idem ibid.*
tranquillity

tranquillity to the kingdom of *Epirus*. *Alecas*, being thus disengaged from so troublesome a war, began to exercise, as he was a prince of a most tyrannical temper, all sorts of cruelties over his subjects ; which so provoked them, that, having made a general insurrection, they murdered both him *He is murdered.* and his children ^b.

Alecas was succeeded by *Pyrrhus*, a prince of great fame in Pyrrhus history. He was the son of *Aecides*, of whom we have spoken above, by *Philippa* the daughter of *Menon the Thessalian*, one of the *Heracleidae* ; so that *Pyrrhus* was by the father descended from *Achilles*, and from *Hercules* by the mother ^c. When the *Epirots* revolted from his father, and drove him from the throne, it was with much difficulty that *Pyrrhus*, then an infant at the breast, escaped falling into the hands of *Narrowh the rebels*. He was, after various adventures, conveyed by *Androcles* and *Angelus*, two *Epirot* lords, to the court of *Glaucias* king of *Illyricum*, who, as some authors conjecture, ^d had married his aunt *Beroe*, the daughter of *Arybbas*, and ^e grand-daughter of king *Alecas* ^d. How he was received, educated, and settled on the throne of his ancestors, by that prince, we have related elsewhere ^e.

He enjoyed the kingdom in great peace and tranquillity till he was seventeen ; when, thinking himself sufficiently settled on the throne, he left *Epirus* for awhile, in order to be present in *Illyricum* at the nuptials of one of the sons of *Glaucias*, with whom he had been educated. But he was no sooner gone, than the *Molossians*, taking advantage of his absence, revolted anew, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized on his treasures, and conferred the crown on *Neoptolemus* his great uncle. *Pyrrhus*, being, by this unexpected revolt, divested of all his dominions, and destitute of sufficient succours to recover them, retired to *Demetrius*, ^f the son of *Antigonus*, commonly known by the surname of *Poliorketes*, who had married his sister *Deidamia*. From that great commander he learned the art of war, serving under him with the companions and fellow-soldiers of *Alexander the Great*. In the famous battle of *Ipsus* he distinguished himself, young as he was, in a very eminent manner, having fought with incredible bravery, and repulsed the enemy on that side where he was posted ^f. *Demetrius* nevertheless lost the battle ; but *Pyrrhus* very seasonably covered *Greece*, and

^b See vol. ix. p. 86. ^c PLUT. in Pyrrh. ^d Vide RFINER. REINECCUM, hist. Jul. tom. ii. in regno Epiri. ^e See vol. ix. p. 90, 91, in the notes. ^f PLUT. ibid. ARRIAN. l. vii. APIAN. in Syriac.

saved for his brother-in-law the Greek cities, which that prince had confided to his care. Nor was this the only proof he gave of his affection for *Demetrius*; for a peace being at length concluded between him and *Ptolemy*, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus* consented to be one of the hostages, who were sent into *Egypt* to secure the execution of the treaty.

DURING his abode at the court of *Egypt*, he was generally admired for the sweetness of his temper, the regularity of his conduct, and his great dexterity and address in all sorts of manly exercises. His chief aim was to make his court to *Berenice*, who had the greatest ascendant over *Ptolemy*, and surpassed all the other women of the court in beauty, as well as prudence. And herein he was very successful; for he so gained her by his noble and obliging behaviour, that she prevailed upon her husband to give him her daughter *Antigone*, in preference to several young princes who demanded her. *Antigone* was the daughter of the favourite queen by *Philip* her first husband, a *Macedonian* lord of no great fame. After *Pyrrhus* had married her, *Berenice*, desirous to see her daughter become a queen, induced *Ptolemy* to supply her son-in-law with sufficient forces to recover his kingdom. With these he sailed into *Epirus*, and having defeated in a battle *Neoptolemus*, whom the *Molossians* had placed on the throne, he recovered his paternal dominions. *Neoptolemus* had recourse to the neighbouring princes; but *Pyrrhus*, to avoid the evil consequences of a civil war, condescended to give him up part of his dominions. *Neoptolemus* at first seemed to be well satisfied with part of the kingdom; but having soon after, at the instigation of the enemies of *Pyrrhus*, attempted to poison him, he was by his order executed^s. *Pyrrhus* having by his death got possession of the whole kingdom of *Epirus*, continued no longer idle in his dominions; but marching into the neighbouring countries, performed those exploits we have described in the history of *Macedon*^h, and therefore shall not repeat in this place.

THIS warlike prince being obliged by *Lysimachus* to abandon the kingdom of *Macedon*, which he had taken from his brother-in-law *Demetrius*, as we have related elsewhereⁱ, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, enjoying the sweets of peace, and governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But his restless temper, and unbounded ambition, made him seize with joy on the first

^s PLUT. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. ^h Vide vol. ix. p. 96, 97, 104, 105, 465, & seq. ⁱ See ibid. p. 98. opportunity

*Recovers
his king-
dom with
the assist-
ance of
Ptolemy
king of
Egypt.*

opportunity that offered, of plunging himself into new troubles.

THE inhabitants of *Tarentum* were then at war with the *Invited by Romans*, and not finding themselves in a condition to oppose the *Tarento* so formidable an enemy with their own strength, they cast tines into their eyes upon *Pyrrhus*, and dispatched ambassadors to him, *Italy*. not only from themselves, but from all the Greek cities in *Italy*, injoining them to acquaint him, that they wanted only a leader of experience and reputation ; that *Tarentum* was not the only city whose forces would join him ; that the *Messapians, Lucanians, Samnites, Brutians*, and many other rich and populous nations, weary either of bearing the *Roman* yoke, or of being in continual dread of it, were ready to assist him in exterminating that haughty and imperious republic ; that he might depend on being supplied at his arrival with three hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, &c. The joy with which *Pyrrhus* received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, may be easily imagined. His head was filled with the exploits of *Alexander the Great* ; and his frequently conversing with the generals, who had served under that conqueror, had strongly inclined him to attempt in the west, what *Alexander* had with so much glory performed in the east. He therefore willingly closed with *Resolves to* the proposal of the *Tarentine* ambassadors, promising to pass *comply* over into *Italy* with all possible expedition, and employ the *with their* whole ^astrength of his kingdom in rescuing them from the op-*invitation*. pression they groaned under. However, before he began to make the necessary preparations, he is said to have consulted the oracle of *Delphi*, about the success of his intended expedition ; on which occasion the answer of the god was uttered in such terms, as might equally signify, either that he should conquer the *Romans*, or the *Romans* him ; but the desire he had of engaging in this expedition, made him interpret the ambiguous answer in his own favour ^b.

A *Theffalian*, named *Cyneas*, was at this time *Pyrrhus's* *The char-* prime minister, and chief favourite. He was a man of most *racter of* extraordinary parts, being an experienced officer, an able *Cyneas*, politician, and the most eloquent orator of his age : the art *Pyrrhus's* of oratory he had learned under *Demosthenes* ; that of war, *prime mi-* under the companions of *Alexander the Great* ; and politics, *nister*. by long experience, having been always employed by *Pyr-* *rhus* in the most difficult negotiations. The art of persuasion, of which he was master, and the secret he had of insinuating himself into the affections of those he dealt with, enabled

^a PLUT. ibid. & CIC. de divin. l. ii.

him to conquer all difficulties in the business he transacted for his master ; insomuch that *Pyrrhus* himself used to say, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence and persuasive discourses of *Cyneas*, than he could ever have conquered by force of arms. He was by profession a philosopher of the sect of *Epicurus*, which was not then come into disrepute through the ill use that corrupt men afterwards made of the principles they professed. At court he maintained the character of a man of virtue, and a lover of truth, who was not capable of deceiving by mean flatteries ; and yet had submission enough to execute, without murmuring, the orders that were given contrary to his advice.

*Pyrrhus
discloses his
design to
him.*

Pyrrhus, who reposed an intire confidence in this great man, could not help communicating to him the vast projects he was forming : having therefore called him into his cabinet, after he had dismissed the *Tarentine* embassadors ; The *Tarentines*, said he, invite me over into *Italy*, which opens to me a large field of glory. To subdue the *Romans*, is to conquer the west : and how easy is it to subdue them ! *Hetruria* finds them employment on one hand ; and all the nations on this side the *Tyber*, quite to the sea-shore, are ready to take up arms, under my command, against that ambitious and haughty republic. Tell me impartially, what you think of this expedition. *Cyneas*, without disapproving his design upon *Italy*, asked him, whither he designed to turn his arms, if the gods should be so gracious as to crown his attempts upon that country with the wished-for success. To this question *Pyrrhus*, without hesitation, answered, that, from *Italy*, he designed to pass over into *Sicily*, where he should find all things in confusion on account of the death of king *Agathocles*, who had kept the *Sicilians* in awe. And how many fruitful provinces, said he, shall I find there, either ready to receive me after the conquest of *Italy*, or not in a condition to oppose my victorious troops ! And when *Sicily* shall have submitted to you, where do you intend to make war next ? replied *Cyneas*. The thing speaks itself, answered *Pyrrhus* ; from *Sicily* I will sail over into *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* are not invincible. *Agathocles* surprised them with a few ships, and was very near making himself king of *Carthage*. And when I shall have taken that city, who will be able to make head against me ? *Macedon*, which I formerly conquered, and every province of *Greece*, shall be part of my future conquests. And after all these victories, said *Cyneas*, how shall we employ ourselves, and dispose of our time ? I will then, subjoined *Pyrrhus*, take some rest after all my fatigues, and enjoy the pleasures of life with you.

you. At these words, that great philosopher interrupting him, And what prevents you, said he, from enjoying that happiness now, which you propose to seek through so many toils and labours, with the hazard of never being able to find it ? Why should you purchase, at so dear a rate, the gratifications which you may now enjoy without the least trouble ? These words made some impression upon the king ; and, covering his ambitious views with the appearance of virtue, It is hereditary in my family, said he, to assist the miserable : we ought not to make war for ourselves alone, but to relieve the oppressed. Being thus unalterably fixed in *Resolves* on his design of subjecting all *Italy*, the better to conceal it, he ^{a year} caused a very artful clause to be inserted in his treaty with the ^{with the} *Tarentines* ; to wit, that when he had once relieved *Tarentum*, Romans. he should not be detained in *Italy*, but allowed to return to *Epirus*. He likewise required, that some of the ambassadors should continue in his dominions, under pretence of assisting him in making the necessary preparations for war ; but in reality, that they might be as so many hostages to secure the fidelity of the *Tarentines* ¹.

HAVING taken these prudent precautions, he immediately dispatched *Cyneas* with part of his fleet, and a detachment of three thousand foot, to *Tarentum* ; where that artful minister soon changed the face of affairs, the chief men of the city being, notwithstanding the embassy they had sent to *Pyrrhus*, inclined to come to an agreement with the *Romans* ; nay, they had even chosen for their chief magistrate one *Agis*, who was a sincere friend to the *Romans*, and acted in concert with *L. Aemilius Barbula*, the *Roman* general, hoping, by that means, to reconcile his countrymen to *Rome*, and make them lay aside their design of receiving the king of *Epirus*. But *Cyneas*, by his eloquence, and insinuating behaviour, prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to depose *Agis*, and place one of the ambassadors, who had been sent into *Epirus*, in his room. After this, he persuaded them to deliver up their citadel to one *Milo an Epirot*, who was arrived a few days before with fresh succours, and the agreeable news, that *Pyrrhus* would soon be there in person at the head of a numerous army. The *Tarentines*, impatient to see the king of *Epirus* among them, upon this advice, dispatched their gallies, and a great number of transports, with all sorts of provisions, and a large sum of money, to *Epirus*, in order to convoy *Pyrrhus*, with his troops and elephants, safe to

¹ PLUT. ibid. DIO, in excerpt. ZONAR. I. viii.

Pyrrhus embarks for Italy. Year after Tarentum, as in Epirus. Before the arrival of the Tarentine fleet, he had settled the government of his dominions during his absence. He left Ptolemy his son by Antigone the daughter of Berenice, who was then fifteen years old, regent of Epirus, under the tuition of Ptolemy Ceraunus king of Macedonia. He took his two younger sons Alexander and Helenus (I) with him into Italy, to amuse and entertain him in this long expedition. Before his departure, he had likewise borrowed ships, men, and money, of the kings his friends; so that his army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, three thousand horse, five hundred slingers, and fifty elephants, according to Justin ^m, which Plutarch reduces to twenty ⁿ. Among these troops were about seven thousand of those brave Macedonians, who had conquered Asia under Alexander the Great. His fleet was composed of the ships of Epirus, the gallies of Tarentum, and those which Antigonus Gonatas had sent him. With these he immediately set sail about the end of the winter, the eager desire he had of getting to Italy, not suffering him to wait for a more favourable season. But his impatience had like to have cost him dear; for he had scarce got out into the open sea, when a violent storm from the north drove him out of his course, and dispersed his fleet. The ship, on board of which the king was, being large and high-built, gained, by the care of

His fleet dispersed by a storm.

^m JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 2.

ⁿ PLUT. ibid.

(I) After the death of Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, Pyrrhus married several wives. The first was the daughter of Antolcon king of the Paenians. The second, by name Bercenna, was the daughter of Bardullis king of the Illyrians. The third was Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles king of Syracuse. The latter brought him the island of Corcyra, which her father had seized, for her portion. By her he had Alexander; and Helenus, the youngest of all his children, by Bercenna. Plutarch tells us,

that all the children of Pyrrhus derived a warlike genius from their father, which was greatly improved by their education; and adds, that one of them having asked him, to which of his children he designed to leave the kingdom of Epirus, the king answered, To him who has the sharpest sword. Lanassa, who was once his favourite wife, grew at last jealous of him, thinking he preferred his other wives to her; and, retiring to Corcyra, there married Demetrius (3).

(3) Plut. in Pyrrho.

the pilot and mariners, the coast of *Italy*, the first, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The few ships that followed the king, struck against the rocks on the *Messapian* shore, and were dashed to pieces. While *Pyrrhus* was preparing to come ashore, the inhabitants having flocked from all quarters to see him, a fresh accident was very near destroying the deliverer of *Italy*, as they stiled him, and disappointing the expectation of the *Tarentines*. For a land wind rising all on a sudden with great violence, drove *Pyrrhus* out to sea again. This new danger was greater than any he had met with in his passage, the mariners expecting that his ship, being beat by the violence of the waves, would founder at each shock it sustained. In this extremity the intrepid *Pyrrhus* did not hesitate a moment; but as the shore was not far off, threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his guards, and those friends he had on board, with *himself* in out doubt, to take care of his person, and save him at the danger of their own lives; but as the night was extremely dark, and the sea ran very high, he struggled with the waves till day-break, when the wind abating, he reached the land, with the assistance of the *Messapians*, who stood on the shore. The long fatigue he had sustained during great part of the night, weakened him to such a degree, that he could not stand, without being supported by his guards. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness, was the apprehension he was under of his army being lost; for he had with him only two thousand men, a few horses, and two elephants, animals which had never before been seen in *Italy*. With these he crossed *Messapia*, and marched directly to *Tarentum*.

Cyneas no sooner heard what had happened to *Pyrrhus*, *Arrives at* but he advanced to meet him at the head of a strong detachment, and conducted him safe to *Tarentum*, where he was sum-received with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy. The *Tarentines*, who were intirely devoted to their pleasures, expected that he should take all the fatigues of the war on himself, and expose his *Epirots* only to danger. And indeed *Pyrrhus* for some days dissembled his design, and suffered the *Tarentines* to indulge, without restraint, their usual diversions. But his ships, which had been dispersed all over the *Ionian* sea, arriving one after another, and with them the troops which he had put on board in *Epirus*, he began to reform the disorders that prevailed in the city. The theatre was the place, to which the idle *Tarentines* resorted daily in great numbers, and where the incendiaries

*Reforms
the man-
ners of the
Taren-
tines.*

stirred up the people to sedition with their harangues : he therefore caused it to be shut up, as he did likewise the public gardens, porticoes, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants used to entertain themselves with news, and speak with great freedom of their governors, censuring their conduct, and settling the government according to their different humours, which occasioned great divisions, and rent the city into various factions. As they were a very voluptuous and indolent people, they spent whole days and nights in feasts, masquerades, plays, &c. These therefore *Pyrrhus* absolutely prohibited, as no less dangerous than the assemblies of prating politicians. They were utter strangers to military exercises, and the art of handling arms ; but *Pyrrhus* having caused an exact register to be made of all the young men who were fit for war, picked out the strongest among them, and incorporated them among his own troops, saying, that he would take it upon himself to give them courage. He exercised them daily for several hours, and on that occasion behaved with an inexorable severity, inflicting exemplary punishments on such as did not attend, or failed in their duty. By these wise measures he prevented seditions among the citizens, and inured their youth to military discipline ; and because many, who had not been accustomed to such severity and rigour, withdrew from their native country, *Pyrrhus*, by a public proclamation, declared all those guilty of death, who should attempt to abandon their country, or absent themselves from the common musters ^p.

*The Ta-
rentines
displeased
at his con-
duct.*

THE *Tarentines*, being now sensible that *Pyrrhus* was determined to be their master, began loudly to complain of his conduct ; but he, being informed of whatever passed among them, by his spies, who insinuated themselves into all companies, privately dispatched the most factious, and sent those, whom he suspected, under various pretences, to his son's court in *Epirus* (K).

IN

^p PLUT. ibid. FRONTIN. stratag.

(K.) Among the latter was *Aristarchus*, a famous orator, whose eloquence gave *Pyrrhus* no small jealousy ; for orators had in those days a great influence over the multitude, especially in the Greek cities, where popular government obtained. As *Aristarchus* had, we may say, an absolute authority in the city,

Pyrrhus made it his chief business to lessen his reputation among his fellow-citizens ; pretending a strict friendship for the orator ; and giving out, that, in many things, which were displeasing to the *Tarentines*, he had acted according to his advice. But *Aristarchus*, in his private discourses, undeceived them, letting

IN the mean time *P. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* consul, entering the country of the *Lucanians*, who were in alliance with the *Tarentines*, committed great ravages there, and having taken and fortified one of their castles, waited in that neighbourhood for *Pyrrhus*. The king, though he had not yet received any succours from the *Samnites*, *Messapians*, and other allies of the *Tarentines*, thought it highly dishonourable to continue shut up in a city, while the *Romans* were ravaging the country of his friends. He therefore took the field with the troops he had brought him from *Epirus*, some recruits of *Tarentum*, and a small number of *Italians*. But before he began hostilities, he wrote the following letter to *Lævinus*: *Pyrrhus to Lævinus, health. I am informed Writes an that you command an army, which is to make war upon the haughty Tarentines. Disband it forthwith, and lay your pretensions letter to before me. After I have heard both parties, I will give judg- the consul ment, and know how to make my sentence be obeyed.* *Lævinus* answered the king with all the haughtiness of a *Roman*: *Know, Pyrrhus, that we neither admit you as a judge, nor The con- fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to ful's an- judge us, who have yourself injured us, by landing in Italy sver- without the consent of our republic? We will have no arbitra- tor but Mars, the author of our race, and protector of our arms.* The king, upon the receipt of this letter, immediately marched towards those parts where *Lævinus* was wait-

ting them know, that he entertained the same thoughts of *Pyrrhus*, as the multitude. The king therefore, thinking it necessary to remove so dangerous an enemy, sent him to his son on an embassy, which, he said, was of the utmost importance. *Aristarchus* saw through the artifice; but, pretending to be altogether unacquainted with it, accepted the deputation; and choosing a vessel, the commander of which was intirely at his devotion, set sail, as *Pyrrhus* imagined, for *Epirus*. But he had no sooner lost sight of the land, than he ordered the pilot to return to *Italy*, and put in at some port, from whence he might go

safely by land to *Rome*. The pilot obeyed; and *Aristarchus*, on his arrival in that metropolis, acquainted the senate with the state of *Tarentum*, and the designs of *Pyrrhus*. Hereupon *Fabricius* was immediately despatched to visit the *Roman* colonies, and the allies of the republic, to fortify some places, and exhort the cities to continue steady in their alliance with *Rome*. And truly these precautions were necessary, the allies of the republic being, in many places, inclined to desert her, and ready to join a king famous for his exploits, who promised them an happy deliverance from all manner of subjection (4).

(4) *Plu.*: *ibid.* *Dio, in excerpt. Ursin. Polyb. I. i. c. 7.*

ing for him. The *Romans* were encamped on the hither side of the river *Siris*, and *Pyrrhus* appearing on the opposite bank, made it his first business to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in person, and see what appearance they made. With this view he crossed the river, attended by *Megacles*, one of his officers, and chief favourites; and having observed the consul's intrenchments, the manner in which he had posted his advanced guards, and the good order of his camp, he was greatly surprised; and addressing *Megacles*, These people, said he, are not such barbarians as we take them to be: let us try them before we condemn them (L). On his return, he changed his resolution of attacking them, and shutting himself up in his intrenchments, waited for the arrival of the confederate troops. In the mean time, he posted strong guards along the river, to prevent the enemy from passing it; and continually sent out scouts to discover the designs, and watch the motions, of the consul. Some of these being taken by the advanced guards of the *Romans*, the consul himself led them through his camp, and having shewed them his army, sent them back to the king, telling them, that he had many other troops to shew them in due time ^a.

Attacked by the Romans. *Lævinus* being determined to draw the enemy to a battle before *Pyrrhus* received the reinforcements he expected, having harangued his troops, marched to the banks of the *Siris*, and there drawing up his infantry in battalia, ordered

^a PLUT. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 2. PAUSAN. in Bœotic.

(L) *Aurelius Victor*, and *Florus*, make *Pyrrhus* talk in a very different manner on this occasion, and altogether foreign to the purpose. The first tells us, that, at the sight of the *Roman* army, he cried out, That his fate was like that of *Hercules*, since he likewise had an *hydra* to encounter; and *Florus*, that, when he saw the *Roman* troops, he complained of his being born under the same constellation with *Hercules*, since so many enemies, like the heads of the *hydra* of *Lerna*, started up out of their own blood. *Cyneas*, according to *Plutarch*, and not *Pyrrhus*, made this comparison, after he

had observed how quickly the *Roman* army was recruited, and the legions filled up, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained in the first battle. On this occasion the reflection of *Cyneas* was a very sensible one, and the comparison obvious and natural; but it would have been highly absurd, in the circumstances in which the above-mentioned authors suppose *Pyrrhus* to have made it, that is, before he had engaged the *Romans*, or gained any victory over them; for how could he then compare them to the *hydra*, whose heads grew up as fast as *Hercules* cut them off?

the cavalry to file off, and march a great way about, in order to find a passage at some place not defended by the enemy. Accordingly they passed the river without being observed, and falling upon the guards, which *Pyrrhus* had posted on the banks over-against the consular army, gave the infantry an opportunity of crossing the river on bridges, which *Lævinus* had prepared for that purpose. But before they got over, *Pyrrhus*, hastening from his camp, which was at some distance from the river, hoped to cut the *Roman* army in pieces, while they were disordered with the difficulties of passing the river, and climbing up the steep banks. But the cavalry covering the infantry, and standing between them and the *Epirots*, gave them time to form themselves on the banks of the river. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* drew up his men as fast as they came from the camp, and performed such deeds of valour, that the *Romans* thought him worthy of the great reputation he had acquired.

As the cavalry alone had hitherto engaged, *Pyrrhus*, who confided most in his infantry, hastened back to the camp, in order to bring them to the charge : but took two precautions before he began the attack ; the first was, to ride through the ranks, and shew himself to the whole army ; for his horse having been killed under him in the first onset, a report had been spread that he was slain ; the second, was to change his habit and helmet with *Megacles* ; for having *Pyrrhus* been known in the engagement of the horse by the richness in great of his attire and armour, many of the *Romans* had aimed at him danger in particular, so that he was with the utmost difficulty taken the beginning and saved, after his horse was killed under him. Thus *ring of the disguised*, he led his phalanx against the *Roman* legions, and *battle*. attacked them with incredible fury. *Lævinus* sustained the shock with great resolution, so that the victory was for many hours warmly disputed. The *Romans* gave several times way to the *Epirots*, and the *Epirots* to the *Romans* ; but both parties rallied again, and were brought back to the charge by their commanders. *Megacles*, in the attire and helmet of *Pyrrhus*, was in all places, and well supported the character he had assumed. But his disguise at last proved fatal to him : for a *Roman* knight, by name *Dexter*, taking him for the king, followed him where-ever he went, and having found an opportunity of discharging a blow at him, struck him dead on the spot, stript him of his helmet and armour, and carried them in triumph to the consul, who, by shewing to the *Epirots* the spoils of their king, so terrified them, that they began to give ground. But *Pyrrhus*, appearing bare-headed in the first files of his phalanx, and riding through all

all the lines, undeceived his men, and inspired them with new courage.

But at last THE advantage seemed to be pretty equal on both sides; *defeats the when Lævinus ordered his cavalry to advance*; which *Romans*. *rhus* observing, drew up twenty elephants in the front of his army, with towers on their backs full of bowmen. The very sight of those dreadful animals chilled the bravery of the *Romans*, who had never before seen them. However, they still advanced, till their horses, not being able to bear the smell of them, and frightened at the strange noise they made, took head, and either threw their riders, or carried them off full speed in spite of their utmost efforts. In the mean time the archers, discharging showers of darts from the towers, wounded several of the *Romans* in that confusion, while others were tiold to death by the elephants. Notwithstanding the disorder of the cavalry, the legionaries still kept their ranks, and could not be broken, till *Pyrrhus* attacked them in person, at the head of the *Theffalian* horse. The onset was so furious, that they were forced to yield, and retire in disorder. The king of *Epirus* restrained the ardour of his troops, and would not suffer them to pursue the enemy: an elephant which had been wounded by a *Roman* soldier, named *Minuccius*, having caused a great disorder in his army; this accident favoured the retreat of the *Romans*, and gave them time to repass the river, and take refuge in *Apulia*¹. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* makes the loss of the *Romans* in this first battle amount to fifteen thousand men; but *Hieronymus*, quoted by the same historian, reduces it to seven thousand: according to the former, *Pyrrhus* lost thirteen thousand; and four thousand only, according to the latter. The *Epirot* remained master of the field, and had the pleasure to see the *Romans* fly before him; but the victory cost him dear, a *costs him* great number of his best officers and soldiers having been slain in the battle; whence he was heard to say after the action, that he was both conqueror and conquered; and that if he gained such another victory, he should be obliged to return to *Epirus* alone (M).

His

¹ DION. HALICARNASS. I. iii. PLUT. ibid. EUTROP. I. ii.
OROS. I. iv. c. 2.

(M) He was so far from being elated with the advantage he had got, that when he hung up the spoils he had taken from the enemy, in the temple of Jupiter

at *Tarentum*, he caused this memorable inscription to be engraved upon them; the words of which, as they have been transmitted to us in verse, are,

Qui

His first care, after the action, was to bury the dead, with which the plain was covered ; and herein he made no distinction between the *Romans* and his own *Epirots*. In viewing the bodies of the former, he observed, that none of them had received any dishonourable wounds ; that they had all fallen in the posts assigned them, still held their swords in their hands, and shewed, even after their death, a certain martial air and fierceness in their faces : and on this occasion it was, that he uttered those famous words ; *O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his soldiers, or the Romans Pyrrhus for their leader ! Together, we should subdue the whole world's.*

THE king of *Epirus* understood the art of war too well, not to reap what advantage he could from his victory. He broke into the countries in alliance with the *Romans* like a torrent, plundered the lands of the republic, and made incursions even into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Many cities *Mates* opened their gates to him, and in a short time he made him-*bimself* *master* of the greatest part of *Campania*. While he was *master of* in that fruitful province, subsisting his troops there at the *great-expence* of the *Romans*, he was joined by the *Samnites*, *Lævinians*, and *Messapians*, whom he had so long expected. *Campagna.* After having reproached them for their delay, he gave them a good share of the spoils he had taken from the enemy ; and having, by this means, gained their affections, he marched, without loss of time, to lay siege to *Capua* ; but *Lævinus*, having already received a reinforcement of two legions, threw some troops into the city, which obliged *Pyrrhus* to drop his design, and leaving *Capua*, to march strait to *Naples*. *Lævinus* followed him, harassing his troops on their march ; and at length, by keeping his army in that neighbourhood, forced him to give over all thoughts of making himself master of that important city. The king then, all on a sudden, took his route towards *Rome* by the *Latin way*, surprised *Tar: Fe: Pregellæ*, and marching through the country of the *Hernici*, *gelle*. sat down before *Prænestine*. There, from the top of an hill, he had the pleasure of seeing *Rome* ; and is said to have advanced so near the walls, that he drove a cloud of dust into the city. But he was soon forced to retire, by the other

* FLOR. l. viii. - .

*Qui invicti ante fuere viri, pater optime Olympi,
Hos & ego in pugna vici, vicitusque sum ab iisdem;*

A race unconquer'd I, great Jove, o'erthrew.
Yet, in the dubious fight, was conquer'd too.

(5.) *Plut. ibid. Orf. l. iv. c. 1.*

consul *T. Coruncanius*, who, having reduced *Hetruria*, was just then returned with his victorious army to *Rome*. The king of *Epirus* therefore, having no hopes of bringing the *Hetrurians* into his interest, and seeing two consular armies

Raises the siege of Præneste, and returns to Campania. ready to fall upon him, raised the siege of *Præneste*, and hastened back into *Campania*, where, to his great surprize, he found *Lævinus* with a more numerous army than that which he had defeated on the banks of the *Siris*. The consul went to meet him, with a design to try the fate of another battle, which *Pyrrhus* being unwilling to decline, drew up his army, and, to strike terror into the *Roman* legions, ordered his men to beat their bucklers with their lances, and the leaders of the elephants to force them to make their hideous noise. But the noise was returned with such an universal shout by the *Romans*, that *Pyrrhus*, thinking so much alacrity on the part of the vanquished too sure a prognostic of victory, altered his mind, and pretending that the auguries were not favourable, retired to *Tarentum*, and put an end to the campaign ^t.

WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet at *Tarentum*, he had time to reflect on the valour and conduct of the *Romans*; which made him conclude, that the war, in which he was engaged, must end in his ruin and disgrace, if not terminated by an advantageous peace. He was therefore overjoyed, when

The Romans sendable embassy to him, to propose terms of peace. he heard that the senate had determined to send an honourable embassy to him, not doubting, but their errand was to propose terms of peace. He pleased himself with the imagination of seeing those haughty republicans at his feet in a suppliant manner, and saying to them, with the air of a conqueror, *I grant you peace*. In full expectation of this, he sent *Lycon* the *Molossian* to wait for them, with a guard, on the frontiers of *Tarentum*; and as they approached the city, went out in person to meet them, received them with all possible marks of honour, and appointed them stately lodgings, commanding them to be plentifully supplied, at the public expence, with all necessaries. The ambassadors were three men of distinguished merit; to wit, *Cornelius Dolabella*, who was famous for the signal victory he had gained over the *Senones*, the virtuous *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, who had been his colleague in the consulate two years before. When they were admitted to an audience, the only thing they demanded, was a surrender of the prisoners, either by way of exchange, or at such a ransom as should be agreed on; for *Pyrrhus*, in the late battle, had made eighteen

^t PLUT. & FLOR. ibid. ZONAR. 1. viii. c. 4.

hundred prisoners, most of them *Roman* knights, and men of distinction in the republic. They had fought with great bravery, till their horses, frightened with the roaring of the king's elephants, had either thrown them, or obliged them to dismount ; by which unforeseen accident, they had fallen into the enemy's hands. The senate therefore, pitying the condition of those brave men, had determined, contrary to their custom, to redeem them. *Pyrrhus* was greatly surprised and disappointed, when he found that they had no other proposals to make ; but concealing his thoughts, he only answered, that he would consider of it, and let them know his resolution ^v.

ACCORDINGLY he assembled his council ; but his chief favourites were divided in their opinions. *Milo*, who commanded in the citadel of *Tarentum*, was for coming to no composition with the *Romans* ; but *Cyneas*, who knew his master's inclination, proposed not only sending back the prisoners without ransom, but dispatching an embassy to *Rome*, to treat with the senate of a lasting peace. His advice was approved, and he himself appointed to go on that embassy. ^{sent to} After these resolutions, the king acquainted the ambassadors, ^{Rome to} that he intended to release the prisoners without ransom, ^{treat of &} since he had already riches enough, and desired nothing of ^{peace.} their republic but her friendship. Afterwards he had several private conferences with *Fabricius*, whose virtue he tried with mighty offers of riches and grandeur ; but finding him proof against all temptations, he resolved to try, whether his intrepidity and courage were equal to his virtue. With this view, he caused an elephant to be placed behind a curtain in the hall, where he received the *Roman* ambassador. As *Fabricius* Pyrrhus's had never seen one of those beasts, the king, taking a turn ^{conference} or two in the hall with him, brought him within the elephant's reach, and then caused the curtain to be drawn all ^{with Fa-} bricius. on a sudden, and that monstrous animal to make his usual noise, and even lay his trunk on *Fabricius*'s head. But the intrepid *Roman*, without betraying the least fear or concern, Does the great king, said he, with surprising calmness, who could not stagger me with his offers, think to frighten me with the braying of a beast ? *Pyrrhus*, astonished at his immoveable constancy, invited him to dinner ^{with him} ; and on this occasion it was that, the conversation turning upon the *Epicurean* philosophy, *Fabricius* made that celebrated exclamation ; *O that Pyrrhus, both for Rome's sake and his own, had placed his happiness in the boasted indolence of Epicurus !*

^v DION. HAL. legat.

^w DION. HALICAR. ibid.

Cyneas's
negotia-
tions at
Rome.

EVERY thing *Pyrrhus* heard or saw of the *Romans*, increased his earnestness for peace. He sent for the three ambassadors, released two hundred of the prisoners without ransom, and suffered the rest, on their parole, to return to *Rome* to celebrate the *Saturnalia*, or feasts of *Saturn*, in their own families. Having by this obliging behaviour gained the good-will of the *Roman* ambassadors, he sent the famous *Cyneas* to *Rome*, almost at the same time that they left *Tarentum*. The instructions he gave this faithful minister, were, to bring the *Romans* to grant these three articles: 1. That the *Tarentines* should be included in the treaty made with the king of *Epirus*. 2. That all the *Grec* cities in *Italy* should be suffered to enjoy their laws and liberties. 3. That the republic should restore to the *Sannites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*, all the places she had taken from them. Upon these conditions, *Pyrrhus* declared himself ready to forbear all further hostilities, and conclude a lasting peace. With these instructions *Cyneas* set out for *Rome*; where, partly by his eloquence, partly by rich presents to the senators, and their wives, he soon gained a good number of voices. When he was admitted into the senate, he made an harangue worthy of a disciple of the great *Demosthenes*; after which, he read the conditions *Pyrrhus* proposed, and, with a great deal of eloquence, endeavoured to shew the reasonableness and moderation of his master's demands, asking leave for *Pyrrhus* to come to *Rome* to conclude and sign the treaty. The senators were generally inclined to agree to *Pyrrhus*'s terms; but nevertheless, as several senators were absent, the determination of the affair was postponed to the next day, when *Appius Claudius*, the greatest orator, and most learned civilian in *Rome*, old and blind as he was, caused himself to be carried to the senate, where he had not appeared for many years; and there, partly by his eloquence, partly by his authority, so prepossessed the minds of the senators against the king of *Epirus*, and the conditions he offered, that, when he had done speaking, the conscript fathers unanimously passed a decree, the substance of which was, that the war with *Pyrrhus* should be continued; that his ambassador should be sent back that very day; that the king of *Epirus* should not be permitted to come to *Rome*; and that they should acquaint his ambassador, that *Rome* would enter into no treaty of peace with his master, till he had left *Italy* *.

* PLUT. ibid. ENNIUS apud CIC. in Cat. Maj.

Cyneas, surprised at the answer given him, left *Rome* the same day, and returned to *Tarentum*, to acquaint the king ^{re-} with the final resolution of the senate. *Pyrrhus*, on hearing ^{fuse to en-} it, admired the constancy and intrepidity of a conquered people, who spoke the language of conquerors ; and having asked ^{treaty} *Cyneas* his opinion of the senate, into which he had been introduced, that minister told him, that the senate seemed to ^{with Pyr-} him an assembly of kings, whose appearance filled the spectators with awe and reverence. This answer greatly increased the esteem *Pyrrhus* had for the *Romans* ; he would have willingly concluded a peace with them upon honourable terms ; but, as the conditions they offered were not by any means consistent with the reputation of his arms, he began, without loss of time, to make all due preparations for the next campaign. On the other hand, the *Romans* having raised to the consulate *P. Sulpicius Saverio*, and *P. Decius Mus*, dispatched them both into *Apulia*, where they found *Pyrrhus* encamped near a little town called *Asculum*. There the consuls, joining their armies, fortified themselves at the foot of the *Apennines*, having between them and the enemy a large deep stream, which divided the plain. Both armies continued a great while on the opposite banks, before either ventured to pass over to attack the other. The *Epirots* being informed, that the father and grandfather of the consul *Decius* had, by devoting themselves to the *Dii Manes*, gained victories when every thing threatened the total defeat of their troops, believed that the *Decii* transmitted, from father to son, some unaccountable art of necromancy, whereby they secured the victory to their party, whenever they lost their lives in the battle. This vain apprehension filled the *Epirots* with terror ; and *Pyrrhus*, to destroy so dangerous a possession, sent a messenger to *Decius*, acquainting him, that *His message to* if he attempted to devote himself, he should find the *Epirots* ^{sage to} upon their guard, and resolved not to put him to death, but ^{the Roman con-} to take him alive, and that the most cruel punishments should ^{ful.} be inflicted upon him as an impostor after the battle. To ^{man con-} this message, the consul returned the following answer ; *Pyrrhus* is not so formidable an enemy, as to reduce us to expedients, which we make use of only in the greatest and inevitable dangers. To shew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice, either to pass the river unmolested, or to suffer us to do so : we shall then try in the open field, and upon equal terms, which of us shail have need of employing extraordinary methods to gain the victory.

The king could not, in point of honour, decline the challenge ; and therefore chose to continue where he was,

and let the *Romans* cross the stream ; which they did accordingly, and drew up in the plain. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* placed his men likewise in order of battle in the same *mimes pre-* plain ; and all the antiquits do him the justice to say, that no *pare for a* commander ever understood better the art of drawing up an *general en-arrhy,* and directing its motions. In the right wing he placed *gagement.* his *Epirots,* and the *Sannites,* in his left the *Lucanians,* *Brutians,* and *Salentines,* and his phalanx in the centre. The centre of the *Roman* army consisted of four legions, which were to engage the enemy's phalanx ; on their wings were posted the light-armed auxiliaries, and the *Roman* horse. The consuls, in order to guard their troops against the fury of the elephants, had prepared chariots, armed with long points of iron in the shape of forks, and filled with soldiers carrying firebrands, which they were directed to throw at the elephants, and by that means frighten them, and set their wooden towers on fire. These chariots were posted over-against the king's elephants, and ordered not to stir till they entered upon action. To this precaution the *Roman* generals added another, which was, to direct a body of *Apulians* to attack *Pyrrhus's* camp in the heat of the engagement, in order to force it, or at least draw off part of

The battle of Asculum. the enemy's troops to defend it. At length the attack began, both parties being pretty equal in number ; for each of them

consisted of about forty thousand men. The phalanx sustained, for a long time, the furious onset of the legions with incredible bravery ; but at length being forced to give way, *Pyrrhus* commanded his elephants to advance, but not on the side where the *Romans* had posted their chariots ; they marched round, and, falling upon the *Roman* horse, soon put them into confusion. Then the phalanx, returning with fresh courage to the charge, made the *Roman* legions in their turn give ground. On this occasion *Decius* was killed, so that one consul only was left to command the two *Roman* armies. But while all things seemed to favour *Pyrrhus*, the body of *Apulians*, which we have mentioned above, falling unexpectedly on the camp of the *Epirots*, obliged the king to dispatch a strong detachment to defend his intrenchments. Upon the departure of these troops, some of the *Epirots*, imagining that the camp was taken, began to lose courage, and retire ; those who were next to them followed their ex-

The Epi- ample ; and in a short time the whole army gave way. *Pyrrhus* having attempted several times in vain to rally his forces, *retreat* returned to the charge with a small number of his friends, and the most courageous of his officers. With these he sustained the fury of the victorious legions, and covered the

retreat of his own men. But being, after a most gallant behaviour, dangerously wounded, he retired at last with his Pyrrhus's small band in good order, leaving the Romans masters of the dangerous field. As the sun was near setting, the Romans being extremely fatigued, and a great number of them wounded, the consul *Sulpicius*, not thinking it adviseable to pursue the enemy, sounded a retreat, repassed the stream, and brought his troops back to the camp (N). *Sulpicius* appeared in the field of battle the next day, with a design to bring the Epirots to a second engagement; but finding they had withdrawn in the night to *Tarentum*, he likewise retired, and put his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*.

BOTH armies continued quiet in their quarters during winter; but early in the spring took the field anew. The Romans were commanded this year by two men of great fame, whom they had raised to the consulate the second time: these

PLUT. DION. HAL. FLOR. JUSTIN. ibid.

(N) Historians give us very different accounts of the battle of *Asculum*. *Plutarch*, who will have it to have been a double action, relates it thus: *Pyrrhus*, says he, was pent up in a place, where the cavalry could not be of any use; and could not bring up his elephants, the ground being very marshy. In this disadvantageous post many of his men were killed, and more wounded; so that night alone, which put an end to the battle, saved him from an entire defeat. The next day the king, to retrieve his reputation, took possession of a more even ground, where he placed his elephants. Early in the morning, having seized those narrow passes, which had proved fatal to his army the day before, he drew up his men in the plain, posting a great number of archers and pikemen among his elephants. In this order he advanced towards the enemy, and charged the Roman troops with

incredible fury. The legions fought a long time with great bravery; but at length, not being able to withstand the elephants, betook themselves to flight (6). On the other hand, *Eutropius* tells us, that the Romans gained a complete victory; that *Pyrrhus* lost his elephants in the action, and was obliged, though wounded, to fly to *Tarentum*, to avoid falling into the enemy's hands (7). But his account is contradicted by other historians. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, says, that there was but one battle fought near the city of *Asculum*; that the success of this great action was doubtful; that *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the arm with a spear; and that his baggage was plundered by the Samnites. The same author makes *Pyrrhus*, on this occasion, give that famous answer to one, who congratulated him on his victory, *Such another would undo me* (8).

(6) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

(7) *Eutrop. I. ii.*

(8) *Dion. Hal. I. iii.*

were the celebrated *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*; who no sooner arrived in *Apulia*, than they led their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus*, who had received considerable reinforcements from *Epirus*, met them near the frontiers, and encamped at a small distance from the *Roman* army. While the consuls were waiting here for a *The king's* favourable opportunity to give battle, a messenger from physician *Nicias*, the king's physician, delivered a letter to *Fabricius*; wherein the traitor offered to take off his master by poison, provided the consul would promise him a reward proportionable to the greatness of the service. The virtuous *Roman*, being filled with horror at the bare proposal of such a crime, immediately communicated the affair to his colleague; who readily joined with him in writing a letter to *Pyrrhus*; wherein they warned him, without discovering the criminal, to take care of himself, and be upon his guard against the treacherous designs of those about him. The letter was couched in the following terms: “*C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius*, consuls, to king *Pyrrhus*, health. You are unhappy the king on both in the choice of your friends and enemies. This letter this occa- will satisfy you, that the former are the worst of men, and sion. the latter persons of honour and probity. You are betrayed, *Pyrrhus*; and the man who ought to be the most faithful to you, offers to poison you. We give you this information, not to obtain favour from you, but fearing lest we should be suspected of consenting to an assassination, which we detest and abhor. We do not desire to end the war by secret and wicked attempts, but openly, and with our swords.” *Pyrrhus*, out of a deep sense of gratitude for so great a benefit, released immediately, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken. But the *Romans*, disdaining to accept either a favour from an enemy, or a recompence for not committing the blackest treachery, declared, that they would not receive their prisoners, but by way of exchange; and accordingly sent to *Pyrrhus* an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* prisoners.²

Cyneas As the king of *Epirus* grew every day more weary of a *sent a se-war*, which he feared would end in his disgrace, he *sent* a second time *Cyneas* a second time to *Rome*, to try whether he could, with *to Rome*. his artful harangues, prevail upon the conscript fathers to hearken to an accommodation, upon such terms as were consistent with his honour. But the ambassador found the senators steady in their former resolution, and determined not to

² PLUT. ibid. & auct. de vir. illust. GELLIUS noct. Attic. SENEC. epist. 120. EUTROP. l. ii. * PLUT. ibid. & EUTROP. l. ii.

enter into a treaty with his master till he had left *Italy*, and withdrawn from thence all his forces. This gave the king great uneasiness ; for he had already lost most of his veteran troops, and best officers, and was sensible that he should lose the rest, if he ventured another engagement. While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, embassadors arrived at his camp from the *Syracusans*, *Agrigentines*, and *Leontines*, imploring the assistance of his arms to drive out the *Carthaginians*, and put an end to the troubles which threatened their respective states with utter destruction. Pyrrhus, who wanted only some honourable pretence to leave ^{first sail for} *Italy*, laid hold of this ; and, appointing *Milo* governor of *Sicily*. *Tarentum*, with a strong garison to keep the inhabitants in awe during his absence, set sail for *Sicily* with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. We have elsewhere related at length the great success that attended him at first in *Sicily*^b ; but the face of his affairs soon changed there likewise. The *Sicilians*, disgusted at the resolution he had taken of passing over into *Africa*, and much more at the enormous extactions and extortions of his ministers and courtiers, had submitted partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertines*. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raised all over *Africa*, and a numerous army sent into *Sicily*, to recover the cities which *Pyrrhus* had taken.

As the *Sicilians* daily deserted from him in crouds, he was no way in a condition, with his *Epirots* alone, to withstand so powerful an enemy ; and therefore when deputies came to him from the *Tarentines*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, representing to him the losses they had sustained since his departure, and remonstrating, that, without his assistance, they must fall a sacrifice to the *Romans*, he laid hold of that opportunity to abandon the island, and return to *Italy*. His fleet was attacked by that of *Carthage*, and his *Returns to Italy*, after their landing, by the *Mamertines*, as we have related in the history of *Syracuse*^c. But *Pyrrhus* having, by his heroic bravery, escaped all danger, marched along the sea-shore, in order to reach *Tarentum* that way. As he passed through the country of the *Locrians*, who had not long before massacred the troops he had left there, he not only exercised all sorts of cruelty on the inhabitants, but plundered the temple of *Proserpine*, to supply the wants of his army. The immense riches which he found there, were, by his order, sent to *Tarentum* by sea ; but the ships that

^b Vide vol. viii. p. 86.

^c Ibid. p. 88, 89.

carried them being dashed against the rocks by a tempest, and the mariners all lost, this proud prince being convinced, says *Livy*⁴, that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasure, which the sea had thrown upon the shore, to be carefully gathered up, and replaced in the temple ; nay, to appease the wrath of the angry goddess, he put all those to death who had advised him to plunder her temple. However, superstition made the antients ascribe to this act of impiety all the misfortunes which afterwards befel that unhappy prince.

Arrives at Tarentum. Pyrrhus at length arrived at *Tarentum*; but of the army he had carried into *Sicily*, he brought back into *Italy* only three thousand horse, and not quite twenty thousand foot; a small body indeed to cope with two consular armies! He therefore reinforced them with the best troops he could raise in the countries of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*; and hearing that the two new consuls, *Curius Dentatus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*, had divided their forces, the one invading *Lucania*, and the other *Samnum*, he likewise divided his army into two bodies, marching with the choice of his

Attacks Curius Dentatus near Beneventum. *Epirots* against *Dentatus*, in hopes of surprising him in his camp near *Beneventum*. But the consul, having notice of his approach, went out of his intrenchments, with a strong detachment of legionaries, to meet him; repulsed his vanguard, put many of the *Epirots* to the sword, and took some of their elephants. *Curius*, encouraged with this first success, marched his army into the *Taurasian* fields, and drew it up in a plain, which was wide enough for his troops, but too narrow for the *Epirot* phalanx, the phalangites being so crowded, that they could not handle their arms without difficulty. But the king's eagerness to try his strength and skill with so renowned a commander, made him engage at that great disadvantage. Upon the first signal the action began, and one of the king's wings giving way, the victory seemed to incline to the *Romans*. But that wing where the king fought in person, repulsed the enemy, and drove them back quite to their intrenchments. This advantage was in great part owing to the elephants; which *Curius* perceiving, commanded a corps de reserve, which he had posted near the camp, to advance, and fall upon the elephants. These carrying burning torches in one hand, and their swords in the other, threw the former at the elephants, and with the latter defended themselves against their guides; by which means they were both forced to give way. The elephants,

* Liv. I. xxix. c. 18.

being

being put to flight, broke into the phalanx, close as it was, *But is ut-*
 and there caused a general disorder ; which was increased by *terly de-*
 a remarkable accident : for it is said, that a young elephant *feated.*
 being wounded, and thereupon making a dreadful noise, the Year of
 mother, quitting her rank, and hastening to the assistance of the flood
 her young one, put those, who still kept their ranks, into ^{2072.} *Bef. Chr.*
 the utmost confusion. But, however that be, it is certain, ^{276.} that the *Romans* obtained at last a complete victory ^c (O).

Pyrrhus, being no way in a condition, after the great loss *He retriris*
 he had sustained, to keep the field, retired to *Tarentum*, to Taren-
 attended only by a small body of horse, leaving the *Ro-tum* ;
mans in full possession of his camp ; which they so much ad-
 mired, that they made it ever after a model to form theirs
 by. And now the king of *Epirus* resolved to leave *Italy* as
 soon as possible ; but concealed his design, and endeavoured
 to keep up the drooping spirits of his allies, by giving them
 hopes of speedy succours from *Greece*. Accordingly he di-
 spatched ambassadors into *Aetolia*, *Illyricum*, and *Macedon*,
 demanding supplies of men and money. But the answers
 from those courts not proving favourable, he forged such as
 might please those whom he was willing to deceive ; and by
 this means supported the courage of his friends, and kept his
 enemy in play. When he could conceal his departure no
 longer, he pretended to be on a sudden in a great passion at
 the dilatoriness of his friends in sending him succours ; and
 acquainted the *Tarentines*, that he must go and bring them
 over himself. However, he left behind him a strong ga-
 rison in the citadel of *Tarentum*, under the command of the
 same *Milo* who had kept it for him during his stay in *Sicily*.

^c PLUT. in Pyrrh. PAUSAN. I. i. p. 22. JUSTIN. I. xxiii.
 c. 3. LIV. I. xxix. c. 18. DION. HAL. in excerpt. p. 542.

(O) *Orosius* (9) and *Eutropius* (1) tell us, that *Pyrrhus*'s army consisted of fourscore thousand foot, and six thousand horse, including his *Epirots* and allies ; whereas the consular army was scarce twenty thousand men strong. Those who exaggerate the king's loss say, that the number of the slain on his side amounted to thirty thousand men ; but others reduce it to

twenty thousand. All writers agree, that *Curius* took twelve hundred prisoners, and eight elephants. This victory, which was the most decisive *Rome* had ever gained, brought all *Italy* under subjection, and paved the way for those vast conquests, which afterwards made the *Romans* masters of the whole known world.

(9) *Oros.* I. iv.

(1) *Eutrop.* I. ii.

In order to keep this governor in his duty, he is said to have made him a very strange present, to wit, a chair covered with the skin of *Nicias*, the treacherous physician, who had offered *Fabricius* to poison his master^f. After all these *thence into* disguises and precautions, *Pyrrhus* at last set sail for *Epirus*, *bis own* and arrived safe at *Acroceraunium* with eight thousand foot, *dominions*, and five hundred horse, after having spent, to no purpose, six years in *Italy* and *Sicily*^g.

On his return, he found his treasures exhausted, and his people discouraged. To retrieve therefore his reputation, and make his troops some amends for the hardships they had suffered in *Italy*, he resolved to invade *Macedon*, where *Antigonus Gonatas*, who had refused to send him any succours, then reigned; and, being reinforced with some companies of *Gauls*, he ravaged the country, took many cities, overthrew *Antigonus* in a pitched battle; and notwithstanding that prince had a great many *Gauls* in his pay, *Pyrrhus* drove him from all Mace-place to place, and at length made himself master of the whole kingdom of *Macedon*^h (P).

Antigonus reduced to great straits by his father Ptolemy the son of Pyrrhus. *Antigonus*, after his defeat, had retired to *Theffalonica*, with the remains of his shattered army, intending to wait there for a favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* the son of *Pyrrhus*, a prince who almost equalled his father in bravery, though at that time but twenty-two years of age, pursued the unhappy *Antigonus* to his retreat, put to the sword the few troops he had with him, made himself master of *Theffalonica*, and reduced the king of *Macedon* to such straits, that he had no place to retire to in his misfortunes but the forestsⁱ.

His expedition into Peloponnesus. It was natural for *Pyrrhus*, after these conquests, which had both enriched and increased his army, to return to the assistance of the *Tarentines*, and his allies in *Italy*. But his

^f ZONAR. I. viii. c. 7. ^g PLUT. ibid. JUSTIN. I. xxv. c. 3. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 11. ^h See vol. ix. p. 104, 105. ⁱ JUSTIN. I. xxv. c. 3. See vol. ix. p. 105. PLUT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. I. xxii. in excerpt, VALESII, p. 266.

(P) After the victory which Molossians, consecrates to the Italic he gained over *Antigonus*, he nian Minerva those bucklers of hung up the spoils of the Gauls, the fierce Gauls, after having defeated the whole army of Antigonos. The descendants of Aeacus are still the same, brave and valiant (2).

(2) Plut. ibid. & Pausan. in Attic. p. 11, 12.

inconstancy, or rather the fear he was in of the *Romans*, made him take another course. New enemies, and new hopes, drew him into *Peloponnesus*, whither he took with him his two sons, *Ptolemy* and *Helenus*, instead of leaving at least one of them in *Macedon*, to keep that country in awe, and watch the motions of *Antigonus*. He had been invited thither by *Cleonymus* king of *Sparta*, who, being driven from his capital by *Areus*, his ambitious nephew, and by the intrigues of his wife *Chelidonis*, had recourse to *Pyrrhus*, whose victories had made him famous all over *Greece*. The king, who was ever passing from one enterprize to another, readily complied with the request of *Cleonymus*, and taking with him five-and-twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve elephants, entered *Peloponnesus*, not so much with a design to re-establish *Cleonymus*, as to make himself master of all *Greece*. But the obstinate resistance he met with at *Lacedæmon*, not only from the men, but also from the women, who, on that occasion, behaved like true heroines, obliged him to drop this enterprize, as we have related at length in the history of the *Lacedæmonians* ^k. He had scarce resolved with himself to retire from before *Lacedæmon*, when a new project made him hasten his departure, in order to try his fortune in another quarter.

Aristippus and *Aristias*, two of the principal citizens of *Argos*, having excited a great sedition in that city, the former ^{dition a-}mer, to make good his party against his rival, had drawn ^{city of} *Antigonus* into his interest; which was enough for the latter ^{Argos.} to call *Pyrrhus* to his assistance. The king was overjoyed at the arrival of an express from *Aristias*, inviting him to engage in a new war; and despising *Antigonus*, who had already recovered great part of *Macedon*, he drew off from *Lacedæmon*, and hastened to *Argos*. But *Areus*, having timely notice of his departure, concealed his troops in the most difficult passes, and having suffered the advanced guard of the *Epirot* army, commanded by *Pyrrhus*, to march by, fell unexpectedly on the rear, and cut off a great number of the *Gauls* and *Molossians*, who composed it. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* detached his son *Ptolemy* to their relief; but the young prince, suffering himself to be hurried on by his too great courage, was *Ptolemy* killed in the engagement by one *Orasus a Cretan*. The king killed. being informed of his son's death, which affected him in a very sensible manner, suddenly faced about, and falling upon the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry, who, under the command of *Evalcus*, an officer of great reputation, had imprudently ad-

* See vol. vii. p. 126, & seq.

*Pyrrhus
revenges
bis death.*

vanced into the plain, made a great havock of those troops. He was always dreadful in battles ; but on this occasion, when grief, and the desire of revenge, inflamed his natural ardor, he even surpassed himself. He singled out *Evalcus* in the throng, and breaking through the troops that surrounded him, killed him on the spot at the first blow. The death of so brave a man disheartened the *Lacedæmonians*, who now began to give ground. On the other hand the *Epirots*, being animated by the example of their king, pursued the advantage with such ardor, that the enemy were put into the utmost confusion, and at length obliged to save themselves by a disorderly flight, after having lost the greatest part of their cavalry. After this victory, when the dead body of his son was brought to him, he expressed the deepest concern ; but at the same time seemed to blame him on account of his too great boldness, saying, *I am not at all surprised that my son has lost his life ; I did not expect he would have lived so long.*

Pyrrhus having thus revenged the death of *Ptolemy* with streams of *Lacedæmonian* blood, pursued his march to *Argos*, and arriving before that city, encamped in an advantageous situation, at a small distance from *Antigonus*, who was come

*Challenges
Antigo-
nus to a
single com-
bat.*

thither before him. The next morning he sent an herald to *Antigonus*, challenging him to a single combat : but that prince returned him the following answer ; *If Pyrrhus is tired of his life, he may find ways enough to put an end to it.* The inhabitants of *Argos* seeing two foreign kings ready to engage at their gates, and not doubting but the conqueror would seize on their city, and from a free people reduce them to a state of slavery, sent ambassadors to both princes, intreating them to withdraw their forces, and suffer the citizens to compose their differences by themselves. *Antigonus* readily consented to this proposal, and, to convince them that he had no design upon their city, delivered up his son to them as an hostage.

*Attempts
to make
himself
master of
Argos.*

Pyrrhus likewise promised to retire ; but, as he offered no security for the performance of his promise, the *Argians* began to suspect him of insincerity ; and indeed not without reason, the factious *Aristias* having agreed to open one of the gates to him that very night, and put him in possession of the city. The traitor kept his word, opening the gate in the dead of the night, and conveying a body of *Pyrrhus's Gauls* into the market-place, which was in the centre of the city, without being discovered by any of *Aristippus's* party. But *Pyrrhus* not thinking that body sufficient to make head against the citizens, ordered his elephants to advance, with a design to draw them up likewise in the market-place. But it unfortunately happened, that the gate, which was delivered

up

up to *Pyrrhus*, was not high enough for the elephants to pass with their towers on their backs; so that it was necessary to take them off, and replace them, after they had entered the *Enter* city. As this could not be effected in the dark without some *Argos*. noise, the *Argians* hearing it, ran to arms, and finding the enemy posted in the centre of the city, fled to the fortress, and from thence sent messengers to *Antigonus*, pressing him to advance without loss of time to their assistance. He immediately marched up to the walls, and ordered his son *Alcioneus* to enter the city at the head of his best troops. In this critical juncture, *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* arrived likewise at *Argos* with a thousand *Lacedæmonians*, and the same number of *Cretans*; and joining the *Macedonians*, charged the *Gauls* with the utmost fury, and threw them into disorder. *Pyrrhus* hastened to their relief with a body of *Molossians*; but the darkness and confusion were so great, that he could neither be heard nor obeyed.

THE fight lasted all night, and at break of day the streets appeared covered with dead bodies, and streaming with blood, the *Macedonians*, *Argians*, *Cretans*, *Epirots*, *Gauls*, and *Lacedæmonians*, having fought all pell-mell in the dark, without distinguishing their friends from their foes. *Pyrrhus* was *Attempts* not a little surprised to see the city filled with the enemy's *to retire*. troops; and imagining all was lost, thought of nothing but a timely retreat. As he was under some apprehension, with respect to the gates of the city, which were too narrow, he sent orders to his son *Helenus*, whom he had left without with the main body of the army, to make a large breach in the wall, and be ready to cover his retreat, in case he should be overpowered by the enemy. But the person he sent to his son misunderstanding his orders, delivered a quite contrary message; in consequence of which, *Helenus*, instead of making a breach in the wall, drew out the flower of his troops, and attempted to get in at the gate, in order to assist his father. But the passage being stopt up by an elephant of an enormous size, and the *Argians* crowding about the gate to prevent *Helenus* from entering it, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers were killed on both sides. At length *Helenus*, fearing lest his father might be in danger, forced his passage through the thickest of the enemy's ranks, and made way for the rest of his forces to follow him. But he had scarce got in, when he met his father, surrounded *But is sur-* by the enemy on all sides, and fighting his way through them, *rounded on* in order to retire by the same gate out of the city, which he *on all sides*, could no longer hold, most of his men being either killed or wounded. The troops which *Helenus* led, were so thronged under

under the gate, that they wounded one another with their arms, and so obstructed the passage, that it was impossible for *Pyrrhus* to get through them. He often cried aloud to them to retire, and clear the way; but his voice not being heard in that noise and confusion, they still continued to advance, pressing upon one another, and putting the few troops that were with the king in great disorder. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* pulling off his diadem, to prevent his being known, faced about, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. While he was thus fighting in the crowd, and making a great slaughter of the enemy, a common soldier of *Argos* attacked and wounded him with his javelin. Hereupon the king, inflamed at the sight of his blood, flew at the aggressor with a rage not to be expressed, and was ready to make him pay dear for his boldness; but the mother of the *Argian*, who, with other women, beheld the combat from the top of an house, being alarmed at the imminent danger of her son, threw down a tile, the first thing she laid hold of, upon *Pyrrhus*, which, falling upon his head, gave him such a blow, that he staggered awhile, and fell senseless to the ground; which one *Zopyrus a Macedonian* observing, and knowing who he was, dragged him into a porch, and there with a trembling hand and killed, cut off his head, and carried it to *Alcioneus*, who rode full Year of speed with it to his father *Antigonus*, and threw it down at the flood his feet. But that prince reflecting on the instability of human affairs, and vicissitude of fortune, severely rebuked his son for thus insulting over the remains of so great a man; and, taking up the head, covered it with his own garment, and caused it to be honourably interred¹.

His character. SUCH was the end of *Pyrrhus*, a prince to whom the title of a great captain is justly due, since he was so highly esteemed by the *Romans* themselves, and by a person the most worthy to be credited, with relation to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a right judgment in that particular. For *Livy* tells us^m, that *Hannibal*, when asked by *Scipio*, who, in his opinion, were the greatest generals in the world, named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third (*Q.*). All the antients tell us,

¹ PLUT. ibid. MAX. I. v. c. 1. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 12. JUSTIN. I. xxv. c. 5. See also vol. ix. p. 106. ^m LIV. I. xxxv. c. 14.

(Q.) *Plutarch*, in his life of great commanders in the world, *Pyrrhus*, relates this matter in a different way. His words are, Pyrrhus was the first, both for experience and capacity; the second Hannibal said, that of all the place he gave to *Scipio*; and referred

us, that no general understood the art of war better than the king of *Epirus*, who learnt them by principles and rules, as well as by use and experience, and is said to have written several volumes on encampments, and the different ways of drawing up an army (R).

served the third for himself, as we have observed in the life of Scipio. We do not dispute what *Plutarch* may have said in the last-mentioned work, which has not reached our times; but only observe, that in the life of *Flamininus* he relates the opinion of *Hannibal* otherwise than he does in the life of *Pyrrhus*. This general says he, in the life of *Flamininus*, and *Scipio Africanus*, had an interview at Ephesus; and the conversation turning upon this question, Who were the greatest generals? *Hannibal* named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third. *Scipio* is here excluded, whereas he is the second in the life of *Pyrrhus*, where no mention is made of *Alexander*. *Livy* likewise gives us an account of this conference, and exactly agrees with *Plutarch* in the life of *Flamininus* (3): for, according to him, *Hannibal* gave the first place to *Alexander*, the second to *Pyrrhus*, and the third to himself: whereupon *Scipio*, seeing himself excluded, said, with a smile, *And what place would you claim, had you overcome me? Had I overcome you, replied Hannibal, I should look upon myself as superior both to Alexander, and to*

Pyrrhus: which was implicitly owning, that *Scipio* had not his equal, and therefore was not to be brought into competition with other generals. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, disagreeing, in this place, with the antiquits, tell us, that *Hannibal* named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, *Scipio* in the third, and himself in the last (4). It is an unpardonable fault in a writer to pass his own conjectures upon the readers for matter of fact.

(R) These books are mentioned by *Tully* (5); and *Donatus* tells us, that *Pyrrhus* invented a sort of game, like that of chess, to represent the different ways of making attacks, and drawing up armies in battalia (6). *Livy* gives us the same account of *Pyrrhus*, or rather makes *Hannibal* say as much of him: He was, says that great general, the first, who perfectly understood how to encamp, choose his ground, and post his men to advantage (7). He is generally represented by the ancient historians as a prince of an uncommon understanding, and of great sagacity and penetration.

It is therefore surprising, that *Tully* should take him to be included in the famous verses of *Ennius*, wherein that poet says,

*Semper fuit stolidum genus *Æacidarum*,
Bellipotentes magis quam sapientipotentes (8).*

A stupid race th' *Æacidae* appear,
Less fam'd for wisdom, than for feats of war.

(3) *Liv.* l. xxxv.
l. ix. epist. 25.

(4) *Vid. bish. Roman. ad ann. urb.* 474.

(5) *Cic.*

(6) *Donat. in comment. Eunucub. Terent.*

(7) *Liv. ibid.*

(8) *Cic. de divin.* l. ii.

Pyrrhus had, besides his military talents, many other commendable qualities, to wit, a great deal of good-nature, much compassion for the unhappy, and no less gratitude for those who had obliged him. When *Aeropus*, one of his chief favourites, who had done him considerable service, died, he wept ; and was heard to say, *It is not his death that most afflicts me ; he has paid the debt he owes to nature. My concern is, that I so long delayed making him a suitable return for his services, and by that means am deprived of the pleasure of shewing my gratitude*ⁿ. Cicero commends him even on account of his probity : Two great generals, says that writer, disputed the empire of Italy with the Romans; *Pyrrhus*, and *Hannibal*: the probity of the former is still remembred, and spoken of with respect, in *Rome*; but the cruelty of the latter has rendered his name and memory odious to this city^o. His only faults were ambition and inconstancy ; the former did not so much proceed from an avaritious desire of enriching himself, and possessing vast dominions, as from a love of glory ; he had proposed *Alexander the Great* to himself for a model, and in all his enterprizes had no other view, but to equal and even surpass that conqueror. His inconstancy indeed was very remarkable, as is plain from what we have already said of him. He had scarce tried one enemy, when he was for engaging another ; scarce undertaken one enterprize, when he was for entering upon another ; so that his whole life was a continued series of new projects succeeding each other. When he had once conquered a country, he neglected all proper measures for the preserving of it, how dear soever the conquest might have cost him. Hence *Antigonus* used to compare him, as *Plutarch* informs us^p, to a lucky gamester, who did not know how to make a good use of his fortune, but lavishly spent whatever he got by gaming (S).

ⁿ PLUT. in Pyrrh.

^o CIC. de amicit.

^p PLUT. ibid.

(S) Some authors find fault with him, and indeed not without a great deal of reason, for exposing his person in all his battles, without the least precaution, like a common soldier. A good commander, say they, ought to pique himself upon the wisdom and prudence of his conduct, and not upon any action, which only displays strength and intrepidity. A commander who brags of his courage, and rashly exposes himself to danger, confounds his own merit and function with those of

a private soldier. It is not the duty of a general to fight in the foremost ranks, but to be vigilant for the common safety of the army. Such were the sentinels of the antients ; but most of the generals and kings, who flourished in the age we are now writing of, made no distinction between the duty of an officer and a soldier, being led astray by the fortunate temerity of *Alexander*, whom they pretended to imitate.

BUR

BUT to return to the *Epirots* in *Argos*; they no sooner *All the E-* heard of the death of their king, but they threw down their pirots *in* arms, and surrendered at discretion. But *Antigonus* treated *Argos*, *for* them with great humanity, and generously sent back to *Epi-* *render at* *rus Helenus*, the king's son, who was also taken prisoner, *discretion.* delivering to him the body of his unfortunate father inclosed in a golden urn ⁹.

Pyrrhus was succeeded in the kingdom of *Epirus* by his Alexander, who, soon after his accession to the throne, ^{der II.} made himself master of *Macedon*, but was not long after driven both from *Macedon* and *Epirus* by *Demetrius* ¹. *Alexander* being thus in his turn expelled his dominions, fled to the *Aca-* *nanians*; and, having raised among them fresh forces, returned into *Epirus*, where he was joined by such numbers of his own subjects, that *Demetrius* thought it adviseable to quit that kingdom, and withdraw into *Macedon* ². He afterwards engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, and having gained over them a complete victory, passed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquillity, without molesting his neighbours, or being molested by them ³ (T).

Alex-

⁹ PLUT. ibid. VAL. MAX. I. v. c. 1.

¹ See vol. ix. p. 137.

² PLUT. I. xxvi. c. 3. PAUSAN. in Attic.

³ FRONTIN. stra-

tag. VAL. MAR. I. v. c. 1.

(T) He is celebrated by *Aelian* as a great commander, and said to have written a book on the method of drawing up an army (9). *Athenaeus* (1) tells us, that in this king's reign a certain kind of beans blossomed in a lake of *Epirus*, and for two years together brought their fruit to perfection; which seeming very strange to *Alexander*, he placed a guard upon them, with orders to let no one gather them, or even approach the lake. He no sooner took this precaution, but the stalks of the beans withered, and the lake suddenly grew dry.

The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their history of *Rome* (2), tell us, that he was perhaps murdered by the *Locrenses* with the *Epi-*

ret garison, which *Pyrrhus* left at *Locris*, when he set out on his expedition into *Sicily*. For we don't see him appear, say they, with his brothers in the last adventures of the king their father. He does not appear, 'tis true, in the last adventures of *Pyrrhus*; but had the good fathers remembered what they must have read in *Plutarch's* life of *Pyrrhus*, they would have inferred from thence, that he had been sent back into *Epirus*; for he was there when his father was killed, as is manifest from the above-mentioned writer, who tells us, that *Antigonus* delivered to *Helenus* the body of his father inclosed in a golden urn, desiring him to carry it into *Epirus* to his brother *Alex-*

(9) *Aelian*, var. bift.

(1) *Athen.* I. iii.

(2) *Ad ann. urb.* 477.

Alexander left by his sister *Olympias*, whom he had married, a son and a daughter. His daughter, by name *Phtbia*, married *Demetrius II.* king of *Macedon*. His son, named **Ptolemy.** *Ptolemy*, succeeded him in the kingdom under the tuition of his mother *Olympias*, he being very young at his father's death. He was a prince of great expectation, but died when he was scarce out of his minority, as he was leading his army against the *Etolians*, who had seized that part of *Acarnania* which belonged to the crown of *Epirus* ^t. He left one son, by name **Pyrrhus III.** *Pyrrhus*, who, after a short reign under the guardianship of his grandmother *Olympias*, was treacherously murdered by the *Ambraciens*, leaving behind him one daughter, called by *Justin*, *Laudamia*, by *Pausanias*, *Athenaeus*, and *Polyænus*, *Deidamia*. **Deidamia** This princess succeeded her father; but the *Epirots*, disdaining to live under the government of a woman, suborned *Nestor*, one of her guards, to murder her; but the assassin's heart failing in the attempt, the unhappy *Deidamia* fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*, where she was barbarously assassinated by one *Milo*, who being sentenced to death for the murder of his own mother *Philotera*, redeemed himself from the punishment due to his wickedness by murdering his sovereign ^u. But he did not long enjoy the fruit of his crime; for being seized with madness, he laid violent hands on himself twelve days after the death of *Deidamia*. As for the *Epirots*, they were severely punished by heaven, first with a dreadful famine, and afterwards with domestic troubles, foreign wars, and many other calamities, which reduced their country to the last extremity. This is the account we read in *Polyænus* ^v: but *Pausanias* tells us, that *Deidamia*, after a short and peaceable reign, died quietly in her bed, leaving the *Epirots*, as she had no issue, free to chuse what sort of government they liked best ^x. But however that be, it is certain (for in this the antiquits are unanimous), that in this princess ended the family of the *Pyrrhidae*, or the descendants of *Pyrrhus Neoptolemus*; and that upon her death, the *Epirots* formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by annual magistrates, or *pætors*, chosen in the general assembly of the whole nation. Of this republic we have already given a distinct account in our

^t JUSTIN. l. xxviii. c. 3. PAUSAN. ibid. ^u JUSTIN. ibid.
POLYÆN. l. iii. OVID. in Ibin. ^v POLYÆN. ibid. ^x PAU-
SAN. in Messeniac.

ander. The same prince is mentioned, as succeeding his father in the kingdom of *Epirus*, by *Justin*, *Pausanias*, *Frontinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Athe-*

næsus, who give us a particular account of his wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, with his son *Demetrius*, and also with the *Illyrians*.

history of *Greece* from the time it was first formed, till it was reduced by the *Romans* to a province. We shall only observe here, that the *Macedonians* on one side, and the *Illyrians* on the other, taking advantage of the intestine divisions, which, generally speaking, attend a popular government, seized on several provinces belonging to the *Epirots*, and annexed them to their respective crowns ; and hence it is, that though the kingdom of *Epirus* made a considerable figure, the republic scarce made any. *Aristotle*, as *Stephanus* informs us, wrote a particular book on the *polity of the Epirots* ; whence we may infer, that they were governed by excellent laws ; but as that work has not reached our times, we can give no account of them. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Epirots* enjoyed a kind of liberty, and indeed the best sort of liberty, under their kings ; for, according to him, a general assembly of the people was yearly convened at *Passaron*, a city in the province of *Molossis*, where the king bound himself by a solemn oath to govern agreeably to the laws, and the people to obey and support him as long as he did so. Their form of government was, it seems, of the same nature with ours, and therefore far preferable to any other. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and pass to the history of other kingdoms.

* See vol. vii. p. 403. & seq.

C H A P. IX.

The History of Bithynia.

THIS country, antiently known by the names of *Mygia*, *Nemes*, *Mygdonia*, *Bebrycia*, *Mariandynia*, and *Bithynia*, was situated, bounded on the west by the *Bosporus Thracius*, and part &c. of the *Propontis* ; on the south by the river *Rhyndacus*, and mount *Olympus* ; on the north by the *Euxine* sea ; and on the east by the river *Parthenius* *. *Ptolemy* extends the confines of *Bithynia* on this side to *Citorum* on the coast, and to *Juliopolis* in the inland country, comprehending under the name of *Bithynia* some provinces belonging, according to other geographers, to *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*.

THE chief cities of *Bithynia* on the coast were, *Myrlea* on *Citium* on the *Propontis*, not far from the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*. This the Pro-city was so called from *Myrus* of *Colophon* its founder, as *pontia*. *Stephanus* informs us; or, as others will have it, from *Myrlea*, a celebrated *Amazon*, who either founded or adorned it. It was demolished by *Philip* of *Macedon* the father of *Perseus*,

* *PLIN. l. v. c. 32.*

Nicome dia.

and rebuilt by *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who from his wife called it *Apamea*^b. It was afterwards honoured with the title of a *Roman* colony, many *Romans*, who had served in *Asia*, having settled there, as *Strabo* and *Pliny*^c inform us: but the latter was certainly mistaken, when he placed this among the inland cities. *Dascylus*, at a small distance from the *Rhyndacus*. *Cius* built by the *Milesians* on a river of the same name, destroyed by *Philip* the father of *Perseus*, and rebuilt by *Prusias*, whose name it bore ever after^d. *Nicomedia*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, so called from *Nicomedes*, the son of *Zipoetes*, its founder^e. *Strabo* seems to doubt by which of the *Bithynian* kings it was founded^f. All the antients speak of it as a place of great note (A).

In this city the *Roman* emperors resided, when the affairs of the empire called them into the east. *Constantine the Great* chose *Nicomedia*, as we read in *Nicephorus*^g, for the place of his abode after he retired from *Rome*, and there remained till the buildings he had begun at *Byzantium* were finished. This city, once so famous, is now but a small village, known to the *Turks* by the name of *Schemith*. *Proneetus*, a colony of the *Phoenicians*, as *Stephanus* informs us. *Drepanum* or *Drepane*, mentioned by *Livy*, *Florus*, and most of the *Latin* historians. All these cities stood on the *Propontis*, now the sea of *Marmora*.

Cities on
the Bos-
porus.

ON the *Bosporus*, which parts *Europe* from *Asia*, and joins the *Propontis* with the *Euxine* sea, stood the famous city of

^b STRABO. l. xii. p. 388. ^c STRAB. & PLIN. ibid. ^d PLIN. ibid. POMP. MELA. l. i. c. 19. ^e TZETZES chil. 3. histor. 115. v. 950. ^f STRAB. l. xiii. p. 388. ^g NICEPHOR. l. vii. sub fin.

(A) *Pliny* calls it a famous and beautiful city (1); *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the mother of all the cities of *Bithynia* (2). *Pausanias* the greatest and first city of *Bithynia* (3); *Libanius* compares it to *Rome*, *Byzantium*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, at that time the four greatest cities of the world; and says, that though it was perhaps inferior to them in bigness, it equalled them all in beauty. This author lived in the time of the

emperor *Julian the apotropaicus*. *Pausanias*, *Marcellinus* (4), and *Trebellius Pollio* (5), tell us, this city was formerly called *Astacus*. *Stephanus* will have its antient name to have been *Olbia*. But *Nicomedia*, *Astacus*, and *Olbia*, are spoke of by *Ptolemy* as three neighbouring, but distinct cities. *Strabo* writes, that *Nicomedes* destroyed *Astacus*, and transferred its inhabitants to *Nicomedia* (6).

(1) Plin. l. v. c. ultim. (2) Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 13. (3) Pau. san. Eliac. i. c. 12. (4) Pausan. & Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. (5) Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis. c. 4. (6) Strab. ibid.

Chalcedon or *Calcedon*, antiently known by the names of *Pro-Chalcedon* and *Colbusa*. *Pliny*^b, *Strabo*¹, and *Tacitus*^k, call it *don*. *the city of the blind*, alluding, without all doubt, to the answer which the *Pythian Apollo* gave to the founders of *Byzantium*, who, consulting the oracle about a place where to build a city, were directed to choose that spot which lay opposite to *the habitation of the blind*; that is, as was then understood, to *Chalcedon*, the *Chalcedonians* well deserving that epithet for having built their city in a barren and sandy soil, without seeing that advantageous and pleasant spot on the opposite shore, which the *Byzantines* afterwards chose (B).

Chalcedon in the Christian times became famous on account of the council, which was held there against *Eutyches*. The emperor *Valens* caused the walls of this city to be leveled with the ground for siding with *Procopius*, and the materials to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, where they were employed in building the famous *Valentinian aqueduct* (C).

Chalcedon is at present a poor beggarly place, known to the Greeks by its antient name, and to the *Turks* by that of *Cadiaci*, or the *Judges town*¹.

ON the *Euxine* sea stood the city of *Heraclea*, once a *Cities on public* of no small note. It is commonly called *Pontica*, or the *Eu-Heraclea on the Pontus*, to distinguish it from several other *xine sea*.

^b *PLIN.* *ibid.* ¹ *STRAB.* l. vii. p. 221. ^k *TACIT.* *annal.* l. xii. c. 63. ¹ *TOURNEFORT.* *voyage au Levant*, vol. ii.

(B) *Constantine the Great*, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, had been guilty of the like over-fight; had he not been warned by an astonishing prodigy. For that author tells us, that *Chalcedon* being destroyed by the *Perians*, *Constantine* undertook the rebuilding of it with a design to settle there; but that several eagles, appearing unexpectedly, carried away in their talons the lines of the workmen, and let them drop at *Byzantium*. This miracle, which was several times repeated, made *Constantine* alter his mind, and prefer *Byzantium* to *Chalcedon* (7). But what cre-

dit *Cedrenus* deserves, we leave our readers to judge.

(C) The *pelamides*, or tunny-fish, of *Chalcedon*, were in great request among the antients, as *Gellius* and *Varro* inform us (8); and are to this day thought by some to have a better flavour than any taken elsewhere. It is therefore surprising, that *Pliny* and *Strabo* (9) should tell us, that this kind of fish never came near *Chalcedon*, but kept close to the opposite shore of *Byzantium*, for fear of the white rocks concealed under water on the coast of *Asia*.

(7) *Cedren.* l. iii. (8) *Aul. Gell.. noct. Attis. Varro de re rufie.* l. ii.
(9) *Plin. & Strab.* *ibid.*

Heraclea. cities of the same name. *Pausanias*^m and the scholiast of *Apollonius*ⁿ tell us, that it was founded and peopled by a colony of the *Megarenses* and *Tanagræi* of *Bœotia*. With them *Justin* agrees, and acquaints us on what occasion the *Bœotians* of this city undertook the building of this city. The *Bœotians*, says he, being reduced to great distress by a plague, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which enjoined them to send a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, and there build a city in honour of *Hercules*. But the *Bœotians* chusing rather to die in their own country, than expose themselves to the dangers of so troublesome a voyage, refused to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. Whereupon the *Phocenses* invading their country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages, as they were not, by reason of the plague, which still raged among them, in a condition to defend themselves, they sent anew to consult the oracle, which returned the following answer; to wit, That what wou'd put an end to the plague, would likewise put an end to the war. By this answer the *Bœotians* understood, that the only means to redeem themselves from the calamities they groaned under was, to follow the direction of the oracle; and accordingly sent a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, which settled on the coast, and built the city of *Heraclea*^o.

This city powerful by sea. THIS city in process of time acquired such wealth and power, especially by sea, that it was not inferior to any of the Greek states in *Asia*. *Xenophon* tells us, that in his time the *Heracleans* had a numerous fleet, and that they supplied him with a squadron to convoy his men after their retreat into *Greece*. There are scarce any wars mentioned by the antients as carried on by sea in those parts, in which the *Heracleans* were not concerned, their friendship being courted by all the princes of *Asia* in regard of their maritime power. To them chiefly *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was indebted for the signal victory he had gained at sea over *Antigonus Gonatas*; for they sent him a numerous squadron of ships well manned and equipped, among which some were of an extraordinary size, especially one, called the *Leontifera*, having on each side eight hundred rowers, besides twelve hundred fighting men on board under the command of two experienced officers^p. In the war which *Antiochus* waged first with *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, and afterwards with the *Byzantines*, the *Heracleans* assisted *Antigonus* against *Antiochus* with thirteen gallies, and the latter with forty^q. They maintained for the space of

^m PAUSAN. l. v. ⁿ Scholiast. APOLLON. p. 190. ^o JUSTIN. l. xvi. ^p MEMNON, excerpt. c. 14, 15. ^q Idem, c. 17.

*eleven years a squadron of gallies in the service of the *Romans*, which were of great use to them in their wars with the *Asiatic* princes, and likewise against the *Maruccini*, a people of *Africa*. Many other instances are to be met with in history, which shew that *Heraclea* was once one of the most powerful states, at least by sea, in *Asia*. The *Heracleans* seem to have maintained a good understanding with the kings of *Persia*; and on that account refused, as *Justin* informs us¹, to pay their quota, when the *Athenians* imposed a tribute on the *Greek* cities of *Asia Minor*, for the equipping and supporting of a fleet to be employed in the defence of the common liberty. Upon their refusal *Lamachus* was sent against them; but while he was ravaging their country with the troops he had landed, a violent storm shattered his whole fleet, so that he saw himself abandoned to the mercy of those he had provoked, not being in a condition to return to *Athens* either by sea or land. But the *Heracleans*, instead of treating him like an enemy, as he had reason to expect, used both him and his troops with the greatest humanity and kindness, supplying them not only with provisions, but also with ships to convey them safe into *Greece*. They did not complain, says *Justin*², of the depredations committed in their territory, but looked upon them as highly advantageous to their state, since they offered them an opportunity of gaining by civilities the friendship of so powerful a republic.

As to their form of government, it was, as we read in *Form of Aristotle*³, originally democratical; but democracy soon gave way to aristocracy: for the same writer tells us⁴, that many of the nobles being sent out to lead colonies into distant countries, the people, in whom the supreme power was lodged, began to oppress those who still remained; whereupon they ran to arms in their own defence, and having overcome of their adversaries, took the whole power into their own hands. Soon after, new disturbances arising among the nobles, by reason that the most wealthy ingrossed the whole management of affairs to themselves, it was agreed, that the supreme power should be lodged in the senate, and that the senate should consist of six hundred members, all chosen out of the nobility. This new regulation incensed the common people to such a degree, that they unanimously rose against the nobles, and reduced them to such straits, that they were obliged to implore the assistance first of *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, and afterwards of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*. But neither of these generals caring to interfere with their domestic quarrels, they were

¹ JUSTIN. I. xvi. c. 3. ² Idem ibid. ³ ARISTOT. I. v.
polit. c. 5. ⁴ Idem ibid.

Tyrants of forced to recal *Clearchus*, a senator, whom they themselves at Heraclea had banished. But as his banishment had neither improved his morals, nor inspired him with better principles, he made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his wicked design of subjecting it, and usurping the sovereign *Clearchus* power. With this view he openly declared for the people, and having by their means humbled the nobles, he caused himself to be invested with the whole power, which had been divided among them.

BEING thus become absolute, he exercised all sorts of cruelty upon such as gave him any umbrage: most of the senators were either barbarously assassinated, or stript of their estates, and banished their native country w. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he proposed to himself *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, for his model in the art of government x. The banished senators, having stirred up the neighbouring cities against him, he compelled their wives and daughters to marry his slaves; and with the assistance of these having vanquished the troops they led against him, and taken many of them prisoners, he put them all to death, after he had made them suffer the most exquisite torments, which his cruel temper, and an eager desire of revenge, could invent (D).

Clearchus, after he had exercised a most cruel tyranny over his fellow-citizens for the space of twelve years, was at last put to death by *Chion* and *Leonides*, two young citizens and disciples of *Plato* y (E).

THE

w *JUSTIN.* *ibid.* *PLUT.* de fortun. *Alexand.*

x *DIODOR.*
SICUL. l. xv.

y *DIODOR.* *SICUL.* *ibid.* *SUIDAS,* Κλέαρχος.

POLYAEVN. *Stratag.* l. ii.

(D) *Theopompus* of *Scoio* tells us, that he frequently obliged, without any provocation, such of the citizens as came to wait on him, and even those he met in the streets, to drink a cup of the poisonous juice of hemlock; and that, during his reign, no citizen of any distinction would venture out of his house till he had armed himself with *rue*, which is a powerful antidote, according to that writer, against the juice of hemlock, when taken before any other food (1).

(E) *Nymphiis* of *Heraclea*, as quoted by *Atbenaeus* (2), tell us, that *Clearchus*, though he affected to be a god, and caused divine honours to be paid him, yet towards the end of his life was so apprehensive of conspiracies, that he not only kept at home, but gave audience shut up in in a strong chest, answering those who applied to him through holes made for that purpose. But as he was murdered by the conspirators, according to *Plutarch* (3), and *Diodorus Siculus* (4), while

(1) *Atben.* l. iii. r. 5. & *Antigon.* de mirabil. narration. p. 144.

(2) *Atben.* *ibid.*

(3) *Plut.* ad princip. indec.

(4) *Diodor.* *Sicul.* l. xlvi.

THE conspirators delivered their country from the tyrant ; Satyrus, but the tyranny still subsisted. For *Clearchus* having left two sons, *Timotheus* and *Dionysius*, their uncle *Satyrus* seized on the sovereign power, as their guardian and protector, and equalled his brother *Clearchus* in the tyranny of his government : For he not only put to death the conspirators, their children, and all those who were any way related to them, but likewise such of the citizens as he imagined capable of following their example. However, he brought up his nephews with great care, and resigned the power to *Timotheus* as soon as he was of age, having held it himself seven years ².

TIMO THEUS governed with great equity and moderation ; *Timotheus*, whence he had the surnames of *Euergetes* and *Soter*, that is, us. the *beneficent*, the *saviour* of his country. He ruled fifteen years, and was succeeded by his brother *Dionysius*, who, *Dionysius* taking advantage of the retreat of the *Per si ans* after the battle fought on the banks of the *Granicus*, reduced some of the neighbouring provinces, and considerably increased the power of the *Heracleans* ³. After the death of *Alexander* he married *Amastris*, the widow of *Craterus*, and daughter of *Oxyathres*, the brother of *Darius*. Upon this marriage he assumed the title of king, and maintained it with great dignity, being a prince of a mild temper, and always ready to sacrifice his own ease, and private interest, to the welfare of his subjects (F).

He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign ; and is highly commended by all the antiquits on account of his justice, moderation, good-nature, affability, and other princely qualities. *Strabo*, no doubt, had this prince, and his brother *Timotheus*, in view, when he wrote that *Heraclea* had been governed by tyrants, and also by kings. He left two sons by his wife *Amastris*, to wit, *Clearchus*, and *Oxatres*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Zathras*. Upon his death *Amastris* married *Lysimachus*, one of *Alexander's* captains, who by that means got possession of *Heraclea*, which she governed as guardian to her children ; for they were both

² JUSTIN. l. xvi. MEMNON, excerpt. c. 17. SICUL. & MEMNON, ibid.

³ DIODOR.

he was administering justice in public, we can hardly give credit to *Nymphis*.

(F) *Ælian* (5) and *Athenaeus* (6) tell us, that he grew immoderately corpulent, and fell into

a kind of lethargy, from which his domestics could scarce recover him by running long needles, made for that purpose, into his flesh.

⁵ (5) *Ælian*, var. *bif.* l. ix. c. 13.

(6) *Athen.* l. xii. c. 26.

very young when their father died. *Lysimachus* afterwards divorced *Amastris* to marry *Arsinoe* the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*; but nevertheless kept possession of the city, and brought up the two young princes with great care. They both attended him in his expedition against the *Getæ*, after which he suffered them to return home, and *Clearchus* signed the government of *Heraclea* to *Clearchus* the eldest, allowing him to take upon him the title of king. With this title he governed *Heraclea*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, seventeen years; and was at last put to death by *Lysimachus* with his brother *Oxatres* for assassinating their mother *Amastris*^b; for they both conspired against her, and caused her to be smothered, while she was going by sea from *Heraclea* to *Amastris*, a city which she had built, and called by her own name. Upon their death *Lysimachus* restored the *Heracleans* to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

Heraclitus Cimaeus.

BUT they did not long continue in that happy condition; *Arsinoe*, who had a great ascendant over her husband *Lysimachus*, having prevailed upon him to deprive them of the liberty which he had not long before granted them, and appoint one *Heraclitus Cimaeus* governor of the place, a man intirely at her devotion. After the famous battle of *Coroupedion*, in which *Lysimachus* was killed by one *Malacon*, a native of *Heraclea*, the *Heracleans* conspired to shake off the yoke, under which they had groaned for the space of seventy-five years, determined either to recover their former liberty, or die in the attempt. With this resolution the chief citizens went in a body to wait on *Heraclitus*, intreating him to retire of his own accord, and suffer them to live according to their own laws. They offered him all possible security for his person and effects, besides a large sum of money to defray the charges of his journey: At this proposal *Heraclitus* in a great rage commanded the officers, who attended him, to put immediately to death some of the leading men, whom he named. But the officers, to his great surprize, instead of obeying his orders, seized him, and carried him to the public prison: for the *Heracleans* had beforehand gained them over to their party, by making them free of *Heraclea*, and promising to pay them the arrears which were due to them from *Heraclitus*. Having thus secured the tyrant, they demolished the citadel which *Lysimachus* had built, raised one of their own citizens, gain their by name *Phocrites*, to the chief magistracy, and dispatched an ambassy to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, to acquaint him with what they had done, and implore his protection^c. *Seleucus* had

^b DIODOR. SICUL. I. xvi. TROG. in prolog. I. xvi. MEMNON, excerpt. c. 19. ^c JUSTIN. I. xvii. c. 3. MEMNON ibid. t. 8, & 10.

been greatly prejudiced against the *Heracleans* by one *Aphrodites*, who, being sent by him to visit the cities of *Asia*, had laid many things to their charge, and represented them as disaffected to his person. He was therefore so far from promising them his protection, that he threatened their ambassadors, and let drop some expressions, which gave just ground to suspect that he had some design upon their city. Hereupon the *Heracleans* entered into an offensive and defensive league with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; the *Byzantines* and *Chalcedonians* recalled all their exiles, and put themselves in a posture of defence. But the death of *Seleucus* soon delivered them from their apprehensions ⁴.

FROM this time the *Heracleans* enjoyed their liberties undisturbed for many years. When the *Romans* became formidable in *Asia*, they made an alliance with them, the articles *Enter into an alliance with Rome* of which were engraved on tables of brass, and lodged at *ance with Rome* in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and at *Heraclea* in a temple of the same god. Notwithstanding this alliance, the *Heracleans* suffered greatly by the wars which they engaged in for the defence of their liberties, against the *Bithynians* and *Galatians*. However, they held out against their utmost efforts, and obliged them to withdraw their forces with disgrace. In the war which the *Romans* waged with *Mithridates the Great*, they resolved at first to observe a strict neutrality, and accordingly refused to admit that prince's fleet into their harbour. But, on the approach of his general *Archelaus*, they thought fit to change their measures, and side with him, after having murdered all the *Romans* who resided among them. Their treachery cost them dear; for *Cotta*, or rather *Triarius*, *Heraclea* having after a two years siege taken their city, pillaged and re-^{destroyed}duced it to ashes, as we have related in the history of *Pontus*. *by Triarius*. *Cotta*, on his return to *Rome*, was severely reprimanded by the senate for suffering so great and wealthy a city to be destroyed. All the captives were sent home without ransom, and the inhabitants restored to the possession of their lands, and allowed the use of their harbour, and the freedom of commerce.

Britagoras, one of the chief citizens, spared no pains to re-people it; but could not obtain for his fellow-citizens the restitution of their liberty, and antient privileges. *Strabo* tells us, that many of the citizens being killed during the siege, and more after the place was taken, a numerous colony was sent from *Rome* to repeople it. Some of the new-comers settled in the city, and some in the country; but the former were all ^{Made afterwards a Roman colony.}

⁴ *Memnon* *ibid.* c. 11, 12.

to a man massacred by *Adiotorix*, the son of *Domenecelius* king of the *Galatians*, not without the privity, as was then suspected, of *Marc Antony* the triumvir, who had bestowed on the *Galatians* that quarter of the city which was inhabited by the *Romans*^e. But his cruelty did not go long unpunished; for *Ottavianus* having taken him prisoner after the famous battle of *Actium*, carried him in chains to *Rome* to grace his triumph, and afterwards caused both him and his son to be put to death. From this time *Heraclea* continued subject to the *Roman* emperors till the downfall of the empire, being, with its territory, made part of the province of *Pontus*. It did not lose its former splendor, even after the loss of its liberty, as appears from some antient inscriptions, and also medals, which have reached us, and were struck under the emperors^f. Near this city was the famous cave through which *Hercules* is feigned to have descended to the infernal regions, and brought up from thence the fabulous *Cerberus*. This cave was still to be seen in *Xenophon's* time; but is now quite closed up, though once two furlongs deep^g (G).

Inland cities of Bithynia. THE inland cities of *Bithynia*, which it may be proper to take notice of, were, *Prusa* at the foot of mount *Olympus*, built, according to *Strabo*^h, by *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who waged war with *Crœsus* and *Cyrus*, and not by *Hannibal*, as *Pliny*ⁱ would make us believe (H).

Libyssa,

^e STRAB. l. xii. ^f VID. TOURNEFORT. *voyag.* &c. vol. ii. ^g XENOPH. *Exped. Cyri Minor.* l. vi. p. 220. EUSEB. *ad Dionys.* v. 791. ^h STRAB. l. xii. p. 388. ⁱ PLIN. l. v. *cap. ultim.*

(G) The antient history of *Heraclea* was writen by *Pisander*, *Timagenes*, *Panyasis*, *Domitius*, *Callistus*, *Cynebon*, *Nymphis*, and *Mennon*; for to these *Athenaeus*, *Suidas*, *Stephanus*, and the scholiast of *Apollonius*, refer us for a more full account of what they briefly relate of the *Heracleans*. But the works of these authors have been long since lost, nothing now remaining but an extract of *Mennon* preserved by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*; and from him we have in great part copied what we have said here of *Heraclea*. This city is at present a very inconsiderable place, known

to the Greeks by the name of *Penderacbi*, and to the *Turks* by that of *Eregri*. We cannot, with a modern traveller, take either of these names to be a corruption of *Heraclea Pontica*, or *Heraclea* (7).

(H) This city must have been founded long before the times of *Crœsus* and *Cyrus*, if the tradition be true, which the inhabitants have transmitted to us, on several medals; that *Ajax* stabbed himself here with his sword. It is surprising, that *Livy*, who has so well described the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, where the *Gauls* were defeated by *Manlius*, should not

(7) *Tournefort. ibid.*

Libyssa, famous for the death of *Hannibal*, and the tomb of that great commander, which was still extant in *Pliny's* time^k. Some writers place *Libyssa* on the coast; but *Strabo*, and with him *Stephanus*, and most of the antients, count it among the inland cities (I).

Nicæa, or *Nice*, which stood on the lake *Ascanius*, now the lake of *Iznich*. This city was built, according to *Strabo*, who calls it the metropolis of *Bithynia*^l, by *Antigonus* the son of *Philip of Macedon*, and from him called at first *Antigonia*. Afterwards it was repaired and adorned by *Lysimachus*, who gave it the name of his wife *Nicæa*, the daughter of *Antipater*. *Stephanus* tells us, that *Nicæa* was originally a colony of the *Bottæci*, a people of *Thrace*, and called in the earliest times *Anchore* (K).

THE chief rivers of *Bithynia* were the *Pissis*, *Colpas*, *Sangarius*, or *Sagaris*, *Hipias*, *Rhebas*, and the *Lycus*, all discharging themselves into the *Euxine* sea between *Chaledon* and *Heraclea*. *Livy* was certainly mistaken when he wrote, that the *Sangarius*, the chief river of *Bithynia*, falls into the *Propontis*. It springs from mount *Dindymus* in *Pbrygia*, at a small

^k PLIN. l. v. cap. ult.

^l STRAB. l. xii. p. 389.

mention this place. *Prusa* was the place where the *Othoman* princes resided before they extended their conquests into *Europe*, and is still one of the most beautiful and populous cities of *Asia*. We must not, with some geographers, confound the city of *Prusa* with that of *Pruſias*, of which we have spoken above.

(I) *Cellarius* conjectures, that it stood three or four miles distance from the sea, and was on that account called by some a maritime, by others an inland city, or rather castle.

(K) *Phiny* speaks of two cities in *Bithynia* bearing this name: the one he places twenty-five miles east of *Prusa*, now *Bursa*; the other forty-four north of *Nicomedia* on the lake *Ascanius*. But *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, *Mela*, &c. speak of one city only

in *Bithynia* bearing that name, which they place on the lake *Ascanius*, lying to the north of mount *Olympus*, and at a small distance from the river *Gallus*. *Nicæa*, according to *Strabo*, stood in a large and fruitful plain, was fifteen furlongs in compass, well peopled, and in the *Roman* times declared the metropolis of the second *Bithynia*, *Nicomedia* being the capital of the first. For *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were by *Augustus* made one province, but by his successors divided into two, called the first and second *Bithynia*. The first general council held here, by the appointment of *Constantine the Great*, against *Arius*, gave new lustre to this city; for it was ever after honoured with the title and privileges of a metropolis, as appears from the acts of the council of *Chaledon*.

The

small distance from a town, which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*; waters *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and, receiving in its course the *Thymbrus* and the *Gallus*, falls into the *Euxine* sea, over-against the small island of *Thynias*. Some geographers place the river *Parthenius* in *Bithynia*; but these extend the bounds of this country a great way into *Paphlagonia*. As *Bithynia* lies between the forty-first and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and is watered by a great many rivers, it once abounded with all the necessaries of life. The antients compare some of the inland provinces to the fruitful and delicious vales of *Tempe* itself; but at present it lies in great part neglected and unmanured.

Inhabitants.

Bithynia was antiently inhabited by various nations, differing in their manners, customs, and language; namely, the *Bebryces*, the *Mariandyni*, the *Caucones*, the *Dolliones*, the *Cimmerii*, &c (L).

THESE

The reverend fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their description of *Nice*, tell us (8), that the antient geographers place it on the lake *Ascanius*, which, say they, is now called the lake of *Iznich*; and a few lines after, question whether there ever was a lake of that name, thinking it very natural to suppose, that *Pliny*, the only author, say they, who mentions it, by the lake *Ascanius*, meant the gulf of *Olbia*, now the gulf of *Nicomedia*. If the antient geographers place *Nice*, as they say, on the lake *Ascanius*, *Pliny* is not the only author who mentions such a lake; and if it be true, that the *Ascanius* is, by the modern geographers, called the lake of *Iznich*, how can we doubt whether there ever was a lake of that name? Besides, it is so far from being natural to suppose *Pliny* to have meant the gulf *Olbia* by the lake *Ascanius*, that his words evidently destroy such a supposition; for in the very passage, which the above-men-

tioned writers quote, *Pliny* distinguishes the lake *Ascanius* from the gulf, on which he places the antient city of *Olbia* (9). Lastly, *Pliny* is not the only author who makes mention of the lake *Ascanius*. *Strabo* tells us in express terms (1), that *Nicæa*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, stood on the lake *Ascanius*; and *Ptolemy* speaks of it as falling into the *Euxine* sea, between *Prufias* and the promontory *Pofidium*.

(L) To inquire into the origin of these different nations, would be both a tedious and useless task. *Xenophon* (2) and *Strabo* (3) are of opinion, that the *Bithynians* and the *Mariandyni* were originally *Thracians*, who, crossing the *Bosporus*, made themselves masters of this country; which, from them, was antiently called the *Asiatic Thrace*. Some modern writers derive them from *Ashkenaz*, one of *Gomer's* sons; but the only proof they allege to support their opinion is, the small likeness they dis-

(8) *Ad ann. urb. 609.* p. 339.

(9) *Plin. l. v. cap. ultim.*

(2) *Xenopb. l. vi. de expedit. Cyr.*

(3) *Strab. l. xii. p. 373.*

(1) *Strab. l. xiii.*

(3) *Strab. l. xii. p. 373.*

THESE different nations were antiently governed by kings of their own, *Bithynia* being, in the earliest times, divided into as many kingdoms as nations or tribes. For *Plutarch*, *Polyænus*, and *Stephanus*, mention *Mandron* and *Bysnus*, as reigning over the *Bebryces*; and *Hyginus* speaks of one *Lycus* king of the *Mariandyni*. But all we know of these small kingdoms, and the princes who ruled over them, is, that in process of time they were reduced by the more powerful kings of the *Bithynians*. But, as to the beginning of this kingdom, we are quite in the dark (M).

Strabo ^m speaks of one *Prusias* reigning in *Bithynia* in the time of *Crœsus*, the last king of *Lydia*, by whom he was conquered. From this time the *Bithynians* continued subject first to the *Lydians*, and afterwards to the *Perians*, till the reign of *Alexander the Great*; for we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, among the many nations that attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. While they were subject to

^m STRAB. I. xii. p. 373.

cover between *Abskenaz* and *Affanius*, the name of a lake in this country. *Stephanus* says, that the *Mariandyni* were so called, from one *Mariandynus*, a native of *Aeolis*, who, with some of his countrymen, settled in that part of *Bithynia*, which lies between the rivers *Hippas* and *Parthenius* (4). *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Strabo* (5), will have this *Mariandynus* to have been a petty king of *Paphlagonia*, and to have subdued that part of *Bithynia*, then called *Bibrycia*, which bordered on his dominions.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* pretends, that the *Bithynians* were governed by their own princes, in the time of *Ninus* king of *Affyria*, who, according to him, subdued their country. *Pherecydes*, as quoted by the scholiast of *Apollonius*, mentions *Amucus* and *Phynus*, as reigning in *Bithynia* at the time of the *Argonautic ex-*

pedition; and *Appian* tells us, that nine-and-forty kings had reigned in *Bithynia*, before the *Romans* were acquainted with *Asia*. If what these authors write be true, the kingdom of *Bithynia* must have been erected before the *Trojan war*; which we can hardly believe, since *Homer*, who is so exact in enumerating the nations in the neighbourhood of *Troas*, never once mentions the *Bithynians*. From his silence some have concluded, that *Bithynia* was uninhabited in the time of the *Trojan war*; and add, that the *Thracians*, who marched with *Rhesus* to the relief of *Troy*, after the death of their king, and the taking of the city, settled in that part of *Asia*, which was afterwards known by the name of *Bithynia*. This name, say they, the new-comers gave to the provinces, in which they settled, from the *Bithys*, a river in their own country.

(4) *Steph. ad Dicynf.* v. 788.

(5) *Strab. ibid.*

the Persians, they were still governed, it seems, by their Kings of own princes; for *Memnon* and *Strabo* tell us, *Dædalsus* or Bithynia. *Dydaſsus*, *Boteras*, and *Bas*, ruled in *Bithynia* with sovereign Dædalsus, power in the time of the Persian monarchy. Some writers and Bas. place in the reign of *Dædalsus* the invasion of the Byzantines, *Chalcedonians*, and *Thracians*, who, entering *Bithynia*, committed there, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us^a, most dreadful ravages; and, having taken several towns, made a great many captives, whom they inhumanly murdered, when they found themselves obliged to leave the country. *Boteras* was, according to *Memnon*, the son of *Dædalsus*, and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was succeeded by his son *Bas*, who, having overcome *Calantus*, one of Alexander the Great's generals, peaceably enjoyed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for the space of fifty years, and died in the seventy-first of his age^b.

Zipotes. *Bas* was succeeded by *Zipotes*, who waged war first with Year of the *Heracleans*, and afterwards with the *Chalcedonians*. Over the flood the former, he gained no considerable advantage; but reduced the latter to great freights, besieged their metropolis, Bef. Chr. and having drawn them to a battle, killed eight thousand of them on the spot^c. He was prevented from pursuing the 281. victory, which would have soon put him in possession of *Chalcedon*, by *Patrocles*, one of *Antiochus Soter*'s generals, who, entering *Bithynia*, put all to fire and sword. *Zipotes* marched against him, and, having concealed his men in an ambush, fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut him off with his whole army, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. *Zipotes* was so overjoyed at this victory, that he died soon after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign^d. He left four sons, of which the eldest, called *Nicomedes*, took possession of the throne, and caused, out of jealousy, two of his brothers to be put to death. But the youngest, called by *Memnon*, *Zipotes*, by *Livy*, *Zibæas*, having saved himself by a timely flight, seized on the coast of *Bithynia*, which was then known by the names of *Thracia Thyniaca*, and *Thracia Asiatica*; and there maintained a long war with his brother; who, being informed that *Antiochus Soter* king of *Syria* was making great preparations to attack him at the same time, because he had declared for *Antigonus Gonatas*, called in the *Gauls* to his assistance; and on this occasion it was, that this people first passed over into *Asia*.

^a *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xii.
& 10. ^b *Memnon. excerpt.* c. viii.
^c *Liv. l. xxxviii.* ^d *Idem ibid. c. 11.*

^a *Memnon. excerpt.* c. viii.
^b *Idem ibid. c. 21.*

In the beginning of *Antiochus Soter's* reign, *Nicomedes*, having, with their assistance, repulsed *Antiochus*, overcome his brother, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, bestowed upon them that part of *Asia Minor*, which was called from them *Gallogræcia*, and *Galatia*. As for *Zipantes*, he died in banishment, his army being routed by the *Gauls*, and the cities, which he possessed on the coast, obliged to submit to the conqueror (N).

Nicomedes, having no enemies to contend with after the defeat of his brother, and the advantages gained over the king of *Syria*, applied himself to the enlarging and adorning of the city of *Astacus*, which he called after his own name, *Nicomedea* (O).

Nicomedes had two wives; to wit, *Ditizete* and *Etazeta*: the former brought him two sons, *Zela* and *Pruſias*, and one daughter, by name *Lysandra*; by the latter he had one son, named *Tibites*, to whom, at the instigation of his mother *Tibites*, *Etazeta*, he left the kingdom. But *Zela*, who, at the time *Zela* of his father's death, was in *Armenia*, whither he had been banished by the intrigues of his stepmother, having hired an army of *Galatians*, returned into *Bithynia*, drove out *Tibites*, and peaceably enjoyed the crown till his death. He was taken in a snare, which he had laid for the *Galatians*; for, suspecting their fidelity, he invited their leading men to a banquet, with a design to cut them all off; but they, upon private intelligence of what was preparing against them, were beforehand with the treacherous prince, murdering him in the beginning of the banquet *.

* *MEMNON* ibid. *ATHEN.* l. ii. c. 18. *PLIN.* l. viii. c. 4.

(N) *Livy* (6) and *Justin* (7) tell us, that the *Gauls*, having laid waste the dominions of *Zipantes*, kept the spoils for themselves, but divided the country with *Nicomedes*, calling their portion *Gallogræcia*; and herein they agree with *Demetrius Byzantius*, who informs us, that *Gallogræcia* was not given by *Nicomedes* to the *Gauls*, but held by them against his will, after they had driven out his brother *Zipantes* (8). *Demetrius Byzantius*

wrote thirteen books on the migration of the *Gauls* out of *Europe* into *Asia*; but none of them have reached our times.

(O) This is what we read in *Pausanias* (9), *Trebellius Pollio* (1), *Ammianus Marcellinus* (2), and *Eusebius* (3). But *Memnon* says, that he built *Nicomedea* over against the city of *Astacus*; so that *Nicomedea* and *Astacus* were, according to this writer (4), two distinct cities.

(6) *Liv.* l. xxxviii.

(7) *Justin.* l. xxv. c. 2.

(8) *Demet. Phsl.*

(9) *Pausan. in Eliac.* l. ii. p. 159.

(1) *Gallienis.*

(2) *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. xxiii.

(3) *Memnon ibid.* c. 22.

(8) *Laert. in vita*

(1) *Trebell. Poll.*

(2) *Euseb. in chron.*

Prusias.

He was succeeded by his son *Prusias*, surnamed *Claes*, or the lame, and also *Cunegos*, or the huncher. This prince, in the very beginning of his reign, entered into an alliance with the *Rhodians* against the *Byzantines*, whom he reduced to great freights, as we have related at large in the history of *Rhodes*^t. Not long after, he engaged in a war with the *Galatians*, whom *Attalus I.* king of *Pergamus*, had invited over into *Asia*, defeated them in a pitched battle, took several of their strong-holds; and put all the *Galatians* he could get into his power to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. When the war broke out between *Antiochus the Great* and the *Romans*, he was solicited by the former to join him against those powerful republicans; but *Scipio*, by a letter, and *Livius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet, by the promises he made him, in the name of the republic, fixed him in the interest of *Rome*, as the reader may find in the history of *Syria*. But, notwithstanding his engagements with the *Romans*, he invaded the territories of *Eumenes*, their constant friend and ally, being induced thereto by *Hannibal*, who had taken refuge in his dominions. The advantages he gained over *Eumenes* in this war, were chiefly owing to *Hannibal*, who not only prevailed upon *Ortyagon*, one of the kings of the *Galatians*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, to send him powerful supplies, but took upon him the command of his forces, and in several encounters put the king of *Pergamus* to flight, by some stratagem or other^u. This awaked the jealousy of the *Romans*, who thereupon sent *T. Flaminius*, *Scipio Africanius*, and *Scipio Nasica*, into *Asia*, to adjust the differences between the two kings, and to persuade *Prusias* to deliver *Hannibal* up to them^v. On their arrival at the court of *Bithynia*, *Hannibal* retired to *Libyssa*, a strong castle, which he had been allowed by *Prusias* to repair in such manner as best suited the state of his affairs. He had dug several private ways under-ground, which led from his lodgings to so many different issues, through which he could make his escape either by sea or land upon the first alarm; for he had reason to suspect, that the king's inclinations might change with his interest. *Flaminius*, after having proposed a plan of accommodation between *Prusias* and *Eumenes*, acquainted the former, that *Rome* would never look upon him as a sincere friend, unless he delivered up *Hannibal*, that irreconcileable enemy to their republic, who made no other use of his liberty

^t See vol. viii. p. 186.
ÆMIL. PROBUS in Hannib.
l xxxvi.

^u JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4.
^v POLYB. legat. xlviij. Liv.

and now long, the nations into the time
of his entrance, which had proved his ruin. Prusias
had at first so warmly held the request of the embassadors,
pleading in excuse the laws of hospitality, and the age of
~~Hannibal~~, which was too great for him to give any farther
obligation to the Roman senate. He also insisted on the regu-
larity of that great general, whom he could not deliver up,
without drawing upon himself the indignation of all ages.

Prusias threatening to treat him as an enemy, if he per-
sist in harbouring and protecting one who had sworn an eternal deliverance up
hated to Rome, the king thought it advisable to sacrifice his Hannibal
to the revenge of the republic, and his own interest. But to the Ro-
man, without hesitating a moment between death and mans.
captivity, disappointed the designs of his enemies, in a man-
ner worthy of his great courage *, as we have related in the
history of Pergamus.

Prusias having, by thus abandoning his guest and ally to
the revengeful temper of the Romans, gained their protection,
in order to engage them still more in his favour, assisted them
both with men and money in their war with Perse, king of
Macdon; and, upon the reduction of that country, was not
content, like the other princes of the east, with sending an
embassy to Rome to congratulate the senate on the success of
their arms; but went thither in person, and dishonoured the *Goes to*
Senate no sooner heard of his arrival in Italy, but they sent
Luribus Cornulatu, Scipio, the son of Scipio Asiaticus, as far as
Capua to meet him, with orders to defray his charges, and
conduct him to the capitol. Before he entered the city, he
caused his head to be shaved, and took the pileus, or cap
which slaves wore after they had obtained their freedom;
and, in that odd dress advanced towards the forum, stopped at
the tribunal, where the praetors used to administer justice,
and there declared with a loud voice, that he had crossed the
sea, on purpose to return thanks to the Roman gods, and
congratulate the republic on her late victories.

His arrival being notified to the senate, they sent deputies
to receive and introduce him. These *Prusias received with His mean*
such mean flatteries and submissions as were well suited to behaviour
the attire he had assumed; *I have taken the habit and apparel at Rome.*
one of ye of your freed-men, said he, *and am, indeed, no*
better than a Roman slave set at liberty by your favour. The
deputies were for introducing him to the senate imme-

* *Am. in Hannib. Liv. I. xxix. c. 4. Puer. in*
Pisid. et in Syrac. p. 97.

diately; but he requested, that his audience might be put off two days, being desirous to see first the city and temples, and visit his friends. The third day he was introduced, and on that occasion betrayed a baseness of mind, unworthy of the rank and title he bore. For, when he entered the senate, he kissed the threshold, saluted the senators with the titles of *vivile deities, saviours, deliverers,* and pronounced an harangue suitable to that prelude; in the close of which, he related what he had done for the republic in the course of the war, and desired the protection of the senate, both for himself and his son. After this, he presented to the conscript fathers a petition, which contained two articles; whereof the first was, that he might be allowed to offer up sacrifices in the capitol, and at *Præneste*, by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter* and *Fortune*, for the success which had attended the arms of the republic in the late war. The second article was, that the senate would grant him a small territory, which had formerly belonged to *Antiochus the Great*, but was then held by the *Galatians*, who had seized it without the consent of the republic. The senate returned *Pruſias* the following answer: We give the king of *Bithynia* leave to offer sacrifices at *Rome* and *Præneste*, and order that the expences of the victims, and all other things for the sacrificees, be defrayed by the public, in the same manner as if our own magistrates were to offer up sacrifices. As to the territory which the king desires, we shall send commissioners to judge of the affair on the spot, after both parties shall have been heard. After this the senate presented him with some silver vessels, and made over to him two hundred and twenty-five small ships, which had been taken from *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. Then *Pruſias* left *Rome*, embarked at *Brundusium*, and set sail with a squadron of twenty gallies to take possession of the fleet, which the republic had given him^r. Some years after, that war broke out between him and *Eumenes II.* which we have described in the history of *Pergamus*, where we have also related in what manner, and on what provocation he was first driven from the throne, and afterwards assassinated by his own son *Nicomedes*. *Polybius* tells us, that he was a monster rather than a man; that he had not one single virtue to make amends for the many vices which rendered him insupportable to his subjects, and contemptible to foreigners. He was a stranger to all principles of honour or honesty, of a most cruel and savage temper, timorous, cowardly, and so addicted to pleasures of all sorts, that he seemed another

*His death
and cha-
racter.*

^r *Polyb. legat. xcviij. Liv. I. xlvi. c. 44.*

Polybius. His most important business was, to dress himself, saya our historian, to conceal the deformity of his ill-shaped and disfigured body. He was not ashamed to appear publicly in the figure of a woman, and shew his subjects a figure no less hideous than ridiculous, in a dress that no way suited to it *. As he was himself unacquainted with the liberal arts, he despised all kinds of knowledge, disconuenanced the study of philosophy, and polite literature, and carefully avoided the conversation of such persons as could form his mind, or improve his taste *(P).

He had two wives; to wit, *Apame*, the daughter of *Dieglis*, one of the kings of *Thrace*, who brought him two sons, *Nicomedes* and *Prusias*: the latter was surname *Mono-dous*, or the *single-toothed*, because, instead of distinct teeth, he had one continued semicircular bone in each jaw. *Prusias* married to his second wife the daughter of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and had children by her also; for *Justin* tells us, that he intended to prefer his issue by the daughter of *Philip* to *Nicomedes*, his eldest son by his first wife; and that *Nicomedes*, provoked at this unjust partiality, took up arms against his father, and drove him from the throne; but herein he disagrees with other writers, whom we have quoted elsewhere in our account of this revolution.

Nicomedes II. succeeded his father; and proved a no less cruel tyrant; for he had scarce ascended the throne, when d^es II. he sacrificed all his brothers to his jealousy and ambition ^b. He assumed the name of *Epiphanes*, or the *Illustrious*, though he performed nothing worthy of this title, or even of notice, during the whole time of his long reign. According to the accounts given us, by *Strabo*, *Justin*, and *Memnon*, he began to reign in the 607th year of *Rome*, and was still on the throne in the 649th. All we know of him, besides what we have related in the history of *Pergamus*, is, that he built

* POLYB. in excerpt. VALESII.

SUIDAS voce *Prusias*.

^a ATHEN. l. iii. c. 7.

^b APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 147.

(P) *Livy*, in his account of *Polybius*, after having given us the audience which the senate gave him, takes no notice of his submissions to the senators: perhaps he thought they reflected no less dishonour on the senate, who suffered them, than on the king, who acted so mean a part. But as it were, a specimen of the speech the slave king made on that occasion, breaks it off abruptly, saying, that he was ashamed to repeat the expressions he made use of before that venerable assembly (5).

a city, calling it by his mother's name, Apamea; or, ^{as some} Strabo tells us^c, that he was killed, but by whom, or in what manner, we find nowhere recorded. Some writers conjecture, that as he had murdered his father, so he was treated in the same manner by his son Nicomedes, who, on that account, was, by antiphrasis, surnamed Philopator.

Nicomedes III. He was succeeded by his son Nicomedes III. who, entering into an alliance with Mithridates the Great, invaded Paphlagonia; and, having seized on that country, attempted to make himself master likewise of Cappadocia, at that time subject to Mithridates, who, thereupon marching into Bithynia at the head of a mighty army, drove Nicomedes from the throne, and raised his brother Socrates to it in his room. The dethroned prince had recourse to the Romans, who drove out the usurper, and restored him to his hereditary dominions. For this favour they pressed him, and at length prevailed upon him, contrary to his own inclination, and the opinion of his friends, to make inroads into the territories of Mithridates, with whom Rome wanted a subject of dispute. The king of Pontus bore, for some time, the devastations committed by Nicomedes, with great patience, that he might not seem to be the aggressor; but at last he made him pay dear for them; for, having intirely routed his army on the banks of the Amnus, he drove him a second time from the throne, and obliged him to seek for shelter in Paphlagonia, where he led a private life till the time of Sylla, who replaced him on the throne. He died not long after, and was succeeded by his son Nicomedes IV. who performed nothing which the many writers, who flourished in his time, have thought worth transmitting to posterity (Q).

Nicomedes IV.

As he died without issue male, he left his kingdom, by his last will, to the Romans, who reduced it to the form of

^c STRAB. l. xii.

APPIAN. in Mithridatic.

(Q.) His too great familiarity with Julius Caesar, while that young Roman was making his first campaign in Asia, under the prætor *Theomus*, gave occasion to several lampoons, and severe

satires, some of which were sung by the soldiery at Caesar's triumph over the Gauls, according to the liberty allowed them on such occasions: The verses were,

*Cæsar Gallias subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem.
Ecce, Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem* (6).

(6) VIDE Sueton. in Cæsar. Dion. l. xiii. Catal. &c.

a pro-

Sallust, disagreeing with the ancients, tells us, that *Nicomedes* left a son, by name *Musa*, or *Adaga*; and introduced *Mithridates* as complaining of the *Romans* to *Arsaces*, king of *Bithynia*, for seizing on the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and excluding the son of a prince, who had, on all occasions, shewn himself a steady friend to their republic^c. But this *Musa* was the daughter, and not the son, of *Nicomedes*, as we are told in express terms by *Suetonius*, *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Appian*^d. All we know of her is, that upon the death of her father, she claimed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for her son, as the next male heir to the crown; but without success, no motives of justice being of such weight with the ambitious *Romans*, as to make them part with a kingdom (R).

^c LIV. l. xciii. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 4, & 39. APPIAN. l. i. bell. civil. p. 420. & Mithridatic. p. 175. 218. ^d SALLUST. hist. l. iv. ^e VELL. PATERC. SUETON. APPIAN. ibid.

(R) *Cæsar* espoused her cause, and supported her claim in the senate with his usual eloquence. But as he was enumerating the many obligations he owed her father, *Ciceron* interrupting him, You need not, said he, O *Cæsar*, enlarge on this topic; we all know how kind *Nicomedes* was to you, and what favours you granted to him⁽⁷⁾. The name of *Musa*'s son, so far as we can conjecture from *Hirtius* and *Appian*, was *Nicomedes*; but, as to the name and condition of his father, history has left us quite in the dark. After the defeat of *Pharnaces*, *Cæsar* appointed *Nicomedes* high-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*, deposing *Archelaus*, whom *Pompey* had raised to that dignity, to

make room for the grandson of his old friend *Nicomedes* IV. in whom ended the succession of the *Bithynian* kings, that country continuing subject to *Rome* from this time to the division of the empire. Before we dismiss this subject, we must acquaint the reader, that some writers mention only three kings of *Bithynia*, bearing the name of *Nicomedes*, and will have that *Nicomedes* to have died without issue, and bequeathed his kingdom to the *Romans*, who, at their instigation, made war upon *Mithridates*. But we have followed *Appian*, who seems to have written on this subject with the greatest exactness.

(7) *Sueton.* ibid.

C H A P. X.

*Of the Kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Bosporus,
Media, Bactria, Edesa; Emesa, Adiabene, Characene,
Elymias, Comagene, and Chalcidene.*

Colchis.

Cities.

CO**L****C****H****I****S**, now *Mingrelia*, was bounded on the east by *Leria*, on the west by the *Euxine* sea, on the south by *Armenia*, and part of *Pontus*, and on the north by mount *Caucasus*, dividing it from *Sarmatia Asiatica*. Cities of note in this country were, *Pitius*, called by *Strabo* the Great City^a, and by *Pliny*^b a place of great wealth. It stood on the frontiers of the *Bosporus*, and was on that account in the Roman times well fortified and garrisoned, as we read in *Zosimus* and *Procopius*, who tell us, that it served as a barrier to keep out the *Sarmatians*, and other barbarous nations^c. *Dioscurias*, or *Dioscorias*, on the *Euxine* sea, built either by *Castor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, as *Mela* will have it^d, or by *Amphibitus* and *Cercius* their charioteers, as we read in *Anianus Marcellinus*^e, and *Isidorus*^f. It was named *Dioscurias*, from *Castor* and *Pollux*, whom the Greeks called *Dioscuroi*. This name was, according to *Arrian*^g and *Ptolemy*^h, in process of time changed into that of *Sebastopolis*; but *Pliny*ⁱ will have *Dioscurias* and *Sebastopolis* to be two different cities. Be that as it will, *Dioscurias* was antiently a place of great trade, and resorted to by merchants from most parts of the world: for *Pliny*^k tells us, that three hundred different languages were spoken there; and that the *Romans*, who traded to *Colchis*, were obliged to maintain constantly in *Dioscurias* an hundred and thirty interpreters. This city is at present known by the name of *Savatopoli*. *Aea*, on the *Phasis*, and about fifteen miles from the *Euxine* sea, called by *Pliny*^l and *Apollonius*^m a famous city. Some writers take this to be the same with the city of *Aeopolis*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Phasis*, so called, from the river on which it stood. Here the *Argonauts* landed, which gave rise to the Greek proverb, *to sail to Phasis*, expressing a long and dangerous navigation; for such was that of the *Argonauts* esteemed in those early times. *Cyta*, at the mouth

^a STRAB. l. xii. p. 378. ^b PLIN. l. vi. c. 5. ^c PROCP. l. iv. bell. Goth. c. 4. & ZOSIM. l. i. c. 32. ^d MELA, l. i. c. 19. ^e ANNIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii. c. 15. ^f ISIDOR. orig. l. xv. c. 1. ^g ARRIAN. in Pont. periplo. ^h PROT. in Colch. l. v. c. 10. ⁱ PLIN. l. vi. c. 4. ^k Idem ibid. ^l Idem ibid. ^m APOLLON. l. xi. ver. 424, & 1096.

of the river *Cyanus*, the birth-place of the famous *Medea*, called from thence by the poets *Cytais*^a. The cities of *Sarek*, *Zadri*, *Surium*, *Media*, and *Zalissa*, are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolemy*; but contain nothing worthy of notice. *Colchis* was watered by a great many rivers, as the *Corax*, the *Hippus*, the *Cyanus*, the *Charistus*, the *Phasis*, Rivers. the *Absarus*, the *Cissa*, and the *Ophis*, all emptying themselves into the *Euxine* sea. The *Pbasis* does not spring from the mountains of *Armenia*, near the sources of the *Euphrates*, the *Aaxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, *Dioscyrus*, and after them *Hadrian*, *Reland*, *Caiet*, and *Sanfon*, have wrongly informed us; but rises on mount *Caucasus*, and flows, not from south to north, but from north to south, as appears from the map of *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* in *Thevenot*'s collection, and the account which Sir *John Chardin* gives us of that country. This river forms in its course a small island, called also *Phasis*; whence the pheasants, if *Isidorus* is to be credited^b, were first brought into *Europe*, and thence called by the Greeks *phasanoi*. The other rivers of *Colchis* are scarce worthy notice.

THE *Colchians* were, according to *Herodotus*^c, originally *Inhabitants* *Egyptians*, *Sesostris* having left part of the army with which he invaded *Scythia*, in *Colchis*, to people that country, and guard the passes. The *Colchians*, says our historian, are undoubtedly of *Egyptian* descent, as is visible from the personal similitude they bear to the *Egyptians*, being, like them, swarthy, and frizzle-haired; but more especially from the conformity of their customs; for they use circumcision, as the *Egyptians* do, and many other ceremonies practised by the inhabitants of *Egypt*. There is likewise, says the same historian, such an affinity between the language of *Colchis*, and that which is commonly spoken in *Egypt*, as leaves us no room to doubt of their coming originally from that country. *Apollonius*^d, *Diodorus Siculus*^e, *Strabo*^f, *Eustathius*^g, and *Marcellinus*^h, agree with *Herodotus*. *Bochart*ⁱ takes the *Colchians*, and the *Castubum* of *Moses*, from whom the *Philistines* were descended, to be one and the same people; forgetting therein, that the *Philistines* did not use circumcision, which *Herodotus* assures us the *Colchians* did. In process of time many other nations settled in *Colchis*, as the *Heniachi*, the *Amvreuta*, the *Lazi*, the *Ligures*, the *Marfi*, the *Istri*, the *Moschi*, and

^a PROPERT. l. i. eleg. 1. VAL. FLAC. l. vi. ver. 693, &c.

^b ISIDOR. origin. l. iii. ^p HERODOT. l. iii. c. 104. l. iii. 97.

l. iv. 40. ^q APOLLON. l. iv. ^r DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. ^s STRA-

PO, l. i. & xvi. ^t EUSTATHE. in DIONYS. ^u MARCELLIN. l. iii.

* BOCHART. phaleg. l. iv. c. 31.

the *Mangale*. From the latter people some derive the present name of *Mingrelia*. The whole kingdom of *Colchis* was, in ancient times, very pleasant and fruitful; abounded with all necessaries of life, and was enriched with many mines of gold; which gave occasion to the fable of the golden fleece, and the *Argonautic* expedition, so much celebrated by the antiquits.

*Govern-
ment and
kings.*

Helius.

Aeetes.

THE *Colchians* were governed by their own kings in the earliest ages; for *Pliny* tells us, that *Sesostris* king of *Egypt* was overcome, and put to flight, by the king of *Colchis*; which, if true, shews, that the *Colchians* not only had kings in those times, but were a very powerful people. We have observed above, that *Herodotus* derives the *Colchians* from the *Egyptians*; but that writer must have meant the *Colchians* of his own time, and not the first inhabitants, since *Colchis*, even according to his own account, was peopled before the arrival of the *Egyptians* in those parts. It is not therefore improbable, that the descendants of *Hul*, who are said to have settled in *Armenia*, passed from thence into the neighbouring country, calling it *Colchis*, from their progenitor *Hul* or *Chol*^a. But of their kings we know very little. The names of those we find mentioned in history, are, *Helius*, *Aetus*, *Aetes II. Salauces*, *Fusubopes*, *Citbaces*, and *Aristarchus*. *Helius* is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, *Strabo*, and *Cicero*, as reigning before the *Argonautic* expedition; but what they relate of him is altogether fabulous, and therefore not worthy of notice in history. He was succeeded by his son *Aetes*, whom he had, according to some, by *Ephyre*, according to others, by *Antiope* or *Persa*. *Aetes* received *Phryxus* flying with his sister *Helle* from their stepmother *Ino*, in a ship, on whose head was a golden, or rather a gilt ram. In his reign happened the famous expedition of the *Argonauts*, of which we have spoken elsewhere^b. Upon the death of *Aetes*, *Colchis*, as *Strabo* informs us^c, was divided into several petty kingdoms; but on what occasion we know not; for we find no further mention of the affairs of *Colchis*, or the princes who reigned there, till the time of *Xenophon*, who tells us, that the son of *Aetes*, the second of that name, reigned in *Colchis* while he was making war in *Asia*^d. *Salauces* and *Eusubopes* are mentioned by *Pliny*^e, and said to have discovered rich mines of gold in the country of the *Savani*; but that writer leaves us quite in the dark as to the time in which they reigned. *Colchis* was afterwards subdued by *Mithridates the Great*, but revolted from him while his forces were employed against the *Romans*.

^a PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. ^b Vide BOCHART. phaleg. l. ii. c. 9. .
^a See vol. vi. p. 217. & seq. sub not. ^b STRABO, ibid.
^c XENOPH. alex. l. v. ^d PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

The king of Pontus had not sooner concluded a peace with Syria, than he marched against the Colchians, who offered to submit, upon condition that he would appoint his son to reign over them, with the title of King of Colchis. This proposal provoked Mithridates to such a degree, that he caused the son, whom they had demanded, to be arrested, and loaded with chains of gold, sacrificing him soon after to his jealousy and ambition. Hereupon the Colchians obstinately refused to submit upon any terms; which obliged Mithridates to draw together all his troops in order to reduce them by force: but as he passed through the country of the Achaeans, that people attacked him with so much vigour, and defended the passes with such resolution, that he was forced to return into Pontus, after having lost great part of his army by the enemy's ambuscades, and by the excessive cold of the country ^c (A).

Colchis, while subject to Mithridates, was governed by prefects sent thither by him. One of these was Mæphernes, great uncle to Strabo the geographer, as that writer informs us ^f. Memnon tells us, that Mithridates complied with the request of the Colchians, and appointed his son Mithridates to reign over them; but soon after caused him to be put to death. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Colchians sided with Mithridates against Pompey; and were, during that war, governed by a king of their own, to wit, by Olthaces, who was Olthaces overcome, taken prisoner, and led in triumph, by Pompey ^g. Olthaces was succeed by one Aristarchus; but all we know of Aristarchus, is, that Pompey conferred upon him the kingdom of Colchis, for his eminent services during the Mithridatic war ^h. Pharnaces II. king of Pontus seized on the kingdom of Colchis, and recovered great part of Pontus, while Cæsar was entertained by Cleopatra in Egypt; but was soon obliged to abandon his conquests, and retire into the country of the Bosporani, where he was killed by Asander, as we have related in the history of Pontus. From this time we find no mention made of the Colchians till the reign of the emperor Trajan, to whom they submitted of their own accord ⁱ. Perhaps they

^c APPIAN. in Mithridat. ^f STRABO, I. xi. ^g APPIAN. ibid. FLOR. I. iii. c. 5. ^h APPIAN. ibid. EUTROP. I. vi. SEX. RUF. in epitome JORNAND. de regnor. success. ⁱ EUSAB. in chron. SEX. RUF. in epitom. EUTRQP. I. vi.

(A) These Achaeans were originally Greeks, and are said to have settled on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea, whither they

had been driven by a storm, as they were returning from the siege of Troy.

were governed by their own king; for Strabo makes the river *Phasis* the northern boundary of the Roman empire. Under the emperor, *Colchis* was subject to the praetors who governed *Bithynia* and *Pontus*; but never made part of any province.

I B E R I A.

Iberia.

Rivers.

I. habitants.

IBERIA, now *Georgia*, was bounded on the west by *Cel his*, and part of *Pontus*; on the north by mount *Caucasus*; on the east by *Albania*; and on the south by *Armenia*. It contained the following cities, *Nubium*, *Varica*, *Sura*, *Artanissa*, *Mesletta*, *Zalissa*, *Armactica*, and *Phryxum*, called afterwards *Ideessa*. These cities are mentioned by *Strabo*^a, *Pliny*^b, and *Ptolemy*. The only rivers of note in *Iberia* are, the *Cyrus*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the description of *Albania*, and the *Aragus*, which springs from the mountains separating *Iberia* and *Colchis*, and falls into the *Cyrus*. *Pliny* mentions another river, which he calls the *Iberus*, and from which some writers derive the name of *Iberia*. Of mount *Caucasus*, which separates *Iberia* from *Sarmatia Asiatica*, we have spoken elsewhere^c; and in the history of *Pontus* and *Armenia* described the *Parcadrian* and *Mesian* mountains. This country was antiently inhabited by the following nations or tribes enumerated by *Pliny*^d; to wit, the *Meschi*, the *Armenochalybes*, the *Sacassani*, the *Mucrones*, the *Sylvi*, the *Diduri*, and the *Sodisi*. *Iberia* was first peopled, according to *Josephus*^e, by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Mingog*. His opinion is confirmed by the *Septuagint*; for *Meshech* and *Tubal* are by those interpreters rendered *Meschi* and *Iberians*^f. *Strabo*^g, and after him *Eustathius*^h, derive the *Iberians* in *Asia* from the *Iberians* in *Celtiberia* or *Spain*; others, as *Appian* informs us, derive the latter from the former. As these two nations lay at a great distance from one another, and greatly differed in their manners, customs, and language, some were of opinion, as we read in the same *Appian*ⁱ, that they were no-ways related to each other. *Tacitus* supposes both the *Iberians*, and the *Albanians* their neighbours, to have come originally from *Thessaly* with *Jason*^k; but whatever their origin was, they were a very brave and warlike nation, and maintained their independency, if *Plutarch* is to be credited^l, against the utmost efforts of the *Medes*, *Persians*,

^a STRABO, l. xi. p. 344. & l. i. p. 31. ^b PLIN. l. vi. c. 10.

^c See vol. vi. p. 60. ^d PLIN. l. vi. c. 10. ^e JOSEPH. antiqu.

l. i. c. 7. ^f In Ezech. c. xxvii. xxxii. xxxviii. xxxix. ^g STRABO,

l. i. ^h EUSTATH. in DIONYS. ⁱ APPIAN, in Mithridat.

^k TACITUS, l. v. ^l PLUR. in POMP.

and *Macedonians*. Strabo gives us the following account of their customs and polity^m.

THE *Iberians*, says he, are divided into four ranks or classes; Their *cus-*
the first consists of the nobility, the second of priests, the third *toms* and
of soldiers and husbandmen, and the fourth of the common polity.
people. Out of the first class they choose their king, and,
upon his death, raise always to that dignity the eldest of his
relations. The next in age to him of the royal family admin-
isters justice, and commands the army. The common peo-
ple are employed in the lowest ministries, and treated no bet-
ter than slaves. The priests, besides their peculiar function,
hear causes, and decide such controversies as arise between the
natives and foreigners. The *Iberians* who inhabit the cham-
paign country, are very industrious, and well skilled in agricul-
ture; but those who live on the mountains, are a wild and
savage race, and in their manners bear a great resemblance to
the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*; whereas the former imitate both
the dress and customs of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. Thus
far Strabo.

THE monarchical form of government prevailed among *Govern-*
them, as is plain from this passage; but we find no mention *ment and*
made of their kings till the reign of Mithridates the Great, *kings.*
king of Pontus, when they were governed by one *Artoces*,
who sided with that prince first against *Lucullus*, and after-
wards against *Pompey*. After the defeat of *Mithridates* by
Pompey, *Artoces* sent embassadors to the *Roman* camp, in-
joining them to conclude a peace with *Pompey* upon honour-
able terms; and, in the mean time, drew together an army
of seventy thousand men, with design to fall upon the *Romans*
unawares, in case they did not grant him the conditions he
required; but *Pompey*, being informed of the measures he
was taking, advanced by long marches into *Iberia*, took
Hierapolis, a city or fort, which was situated on the sum-
mit of a mountain; penetrated into the very heart of the
kingdom, and obliged *Artoces* to shelter himself in the most
remote parts of his dominions. From thence he sent embas-
sadors anew to *Pompey*, and by their means obtained a peace
upon very reasonable terms; but, notwithstanding this agree-
ment, *Artoces* still kept his troops together, designing to fall
upon the *Romans* as they passed the river *Pelorus*. This *Pom-* *The Ibe-*
pey suspected, and therefore, following him close, came up *rians de-*
with him before he reached the above-mentioned river, and *feated*
drew him to an engagement, in which the *Iberians* behaved *with great*
with great gallantry, but were obliged to give way to the *su-slaughter*
perior valour of the Romans, who killed nine thousand upon *by Pom-*
pey:

^m STRABO, l. xi.

the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners. Great numbers were drowned as they attempted to save themselves by swimming over the *Pelorus*. Many fled to the forests, and, climbing up to the tops of the tallest trees, defended themselves from thence with their arrows ; but the *Romans*, setting fire to the forest, obliged them to surrender at discretion^a. After this defeat, *Artoces*, suing for a peace in good earnest, sent from beyond the *Pelorus* rich presents to *Pompey*, to wit, his bed, his table, and his throne, all of massive gold, which the *Roman* general accepted, and delivered to the *quaestor* of the army ; but would not hearken to any terms of an accommodation, till the king had delivered to him his sons as hostages ; and then he concluded a peace upon terms no way dishonourable to the *Iberian* nation^b. This king is called by *Appian* conclude a *Artoces*, by *Eutropius Arthaces*, by *Sextus Rufus Arsus*, peace upon and lastly, by *Dio*, *Florus*, and *Orosius*, whom we have followed, *Artoces*.

He was succeeded by his son *Pharnabazus*, who being overcome by *Canilius*, *Marc Antony's* lieutenant, joined the *Romans* against *Zoberes* king of *Albania*^c. The other kings of *Mithridates*, &c. *Pharafdates*, *Pharaismenes*, *Mithridates II.* *Rhadamistus*, and *Pharaismenes II.* But as these were also lords of *Armenia*, we have spoken of them in the history of that kingdom. *Pharaismenes II.* reigned in the time of the emperor *Adrian* ; went to *Rome* with his wife and children, to clear himself before the emperor of several things laid to his charge by *Vologesis II.* king of *Parthia* ; and was there not only allowed to offer sacrifices in the capitol, but honoured with an equestrian statue erected in the temple of *Bellona*^d. From this time, to the division of the empire, there is a profound silence among authors with respect to the affairs of *Iberia*. They continued, in all likelihood, to be governed by their own kings, who were tributaries to *Rome* ; for we do not find *Iberia* counted by any writer, or mentioned in the ancient notitias, among the provinces of the empire ; and, besides, we know, that, long after the division of the empire, they were subject to their own princes ; for *Procopius* tells us, that after they had embraced the *Christian* religion, *Gyrgenes* their king, being threatened with a war by *Cavades* king of *Persia*, in case he did not conform to that of the *Persians*, implored the assistance of the emperor *Justin*, which kindled a war between the two empires. *Zonabarzes*,

^a PLUT. in *Lucul.* & *Pomp.* *Dio*, l. xxxvi. *FLOR.* l. iii. c. 5.

^b ZONAR. tom. ii. PLUT. *Dio*, *FLOR.* ibid. EUTROP. l. vi.

^c OROS. l. vi. c. 4. PLUT. in *Anton.* APPIAN. in *Parthic.*

^d *Dio*, l. xlix. THEODOS. *Mimor*, in fragment.

another of their kings, came to *Constantinople*, as the same author informs us, in the time of the emperor *Justinian*, to be baptized, with his queen, his children, and several noblemen of his court (A).

A L B A N I A .

ALBANIA was bounded on the west by *Iberia*; on the Albania east by the *Caspian sea*; on the north by mount *Caucasus*; and on the south by *Armenia* ^a. It contained antiently a great many cities, but none of any note. The following are mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; *Teleba*, *Thalbiti*, *Cutie*, and *Gelda*, *Thiauna*, *Thabilaca*, *Albana*, *Chudaca*, *Misja*, *Bozia-ta*, and *Cabalica*, which *Pliny* calls the metropolis of *Albania*. The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of, are, the *ivers*. *Cyrus* or *Cyrnus*, the *Albanus*, the *Cafsus*, the *Gessibus*, the *Soana*, the *Cambyses*, and the *Alazon* ^b, all emptying themselves into the *Caspian sea*. The *Cyrus*, now the *Kur*, springs from the *Moschian* mountains, which separate *Colchis* from

^a STRABO, l. xi. p. 345. & PTOLEM. l. v. c. 12. ^b STRABO & PTOLEM. ibid. PLIN. l. vi. c. 13 & c. 10 POMPON. MELA, l. iii. c. 5.

(A) *Iberia* is at present subject to the king of *Perisia*, and known to the *Perians* by the name of *Gurgistan*; that is, the land of the *Georgians*; for *tan* is an antient *Celtic* word, signifying a country, and still in use among the eastern nations, as appears from the modern names of *Curdistan*, *Indostan*, &c. that is, the country of the *Cordes*, of the *Indians*, &c. As to the name of *Georgia*, some writers are opinion, that the ancient *Iberia* was so called, either from St. *George*, the famous *Cappadocian* martyr, held here in great veneration, or from *George*, a *Cappadocian* bishop, by whom the inhabitants were first converted to Christianity. Others, supposing the country to have been called antiently *Gordiæa*, and the inhabitants *Gordiæans*, from the *Gordian* mountains, take the word *Georgia* and

Georgians to be a corruption of *Gordiæa* and *Gordiæans*; but this opinion is entirely groundless, the *Gordian* mountain, being placed by all the antient geographers in *Armenia*, at a considerable distance from *Iberia*. Some think that the inhabitants were called *Georgi* from their skill in husbandry, the Greek word *georgos* signifying an husbandman; and that the country was from them named *Georgia*. *Pliny*, enumerating the *Caspian* nations, mentions the *Georgi*, from whom perhaps the antient *Iberia* borrowed the name of *Georgia*, that country lying at a small distance from the coasts of the *Caspian* sea, which was inhabited, according to *Pliny*, by the *Georgi*, who, in process of time, may have settled in *Iberia*, from which they were parted by the small kingdom of *Albania*.

Armenia,

Armenia, waters the country now called *Mokan*, receives into its chanel the *Aragus* and *Araxes*, and falls into the *Caspian sea*, within a small distance from the southern borders of the antient *Albania* (A).

THE whole country, now known by the names of *Sibirwan* and *East Georgia*, is extremely fruitful and pleasant. *Strabo* describes the antient *Albanians* as tall and strong-bodied men, and adds, that they had, generally speaking, a very graceful mein, and far excelled all other nations in comeliness, as well as in stature (B).

THE same *Strabo* tells us, that the manners of the *Albanians* were very simple; that they were unacquainted with weights, measures, and the use of money; that they could not count above an hundred; and that trade was carried on among them only by exchange. *Pliny* writes, that they held old age in great veneration; that they were of a very fair complexion, and thence, according to some, called *Albani*; that they could see as well by night as by day; and that not only the men were stout and courageous, but also the women, whom he pretends to be descended from the antient *Amazons*.

Their origin. As to their origin, *Tacitus* ^c and *Pliny* ^d derive them from the *Thessalians* who attended *Jason* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and settled in this part of the isthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas. *Justin* ^e will have them to be descended from the inhabitants of *Alba* in *Italy*, who followed *Hercules* into those parts, after he had overcome *Geryon*. *Ammanius Marcellinus* takes the *Albani* and *Alani* to be one and the same people, and derives them both from the *Massagetae*, of whom we have spoke elsewhere ^f. As to their form of government, the country was in antient times divided into a

Govern ment.

^c *TACITUS*, l. v. ^d *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 13. ^e *JUSTIN.* l. xiii.

^f See vol. vi. p. 86.

(A) There is a great disagreement among the antient geographers about the mouths of this river: *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*, say that it discharges itself into the sea by twelve mouth. *Strabo* indeed, who advances nothing for certain in his descriptions of countries but what he has seen, speaks with great reserve; and only tells us, that the *Cyrus* is said to discharge itself by

twelve mouths into the *Caspian sea* (1); but *Pliny*, with whom all our modern travelers agree, allows it but one.

(B) Our modern travellers extol the women of *Georgia* and *Sibirwan* for perfect beauties, but find nothing extraordinary in the men; whereas, the antients admired the men, without taking any notice of the women.

(1) *Strabo*, l. xi. p. 345.

great many small kingdoms. Strabo tells us, that no fewer than twenty-six different languages were spoken formerly in *Albania*; and that there were as many different kings and kingdoms as languages, each tribe having their peculiar king ^a. But the *Albani*, in process of time, prevailed over the other petty princes, and made themselves masters of the whole country. In Pompey's time they could bring into the field, as Strabo informs us ^b, sixty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. We find no mention made of their kings till *Kings*. the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom the king of *Albania* is said by *Pliny* ^c and *Solinus* ^d to have presented a dog of an extraordinary fierceness and size.

THE next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in history is *Oraes*. *Oraes*, who, entering into an alliance with *Tigranes*, the son of *Tigranes the Great*, obliged Pompey to march against him. Pompey *Cosis*, the king's brother, a brave and enterprising prince, marches commanded the *Albanians*, and waited for Pompey on the ^{against} banks of the *Cyrus*, which he fortified at certain distances ^{from} him, with high palisades. Hereupon Pompey feigning to return to *Armenia*, leading his army a great way about, and drawing up his cavalry and beasts of burden in the bed of the river, to break the force of the stream, passed it without being discovered by the enemy. From the *Cyrus* he pursued his march to the *Cambyses*, through a dry country, where his army suffered much for want of water. At length, after having rambled far out of the way, being led astray by his guides, who were *Albanians*, he reached the *Cambyses*, where his soldiers were seized with strange distempers, occasioned by their drinking too greedily of the water of that river, while they were hot after their march: however, he still advanced, with the precaution of carrying ten thousand skins full of water, lest he should be again reduced to the same straits. He heard no news of the enemy, till he had passed the *Abas* or *Albanus*, when he was informed, that *Cosis* was advancing full march against him, at the head of threescore thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Upon his approach he concealed the legionaries among the thick bushes, with which the whole plain was spread, commanding them to cover their helmets with their bucklers, lest the rays of the sun reflecting on them, should discover them at a distance. Then he detached the cavalry, with orders to attack the enemy, and, retiring before them, draw them into the ambuscade.

THE stratagem had all the success Pompey could expect; ^{and utter} for the legionaries starting up all on a sudden, and widening ^{by defeat} _{him}

^a STRABO, l. xi.
^b SOLIN. l. ix.

^c Idem ibid.

^d PLIN. l. viii. c. 4.



their ranks to let the cavalry retire, surrounded the *Albanians* on all sides, and put them to flight with great slaughter. On this occasion *Oros* behaved with much valour and intrepidity ; for he kept close to *Pompey* during the whole time of the engagement, and, having had at last an opportunity of discharging a blow at him, pierced his breast-plate. Hereupon *Pompey*, facing his adversary, threw his javelin at him with such vigour, that he laid him dead at his feet. The *Albanians*, dshartened by the death of their general, fled in disorder to the neighbouring forest, which the *Romans* set on fire, crying aloud, while the forest was burning, *Saturnalia*, *Saturnalia*¹ to remind the *Albanians*, that they had attempted to surprise them in their quarters during the feasts of *Saturn*, and therefore ought to expect no quarter. *Oreses*, after the defeat of his troops, retired to mount *Caucasus*, and from thence sent embassadors to strike up a peace with the conqueror, who willingly granted it, being desirous to put an end to the war, and turn his arms against the king of *Parthia*, who had entered *Gordzene* at the head of a mighty army¹ (C).

Oreses, was succeeded by his son *Zoberes*, who, having ventured an engagement with *P. Canidius*, *Marc Antony's* lieutenant, was by him entirely defeated, and obliged to sue for peace. In this war *Canidius* was powerfully assisted by *Pharabazus* king of *Iberia*^m. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in history is *Pharajmerus*, who, in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, committed great devastations in *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Media*, and was on that account summoned by the emperor to *Rome*. *Pharajmerus* refused to comply with the summons ; but, in the mean time, to appease *Adrian*, sent him some valuable present, among which were many great-coat, such as were worn in those days by military men, all of cloth of gold. These alone the emperor accepted, but

¹ DIO, I xxxvi PLUT in Pomp APPIAN in Mithridat. FLOR I in c 5 LUTPOP I vi OROS I vi c 4 Sex Ruf in er tom FRONTIN. stratag I u c 3 m PIUT. in Anton. DIO, I xlvi

(C) It was constantly reported before the engagement we have spoken of above, that there were many *Amazons* in the *Albanian* army ; but the *Romans*, who had given credit to that rumour, in stripping the dead on the field of battle, found none of those war-like females among them,

(z) Tigr Oros I in c 5. Sex Ruf, I, vi c 4. in epit. Front Strat, I. in c 5. Fernand. de regn r. Siculif.

whence they concluded this republic of military women to be a mere fable, adopted on too slight grounds by many credulous historians. *Oreses* is by some writers called *Oodes*, and said to have fought three unsuccessful battles with *Pompey* (2).

with no other view than to affront the king who had sent them; for he caused three hundred criminals to be clad with them, and in that attire, fight the wild beasts in the public theatre. Upon *Adrian's* death the king of *Albania* came to *Rome*, at the first summons from his successor *Antoninus Pius*, who received him with great marks of esteem, and sent him back loaded with presents to his kingdom ^a. *Trebellius* ^b, and *Marcellinus* ^c speak of two kings of *Albania*, whom they do not name, the one cotemporary with *Sapor I.* king of *Perſia*, and the emperor *Valerian*; the other reigning in the time of *Sapor II.* and entering into an alliance with him against *Constantius*, the son of *Constantine the Great*. The *Albanians* continued to be governed by their own princes till the reign of *Justinian II.* who is said by *Zonaras* ^d, and other writers ^e, to have subdued *Albania* by his general *Leontius* ^f(D).

We shall conclude our account of these three kingdoms with the words of Sir *John Chardin*, who, in describing the present *Georgia*, which comprehends the greater part of the antient *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, speaks of it thus: “ *Georgia* is as fertile a country as can be seen; the bread is as good there as in any part of the world; the fruit of an exquisite flavour, and of different sorts: no place in *Europa* yields better pears and apples; no place in *Asia* better pomegranates. The country abounds with cattle, venison, and wild fowl of all sorts; the river *Kur* is well stocked with fish; the wine is so rich, that the king of *Perſia* has

^a Dio ibid. ZONAR. & SPARTIAN. in *Adrian. CAPITOLIN.* in *Antonin. PIO.* ^b TREBEL. in *Valer.* ^c MARCELLIN. l. xviii. ^d ZONAR. in *Justin.* ^e Hist. misc. l. xix.

(D) The three kingdoms which we have here described, to wit, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, took up the whole isthmus between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, and extended from the borders of *Media Atropatene*, *Armenia*, and *Pontus*, on the south, to the mountains of *Corax* and *Caucasus* on the north. These mountains have been the subject of many poetical fables; but nothing has been feigned by the poets more improbable than

what we read in some of the antient geographers, to wit, that they were so high as to be illuminated by the rays of the sun even at midnight, it being certain, that they are not much above two perpendicular miles in height (3). They are known to the present inhabitants by the names of *Coccas* and *Cochcas*, which are, without doubt, a corruption of the antient name *Corax*. The *Arabs* call them the mountains of *Raf*.

⁽³⁾ Vide Prof. in *Melam*, l. ii. c. 2. Kircker. in *mundo subterr.* l. i. c. 14. Perſia, in *geog.* l. iii. c. 30.

" always some of it for his own table, &c. The inhabitants
 " are robust, valiant, and of a jovial temper, great lovers of
 " wine, and esteemed very trusty and faithful, endowed with
 " good natural parts, but, for want of education, very vicious.
 " The women are generally fair and comely, and by their
 " beauty recommended to the court of the king of *Perſia*,
 " whose wives and concubines are for the most part *Georgian*
 " women. Nature has adorned them with graces no-where
 " else to be met with ; it is impossible to see them without
 " loving them ; they are of a full size, clean-limbed, small-
 " waisted, fair, and well-proportioned." Thus far Sir *Joh̄n Chardin*, to whose words, or rather panegyric on the *Georgian* women, we beg leave to subjoin a passage out of another modern traveler of no mean character : " As to the *Georgian* women, says he, they did not at all surprise us ; for we expected to find them perfect beauties ; they are no-way disagreeable, and may be counted beauties, if compared with the *Curdes* ; they have an air of health, that is pleasing enough ; but, after all, they are neither so handsome, nor so well shaped, as is reported. Those who live in the towns have nothing extraordinary, more than the others ; so that I may, I think, venture to contradict the accounts that have been given us of them by most travelers." But it is now time for us to take our leave of *Georgia*, and pass into the neighbouring kingdom of *Bosporus*.

* *TOURNEF. voyage, &c. vol. ii. epift. 6.*

B O S P O R U S.

Bosporus. **T**H E antient kingdom of *Bosporus*, comprehending all the provinces that were subject to the *Bosporan* princes, was bounded on the east by *Colchis* ; on the west by the gulf *Carcinites* ; on the south by the *Euxine* sea ; and on the north by the *Tanaïs*, where that river falls into the *Palus Maeotis* ; so that it comprised the *Chersonesus Taurica* in *Europe*, and in *Asia* all that tract which lies between the *Palus Maeotis* and the *Euxine* sea (A).

(A) *Diodorus Siculus* (1) confines the kingdom of *Bosporus* within the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, the boundary of *Europe* and *Asia* on that side ; but *Strabo* (2), whom

we have followed, extends it to the gulf *Carcinites*, which, with the *Palus Maeotis*, forms the isthmus of the *Chersonesus*.

(1) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.*

(2) *Strabo, l. vii.*

CITIES of note in, the Asiatic *Bosporus* were, antiently, *Cities*. *Phanagoria*, placed by some geographers on the *Euxine* sea, by others on the *Palus Maeotis*; but by *Pliny*^a and *Mela*^b at some distance from both, on a peninsula, which they call *Corocondama*. Near this city was formerly a famous temple dedicated to *Venus Apaturia*, so called from the Greek word *apate*, signifying *deceit*; for she is feigned to have overcome the giants here by a stratagem suggested to her by *Hercules*. This city was, according to *Strabo*^c, the metropolis of *Bosporus* in *Asia*. *Copi*, *Hermonassa*, *Stratocea*, and *Cimmerium*, stood on the *Bosporus*, and are said by *Pliny* to have been once remarkable cities. From the latter the *Bosporus Cimmerius* borrowed its name. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Pomponius Mela*, tell us, that *Cimmerium* was the chief city of the *Cimmerians*, a people famous for their robberies as early as in the days of *Homer*. These barbarians, being driven out of their country by the *Scythian* nomades, ravaged the finest provinces in the east, and penetrated as far as *Sardis* in *Lydia*, which they reduced; but, being afterwards overcome by *Halyates* king of *Lydia*, some of them returned to their antient habitation; and others, as most historians conjecture, advanced towards the north as far as the *Baltic*, and settled in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now *Jutland*; for the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* are, by most historians, thought to be one and the same people. The other cities taken notice of by the antients in the *Asiatic Bosporus*, are, *Sinda*, on the *Palus Maeotis*; *Tanais*, at the mouth of the river bearing that name, where the city of *Azoph* now stands; *Paniardis*, *Tyrambe*, and *Gerasum*, called by *Ptolomy* a *Cimbrian* village.

THE coast of the *Euxine* sea was inhabited by the *Cerctæ*, *Inhabitants*. the *Heniochi*, the *Mosihi*, and the *Achæi*, of whom we have tants. spoken above. *Strabo* enumerates on the coast of the *Palus Maeotis* the following nations, the *Sindi*, *Dandarii*, *Agri*, *Arrichi*, *Tarpetes*, *Obidiaceni*, *Sittaceni*, *Dosci*, and *Afpongitanî*. To these *Scylax* adds the *Coraxi*, the *Coraci*, or, as *Vossius* will have it, the *Coli*, and the *Melanchleni*. The country bordering on the *Palus Maeotis* and the *Bosporus*, which was inhabited by the *Cimmerii*, is represented by the antients as an inhospitable place, covered with thick forests, and continual fogs, which the rays of the sun could not break through (B).

THE

^a PLIN. l. vi. c. 6.^c STRABO, l. xi.^b POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 19.(B) This frightful description gave *Cicero* and *Ovid* occasion to say, that an eternal night reignedin this gloomy climate, and that sleep had taken up its abode here; and hence *Cimmerian* darkness became,

Rivers.

THE rivers mentioned by the antient geographers in this tract, are, the *Anticites* or *Vardanus*, the *Psathæ*, the greater and lesser *Rhombites*, and the *Marubius*, most of them springing from the mountains of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, and all emptying themselves into the *Palus Maeotis*.

Taurica
Cherfone-
sus.

THE *Taurica Cheronesus*, so named from its being a peninsula, antiently inhabited by the *Tauri*, or *Taurocytha*, as *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call them, lies between the *Euxine* sea, the *Palus Maeotis*, and the *Bosporus Cimmerius*; extends, according to *Sir John Chardin*, sixty-one leagues from east to west, and about thirty-five from north to south, and is joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus about a mile over. The cities of note in former times were, *Taphrae* or *Taphrus*, on the isthmus, where the present city of *Przekop* or *Precop* stands. The modern city is so called from the word *przekop*, signifying a ditch; for it was built on the ditch which the *Tatars* cut across the isthmus. *Cherronesus*, or, as the more modern Greek writers call it, *Cherson*, was, according to *Strabo*, built by the *Greeks* on the gulf *Carcinites*; now the gulf of *Nigropoli*, on the west coast of the *Chersonesus*. Of this city, now called *Topetarkan*, there are still many ruins to be seen. *Theodosia*, or *Theudosia*, another Greek city on the east coast of the peninsula, once a place of great note. It is now known by the name of *Caffa*, and is the capital of *Little Tartary*. From this city the *Bosporus Cimmerius* of the antients is called by the present inhabitants the streights of *Caffa*. *Sanson* places *Theodosia* where the modern city of *Tisba* stands. *Nymphaeum*, *Lagyra*, *Charux*, &c. stood on the *Euxine* sea, and *Panticapœum* on the *Bosporus*. This city was, according to *Strabo*, the metropolis of the European *Bosporus*. It was founded by the *Milesians*, and for some ages governed by its own laws; but at length subdued by the kings of *Bosporus*. Some writers have confounded the cities of *Panticapœum* and *Bosporus*; but *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus*, speak of them as two different cities. *Procopius* often mentions the latter; but never takes any notice of *Panticapœum*, tho' the capital of *Taurica Cheronesus*. This peninsula is at present possessed by the *Tatars*, and commonly

came, according to *Laelantius*, a proverb, signifying an unpene- trable darkness, and likewise a gloomy and stupid mind. *Lyco- phron*, *Pliny*, *Eustathius*, *Servius*, and others, have planted a colony of *Cimmerians* in *Italy*, be- tween *Cumæ* and *Baiae*, near the

lake *Avernus*; and tell us, that the sun never shines on that small canton: but *Strabo*, who was better acquainted with the countries we are speaking of, de- scribes them as abounding with all the necessaries of life, and rather pleasant than disagreeable.

known by the name of the *Crim*, which it borrowed from the city of *Krym*, antiently called *Gremnos*. The *Bosporus Cimmerius*, now the ~~heights~~^{heights} of *Kertzi* or *Caffa*, which divides Europe and Asia, ~~and the~~^{between} *Crim* and *Kuban*, is not above four leagues over. This *Palus Maeotis* extends from south-west to north-east about one hundred and thirty leagues, having on the north and west *Little Tartary*; on the south-west the *Chersonesus Taurica*, now the *Crim*; and on the east and south-east *Sarmatia Asatica*, now *Circas Tartary*. This sea or lake was called by the antients *Palus Maeotis*, from the *Maeoti* or *Maeotici*, a people inhabiting the European and part of the Asiatic coast, and also *Palus Sarmatia*, *Cimmeriae Paludes*, *Scythica Stagna*, and *Ponti Euxini mater*, or, *the mother of the Euxine sea*; but its modern name is the sea of *Zabach*, borrowed from a fish taken there at certain seasons of the year.

THE *Bosporani* were governed by princes of their own in *Kings of the earliest times*; but as the works of *Trogus Pompeius*, who wrote the history of the *Bosporan kings*⁴, have not reached us,^{rus.} we can give but a very indifferent account of them. The first we meet with in history is *Leucon*, who is mentioned by *Leucon*. *Strabo*^c; but we are quite in the dark both as to his reign and to that of *Parisades*, whom *Strabo* calls the last of his race. *Parisades*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that many kings had reigned in *Bosporus* before the consulate of *M. Genutius Augurinus*, and *P. Curiatius Philo*. Hence it is plain, that *Leucon* and *Parisades* were not, as some authors have thought, the founders of the *Bosporan* kingdom, but preceded by a long series of princes of the same race. *Spartacus I.* succeeded *Parisades*, and is *Spartacus*, said by *Diodorus Siculus*, in one place, to have reigned seven years, and, in another, seventeen^d. He had two sons, *Selucus* and *Spartacus*. *Selucus* and *Spartacus*. He left the kingdom to the former, who *Spartacus II.* reigned four years, and dying without children, was succeeded by his brother *Spartacus II.* and he, after a reign of twenty-six years, by his son *Satyrus*, who reigned fourteen years^e. After him came *Leucon II.* who waged war with one *Mnemon*, *Leucon II.* probably a neighbouring prince, by whom he was overcome, and with the *Heraleans*, over whom he gained considerable advantages. He had a particular regard for the *Athenians*, *savour*, whom he supplied with a great quantity of corn in the time of *and is救* of a famine, and allowed their merchants a free trade to all *vowed by the parts of his dominions*. The *Athenians*, in return for his *the Athenians* kindness, made him and his children free of *Athens*, and granted to his trading subjects the same privileges and exemptions in *Attica*, which their citizens enjoyed in *Bosporus*, erecting

^a Vide prolog. l. xxxvii. ^b STRABO, l. vii. ^c DIONOR. SICUL. l. xii. c. 4, & 5. ^d Idem, l. xiv.

Satyrus,
etc.

Parisades

II.

Satyrus II.

II.

three pillars in memory of the good understanding that passed between the two states, to wit, one in the city of *Bosporus*, another in the *Peribea*, and the third near the temple of the *Argonauts*. He was a great encourager of trade, granting ample privileges to all foreign ministers settling at *Theodosia* in the *Chersonesus*; by which means that city became one of the most rich and populous of the east^a. His exploits were celebrated by *Chrysippus* the philosopher, as *Plutarch* informs us; but have not reached our times. He left two sons, *Spartacus* and *Parisades*. The former, surnamed *Satyrus*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and is called by *Dinarchus* the tyrant of *Bosporus*. He restored *Hecataeus*, a neighbouring prince, to his kingdom, obliging him to marry his daughter, and murder *Tirgataone* his former wife, in order to make room for her. This kindled a bloody war between him and the subjects of *Hecataeus*, in which he lost his son, with whose death he was so sensibly affected, that he did not long outlive him^b. *Dinarchus* tells us^c, that both he and his brother *Parisades* sent yearly to *Demosthenes* a thousand bushels of wheat. He reigned only five years, and was succeeded, according to some, by his younger son *Gorgippus*; according to others, by his brother *Parisades*. Of *Gorgippus* we find nothing upon record. *Parisades* is said by *Diodorus Siculus*^d to have reigned thirty-eight years.

*He left three sons, Satyrus, Eumelus, and Prytanis, who made war upon one another. Satyrus II. the eldest, succeeded his father; but his brother Eumelus, being assisted by *Ariophanes* king of Thrace, attempted to drive him from the throne. Satyrus had recourse to the Scythians, who sent to his assistance twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. With these, two thousand Greeks, and an equal number of Thracians, he engaged and put to flight Eumelus, whose army consisted of two-and-twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, all Thracians, under the command of *Ariophanes* or *Arioparnes* their king. After this defeat Eumelus and the Thracian king retired to a strong-hold, where they were closely besieged by the conqueror. While Satyrus continued before this place, *Meniscus*, who commanded the mercenaries, being surrounded by the enemy while he was attempting to storm the fort, Satyrus hastened to his relief, and rescued him from the imminent danger he was in; but was himself run through the arm with a spear, and died of the wound the night following, after a short reign of nine months.*

^a DEMOSTHEN. contra Leptin. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. & xvi.
STRABO. l. vii. POLYEN. l. v. DIO CHRYSOST. orat. ii. de regno. ^b DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. POLYEN. l. viii. ^c DINARCH. in orat. contra Demosthen. ^d DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi.

UPON his death *Maniscus*, breaking up the siege, retired *Prytanis*, with the army to the city of *Gargaza*, and from thence carried the king's body to *Panticapaeum*, and there delivered it to his brother *Prytanis*, who having buried it with great pomp, took upon himself the command of the army, and the title of king. *Eumelus* sent ambassadors to the new king, offering to disband his forces, upon condition that he would divide the kingdom with him ; but *Prytanis* not hearkening to his proposals, by the assistance of the neighbouring barbarians, *Eumelus* made himself master of *Gargara*, and several other cities. Hereupon *Prytanis* marched against him, at the head of a numerous army ; but was overcome in a pitched battle, and being shut up within a narrow neck of land between the *Pulus Maeotis* and a lake, was forced to surrender, give up his army, and depart the kingdom ; but he soon returned, and, by the assistance of his friends, made himself master of some strongholds. Whereupon *Eumelus* marched against him anew, and having put his army to flight, pursued him to a place called the *Gardens*, where he endeavoured to make head against his brother's victorious army, but was killed in the attempt.

UPON his death *Eumelus* ordered all the friends and children of his two brothers *Satyrus* and *Prytanis* to be murdered. *Parisades* alone, the son of *Satyrus*, had the good luck to make his escape to the court of *Agaras* king of the *Scythians* ; all the others were inhumanly massacred. This cruelty incensed the people, who were ready to revolt, and revenge the death of their friends with that of the tyrant, when *Eumelus*, calling them together, promised to alter his conduct, restored to the cities their former privileges, freed them from all kind of taxes, and having by that means regained their affections, governed the kingdom with great equity and moderation to his death. He is celebrated by the antiquits as the greatest king who had ever reigned in *Bosporus* ; for he not only defended his dominions against the neighbouring barbarians, who, at different times, invaded it with numerous armies, but would have brought all the nations round him under subjection, as *Diodorus* informs us, had he not been prevented by death, after a reign of five years, and as many months ; for as he was returning out of *Scythia* in a chariot covered with a canopy, the horses taking fright, and the driver not being able to stop them in their career, the king threw himself out ; but his sword intangling in one of the wheels, he was hurried away with the violent motion of the chariot, and killed (C).

HE

(C) We are told, that he had been forewarned by an oracle to beware of a moving house ; and therefore never ventured to go into

Spartacus He was succeeded by his son *Spartacus III.*, who reigned twenty years. Many years after, we read of *Leucanor* reigning in the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and paying a yearly tribute to the *Scythians*. He was treacherously murdered by one *Arsacomas*, a *Scythian* prince, for having refused him his daughter *Euboitus*, in marriage^m. Upon his death *Euboitus*, his brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne by the *Sarmatians*, and maintained on it by them, and by the *Alani*, and the *Greek* states of *Asia*, who willingly joined him against the *Scythians*, who began to be too powerful in those parts; however, he could never enjoy his kingdom in peace and tranquillity, till he submitted to pay the *Scythians* a double tributeⁿ.

Parisades III. THE next prince we find reigning in *Bosporus*, is *Parisades III.* who, not being able to pay to *Scilurus* king of *Scythia* the unreasonable tribute he exacted, nor to withstand so powerful an enemy, voluntarily resigned the kingdom to *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, after it had been held by his ancestors for the space of four hundred years, as *Lucian*, *Diodorus Siculus*^o, and *Strabo*^p, inform us. In the time of the last *Mithridatic* war, the *Bosporans* revolted from *Mithridates*, and admitted *Roman* garrisons into the cities of *Phanagoria*, *Theodosia*, *Chersonesus*, and *Nymphaeum*; but, upon the death of that prince, the whole country was restored by *Pompey* to his son *Pharnaces*, whom he honoured with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. During the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Pharnaces*, not satisfied with the kingdom of *Bosporus*, attempted the recovery of his father's dominions, crossed the *Euxine* sea, and reduced *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*^q. After the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar* sent *Domitius Calvinus* against him with part of his army; but *Domitius* being overcome in a pitched battle, *Pharnaces* made himself master of the remaining part of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, and of all *Bithynia*, whence he was preparing to advance into *Asia*, properly so called; but in the mean time *Cæsar*

^m LUCIAN. in Toxari. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o LUCIAN. & DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. ^p STRABO, I. vii. ^q PLUT. in Cæs. HIRT de bell. Alexandrin. DI CASS. I. xlvi. APPIAN. de bell. civil I. ii.

into any house, till his servants had thoroughly examined both the roof and the foundation; but when they understood, that

the horses had been frightened at the canopy placed on his chariot, they concluded that the prophecy was fulfilled (3).

leaving *Egypt*, where he was passing his time in banquets and revels with *Cleopatra*, and crossing *Syria*, came unexpectedly upon *Pharnaces*; and having attacked him, without allowing any respite, either to his own men or to the enemy, gained a complete victory; an account whereof he wrote to one of *Overcome* his friends in the celebrated words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, by *Cæsar*, I saw, I conquered; which, as they well expressed the expedition by which he obtained so signal a victory, he caused to be written in capital letters, and carried before him in his triumph^r.

Pharnaces, after this defeat, fled to *Sinope*, with a thousand horse, and from thence sailed back into *Bosphorus*, where he no sooner landed, but *Azander*, whom he had appointed governor of that country during his absence, seized him, and put him to death, taking upon himself the title of king of *Bosphorus*^s. Hereupon *Cæsar* bestowed the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on *Mithridates the Pergamian*, in regard of the Mithrideminent service he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have re-dates the dated in the history of that country. At the same time he Pergamianappointed him tetrarch of *Galatia*, which he had a title to in ^{an}.

right of his mother, who was descended from one of those tetrarchs. He might also have laid claim to the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, in right of his father, for he was supposed to be the son of *Mithridates the Great*, his mother having been one of that prince's concubines, after the death of *Menodotus* of *Pergamus* her husband. But *Cæsar*, in appointing him king of *Bosphorus*, gave him only an empty title; for *Azander* being in possession of the whole country, he was to settle himself on the throne by force of arms. With this view he raised what forces he could; but, instead of gaining the kingdom, lost his life, being overcome and slain in battle by *Azander*, who, after his death, held the kingdom without any further molestation, the *Romans* not being at leisure, on account of their intestine broils, to give him any disturbance^t.

He was a man of great courage, and skill in the military art, and in neither reckoned inferior to any of the age he lived in. however, the emperor *Augustus*, distrusting him, gave the command of the *Bosporan* troops, who served in the *Roman* army, to *Scribonius*; which *Azander* took so much amiss, that he abstained from all food, and by that means put an end to his life in the ninety-third year of his age^u. Upon

^r APPIAN. l. ii p. 485. PLUT. in Cæs. SUET. in Julio.

^s APPIAN HIRT. & PLUT. ibid. ^t APPIAN. in Mithridat. p 254. STRABO. l. xiii p 625. HIRT. ibid. ^u STRABO, & Dio, ibid. LUCIAN. in macrob.

his death, *Scribonius* giving out that he was the grandson of *Mithridates*, married *Dynamis*, the daughter of *Pharnaces*, and possessed himself of the kingdom of *Bosporus*; but was soon driven out by *Polemon*, on whom *Augustus* had bestowed that kingdom.

Polemon. *Polemon* was the son of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*; and, after the battle of *Philippi*, had been, by *Marc Antony*, rewarded for his gallant behaviour, with that part of the kingdom of *Pontus* which lay next to *Cappadocia*. He attended the same *Marc Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*, by whom he was taken prisoner. He was afterwards sent by the king of *Media*, to negotiate a peace between him and *Antony*; which he concluded to the great satisfaction of the triuivir, by whom he was, on that consideration, made king of *Armenia Minor*. After the battle of *Aetium*, in which he fought with great bravery for *Antony*, he was not only pardoned by *Augustus*, but sent by him, or rather by *Agrippa*, against *Scribonius*, whom he defeated, and drove from the throne. He engaged in several wars with the neighbouring barbarians, whom he kept in awe, preventing them from making incursions into the *Roman* territories; but was at length overcome, taken, and put to death, by the *Aspungitani*, whom *Strabo* reckons among the nations that bordered on the *Palus Maeotis*. He had been honoured by *Augustus*, some time before his death, with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people ^w. He left two sons, *Zeno* and *Polemon II.* The former, surnamed *Artaxia*, was, by *Germanicus*, made king of *Armenia*, to the great satisfaction of the *Armenians*, among whom he had been brought up ^x. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Bosporus*, which he exchanged, in the reign of *Claudius*, for part of *Cilicia*. We find no further mention in history of the *Bosporani*, till the reign of *Trajan*, who, as *Eutropius* informs us ^y, received the king of *Bosporus* under his protection. In the time of *Antoninus Pius*, one *Rimethalces* reigned in the *Bospori*. *Cammerius*, and came to *Rome* to treat with the emperor about the affairs of his kingdom, as we read in *Capitolinus* ^z. *Lucian* tells us ^a, that the *Bosporans*, in his time, were governed by a king named *Eupator*; but what fate attended them thenceforth, to the division of the empire, we find no-where recorded; and therefore shall proceed to a

^w STRABO, l. xi. PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. v. DIO, lib. xlix. lxxii. liv. ^x TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 54, 56.

^y EUTROP. l. viii. ^z CAPITOL. in Antonin. Pio. ^a LUCIAN. ibid.

succinct account of the other kingdoms mentioned in the title prefixed to this chapter.

M E D I A.

WE have delivered elsewhere^a the history of *Media*, from Media, the earliest account of time, to its being reduced by the *Perians*, by whom it was held to the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, when the other provinces of *Media* fell under the power of the *Macedonians*; but that which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian sea*, withstood *Alexander*, being defended by one *Atropatus*, who, upon the downfall of the *Perian* monarchy, kept it for himself, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo's* time^b. From *Atropatus*, it was called *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene*. In process of time, it became a very considerable kingdom; for *Strabo* tells us^c, that the kings of *Atropatene* could bring into the field forty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The metropolis of this kingdom is called by *Strabo*, *Gaza*; by *Plutarch*, *Phrabata*; and by *Dio*, *Praaspa*. But, as we have described elsewhere^d this country, and given an account of the cities it contained, we shall proceed to the history of its kings. The King first who reigned here was *Atropatus*, who, being governor Atropa- of this province in the time of *Darius Codomannus*, as we have tus.
hinted above defended the narrow passes leading into it against *Alexander*; and, upon his departure, caused himself to be acknowledged king of the country. Upon the death of *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, who had married *Atropatus's* daughter, suffered him to enjoy his new kingdom without molestation. The other kings of *Media* we find mentioned in history, are, *Timarchus*, *Mithridates*, *Darius*, and *Artuasdes*. *Timarchus* Timar-reigned in the time of *Demetrius Soter* king of *Syria*, who thus attempted, but without success, to reduce *Media*, as *Trogus* informs us^e. *Mithridates* was cotermporary with *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, whom he assisted against *Lucullus*. He married the daughter of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; but, dying without issue, left the kingdom to his brother *Darius*, who likewise sided with *Mithridates*; but *Darius* was overcome by *Pompey*^f. *Darius* was succeeded by his son *Artuasdes*, or *Artuades*, on whom *Marc Antony* made Artuades.

^a See vol v p. 3, & seq. ^b STRABO, l. xi. p 523. ^c Idem ibid. ^d See vol. v. p 4, & seq. ^e TROG POMP prolog. l. xxxiv ^f Dio, l xxxv. PIUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridat.

war, at the instigation of *Artabazus* king of *Armenia*; but was therein attended with bad success, as we shall relate in the history of *Parthia*.

UPON the retreat of *Marc Antony*, *Artuasdes* falling out with his allies the *Parthians*, about the division of the Roman spoils, sent ambassadors into *Egypt*, acquainting *Antony*, that he was ready to join him with all his forces, and assist him to the utmost of his power in the reduction of *Parthia*. Hereupon the triumvir resolved to return into *Parthia* by the way of *Media*; and, to attach *Artuasdes* more firmly to his interest, first sent him, as a present, the head of *Artabazus*, his inveterate enemy, whom he had treacherously seized; and afterwards contracted a marriage for *Alexander*, one of his sons by *Cleopatra*, with a daughter of the king of *Media*; but in the mean time the civil war breaking out between *Antony* and *Ostavianus*, *Artuasdes* sent his forces to join the former, which gave the *Parthians* an opportunity of invading his dominions, and driving him from the throne. After having lived some time in *Syria*, he had recourse to the clemency of *Ostavianus*, who received him into favour, and bestowed upon him the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*². As for the kingdom of *Media*, it continued subject to the *Parthians*, who held it for many years, as we shall see in the history of that people (A).

² *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 415. *Zovar.* tom. i.

(A) Some authors indeed speak of kings reigning in *Media* long after the times we are now writing of; but these princes were probably of the race of the

Arsacidae; for *Dio*, *Tacitus*, and *Josephus*, tell us, that the *Parthian* kings sometimes suffered their younger brothers to reign in *Media*.

B A C T R I A.

Bactria. *BACTRIA* or *Baſtriana*, now *Choraffan*, was bounded on the west by *Margiana*; on the north by the river *Oxus*; on the south by mount *Paropamisus*; and on the east by *Aſiatic Scythia*, and the country of the *Massagetæ*. It was a large, fruitful, and well-peopled country, containing, if *Ammanus Marcellinus* is to be credited³, a thousand cities; but of these we find only the following mentioned by

³ *AMMIAN. MARCEL.* l. xxiii.

antients:

antients : *Bactra*, the metropolis of the country, called antiently *Zariaspa* (A).

THE other cities of *Bactria*, mentioned by the antient geographers, are, *Alexandria*, probably built by *Alexander* ; *Dorapsa* or *Adraspa*, the same city which *Arrian* calls *Drap-saca*^b ; *Euchratidia*, *Cariata*, both spoken of by *Strabo*^c ; the latter was destroyed by *Alexander* : *Sisimethra* *Petra*, where *Alexander* solemnized his marriage with *Roxana*, who was kept there^d : *Maracanda*, repaired, but not built, as *Aeneas Sylvius* and *Cambinus* have imagined, by *Tamerlan*. The same writer tell us, that *Maracanda* was the birth-place of that great commander ; but are therein contradicted by *Chalcocondyles*^e. This city is now known by the name of *Samaracanda* ; whence the present kings of *Perſia* style themselves princes of *Samaracanda*, as *David Chytraeus* informs us^f. *Ebusni* and *Characharta*, now *Chiariachar*, were once two places of great note, being called by *Ptolemy* royal cities^g.

The chief rivers of *Bactria* were, the *Ochus*, the *Oxus*, *River*, the *Orgomenes*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Dargomenes*, the *Zariaspa* or *Zariaspes*, the *Artimus*, and the *Dargidus*. Most of these rivers fall into the *Ochus*, which springs from mount *Paropamisus*, and discharges itself into the *Caspian* sea. *Paropamisus*, or *Parapamisus*, is a part of mount *Taurus*, and not of mount *Caucasus*, as those who attended *Alexander* in his expedition into *India*, were pleased to call it^h. That part of *Bactri*ⁱ, which was watered by the river *Oxus*, is described by the antients as a very fruitful country, abounding with pastures, and well stocked with cattle of a very large size ; but the southern parts were nothing but sandy deserts,

^b ARRIAN I iii c 29

^c STRABO, I. xv p 498

^d CHALCOCOND I iii vol v p 59

^e CHYTRAEUS in chron ^f See

STRABO, I. xi p 348. ARRIAN. Indic c. 11.

(A) Some writers indeed make *Bactra* and *Zariaspa* two different cities ; but *Strabo* (1) and *Phny* (2) tell us, in express terms, that *Bactra* and *Zariaspa* were two names of one and the same city. *Pliny* places *Bactra* on the river *Zariaspa* ; and *Curtius* on the *Bactrus*, at the foot of mount *Paropamisus*, but *Ptolemy*, dif-

agreeing with both these writers, describes it as standing on the river *Dargidus*, in the heart of the country, at a great distance from mount *Paropamisus*, which was the southern boundary. From the river *Bactrus*, *Curtius* (3) will have both the city and country to have borrowed their names.

(1) Strabo, I. xi. (2) Phny, I. vi c. 15, 16. (3) Curt I. viii c. 4.

without any track or beaten way ; insomuch that travelers used to rest in the day-time, and pursue their journey in the night, guiding themselves by the stars, as on the sea, not without danger of being buried in the sand. The country was inhabited by the following nations ; to wit, the *Sataltaræ*, *Zariaspaæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzaæ*, *Thocaræ*, *Marycei*, *Amarispi*, and several others of less note^h. The *Bactrians* in general were reckoned good soldiers, being always at war, either among themselves, or with the neighbouring nations, and enemies to all manner of luxury. *Pliny* tells us, that they used to expose their old people, when they attained to a certain age, to be devoured by fierce mastiffs, which they kept for that purpose, and called *sepulcral dogs*. The same author adds, that they allowed their daughters to keep company with whom they pleased ; and that incontinency was no way disreputable, even to the womenⁱ.

*Govern-
ment.*

As to their government, they were ruled by kings in the earliest ages. *Zoroaster* is said by *Eusebius*^k to have reigned in *Bactria*, and to have been cotemporary with *Ninus*, who made war upon him, and subdued his country. But *Ctias* mentions one *Oxyartes*, as reigning in *Bactria*, when that country was reduced by *Ninus*, and will have *Zoroaster* to have been cotemporary with *Cyrus the Great*. *Pliny* questions whether he ever reigned in *Bactria* ; but of him, and his writings, we have spoken elsewhere^l. All authors agree, that *Bactria* was subdued, first by the *Affyria*^m, and afterwards by the *Perians*, under *Cyrus the Great*, as we have related in the history of those two empires. It fell afterwards under the power of the *Macdonians*, and was held by the successors of *Selucus Nicator*, till the reign of *Antiochus Theos*, when *Theodotus*, from governor of that province, became king, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, that he could never afterward dispossess him of his acquisitionsⁿ. He was succeeded by his son, named also *Theodotus*, who, entering into an alliance with *Arses*, the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, considerably enlarged his kingdom, while the two brothers, *Selucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, were wasting their strength against each other^o. *Theodotus* was overcome in

*Kings.
Theodo-
tus*

*Theodo-
tus II.*

^h See vol v. p 59. ⁱ PLIN. ibid. ^k EUSEB. in chron.

^l See vol. v. p. 383, & seq. ^m ARRIAN. in Parthic. apud Phot. cod. 58 SYNCER. p. 281. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 4. STRABO, l. xi. p 515 ⁿ JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4.

battle, and driven out by *Euthydemus* his brother, who, as *Euthydemus* he was a very valiant and prudent prince, maintained a long war against *Antiochus the Great*, in defence of his country, obliging him at last to lay aside all thoughts of ever reducing it, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. *Euthydemus*, was succeeded by his brother *Menander*, who, passing the river *Hypansis*, subdued the kingdom of *Sigetis*, the large province of *Pattalena*, and several other countries, unknown even to *Alexander the Great*; but while he was preparing to make new conquests, and invade the *Syrian* dominions, he was taken off by a violent fever, to the great grief of his subjects, among whom his ashes were distributed, to quell the disturbances that arose on account of his body, which many cities laid claim to. By this means magnificent monuments were erected to his memory in most cities of *Bactria*.

He was succeeded by his nephew *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, in whose name he had governed, that prince being very young at his father's death. *Demetrius* was no ways inferior to his uncle in courage and bravery; for he not only maintained himself in the possession of the provinces which *Menander* had reduced, but made several new acquisitions, and, at his death, left the kingdom of *Bactria* in a most flourishing condition. His son *Eucratides* built the city of *Eucratidia*; and, having invaded *India*, made himself master of all those provinces which had been subjected by *Alexander*. On his return to his own dominions, he was treacherously murdered by his son, named also *Eucratides*, to whom he had committed the government of the kingdom during his absence. So wicked an action did not go long unpunished; for the *Scythians* invading *Bactria* on one side, and the *Parthians* on the other, *Eucratides* was driven from the throne, and soon after killed in attempting to recover it. Upon his death, the *Parthians* seized on the provinces of *Asponia* and *Thuriva*, leaving all the rest to the *Scythians*, who held the kingdom of *Bactria* till the invasion of the *Huns*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place. The kings, whom we find mentioned as reigning in *Bactria* in the times of the emperors *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Valerian*, were all of *Scythian* extraction; but the *Scythians* were, in their turn, driven out by the *Huns*, who reigned in *Bactria*, as we read in our modern historians, in the time of *Ladislaus IV.* king of *Hungary*.

* *ARRIAN.* peripl. p. 32. Trec. in prolog. l. xli.

E D E S S A.

Edessa.

THE antient city of *Edessa* is placed by geogtaphers in *Mesopotamia*, on the banks of the *Scirtus*, between mount *Masius* and the *Euphrates*, into which the *Scirtus* empties itself. It was once a place of great note, and famous for a temple of the *Syrian* goddess, which was reckoned one of the richest in the world, nations and princes sending thither presents and offerings from all parts of the east. From this temple, *Edessa* was stiled *Hierapolis*, or the *holy city*.

During the intestine broils, which greatly weakened the king-
Augarus, dom of Syria, one *Augarus*, or *Abgarus*, seized on the city
or Abga- of *Edessa*, and its fruitful territory, which he erected into a
rus, the new kingdom, stiling himself king of *Edessa*, and transmit-
founder of this king-ting the same title to his posterity. Under which of the
Syrian kings this revolution happened, we find no-where re-
corded. All we know of the founder of this new kingdom
is, that he often defeated the *Syrians*, to whom the country
which he possessed had been long subject; and, in spite of
their utmost efforts, lest at his death his small principality, as
Aegnatius^a and *Xylander* style it^b, in a very flourishing con-

Ariamnes, dition. He was succeeded by his son *Ariamnes*, or *Abgarus II.*
or Abga- for the name of *Abgarus* was common to all the kings of
rus II. *Edessa*. This prince made himself master of the whole pro-

vince of *Osrrene*, and, entering into an alliance with *Pompey*,
against *Tigranes the Great* king of *Armenia*, supp'ld his army
with all manner of provisions. In the *Parthian* war, he
pretended to side with *Craesus*; but, in the mean time,
maintaining a private correspondence with the enemy, he
was the chief cause of the great overthrow which the *Romans*
received at *Carrhae*, as we shall relate at length in the history
Uchanias of the *Parthians*. He left the kingdom to his son *Uchanias*,
and Abga- mentioned by *Eusebius*^c, who was succeeded by his son *Ab-*
rurus III. *garus III.* a prince much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers,
on account of the letters which he is supposed to have written
to our Saviour, and our Saviour to him (A).

Abgarus^a *AEGNAT.* in *Spart. Sever.**XYLANDER*, in *DION.* lib. xl.^c *EUSEB.* hist. eccles. l. i. c. 15.(A) These letters were found by *Eusebius*, as he assures us, in the public archives of *Edessa*, and by him translated out of theoriginal *Syriac* into *Greek*, and inserted in his ecclesiastic history (1). They are also spoken of by *Nicephorus* (2), *Cedrenus* (3),(1) *Ibidem*, l. i. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 8.(2) *Niceph. Callist.* l. ii. c. 7.(3) *Cedren.* p. 144, & seq.*Dorothcus,*

Abgarus IV., the son of the above-mentioned prince, reigned in the time of the emperor *Claudius*, and joined *G. Cassius* ^{IV.} governor of Syria, who had been ordered by that emperor to place *Meherdates* on the throne of *Parthia*. When *Meherdates* arrived at *Edessa*, *Abgarus*, who had been gained over by the *Parthians*, detained him there, under various pretences, till such time as the enemy had drawn together their forces; and, in the heat of the engagement, abandoning the *Romans*, with the king of the *Adiabenians*, brought on the defeat of their army ^d. The next prince of *Edessa* we find mentioned in history, is, that *Abgarus*, who was cotemporary with the emperor *Trajan*, to whom he sent, during the war he waged with the *Parthians*, two hundred and fifty fine horses, a great many complete suits of armour, and sixty thousand javelins. *Trajan* accepted of three breast-plates only, and declared *Abgarus* a friend and ally of the *Roman* people ^e. *Suidas* sometimes calls him *Abgarus*, and sometimes *Augarus*, giving him in one place the title of king, and elsewhere styling him the chief of the *Edessans*. He was *Arbanus*, succeeded by his son *Arbandes*, who was highly favoured by *de*. *Trajan*. *Abgarus VI.*, the son of *Arbandes*, is mentioned by *Augarus* ^f *Capitolinus* in his life of *Antoninus Pius*, and by *Epiphanius*, who calls him a most pious prince. Another prince of the same name reigned at *Lycia*, in the time of the emperor *Severus*, assisted him in the wars he waged in the east, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was, by the emperor's order, received and entertained with the utmost pomp and splendor ^g. He was afterwards suspected, by *Caracalla*, of holding a correspondence with the enemies of *Rome*, and

^d TACIT. I. XII. ^e SUIDAS., voce 'ΕΓΑΡΟΣ ΘΗΟΔΟΣ. MIN. IN FRAGMENTI. ^f SICILLIAN. IN SEVERO.

Dorobius (4), *Eusebius* (5), *Glycas* (6), *Cyrilius* (7), *Nicetas* (8), &c. The last-mentioned writer tells us, that our Saviour's letter was stolen in the reign of *Andronicus Commenus*, and never after heard of (9). These letters have given occasion to many disputes, among our modern writers, some maintaining them to be genuine, and others to be forged. This

subject has been learnedly handled by *Custodian*, *Gratianus*, *Tillemont*, *Da Pin*, and the late father *Allard*, a writer of great note of the *Dormition* order, to whom we refer such of our readers as are desirous to be well acquainted with this controversy, which is altogether foreign to our subject.

(4) *Dorob.* in *synopsh.* p. 393, 44^{r.}

(5) *Eusebius*, I. iv. c. 2^{r.}

(9) *Nicetas*, *ibid.*

(7) *Cyprianus*, p. 60, 9^{r.}

(6) *Nicetas*, I. ii.

being summoned to justify himself before the emperor, he was, by his order, confined, and his kingdom reduced to a Roman province & (B).

& Dio, & ZONAR. in Caracalla & Heliogabalo. SPARTIAN. ubi supra. HERODIAN. I. iii.

(B) He is by *Spartianus* called king of *Perſia*; but by *Dio*, *Zonar*, and *Herodianus*, king of the *Oſroenii*, the dominions of the kings of *Edessa* being confined within the narrow bounds of *Oſroene*, or, as others calls it, *Oſ-*

droene, a province of *Mesopota-mia*, bounded on the west and south by the *Euphrates*; on the east by the *Chaboras* or *Aborras*; and on the north by mount *Tau-rus*, dividing it from the *Greater Armenia*.

E M E S A.

Emesa.

E M E S A, *Emifa*, or *Emissa*, was a city of *Syria*, placed by most of the antient geographers on the *Orontes*, between *Apamea* and *Laodicea Cabioſa*. This city one *Sampſiceramus*, *siceramus*, an *Arabian*, seized during the troubles of *Syria*; founder of and, assuming the title of king, held *Emesa*, and its small territory, without the least disturbance from the *Seleucidae*, who had other more important wars on their hands ^a (A).

Iambli-chus.

HE left two sons, *Iamblichus* and *Alexander*. The former succeeded his father, and, as he was greatly attached to the *Romans*, acquainted *Cicero*, while he governed *Cilicia* in quality of proconsul, with the motions and designs of the *Par-thians*, who, under the conduct of *Pacorus* their king, were preparing to invade *Syria*. In the civil wars of *Rome*, he sided first with *Caſar* against *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Antony* against *Octavianus*. After the victory gained by the latter at *Aetium*, *Antony*, apprehending that he designed to follow the example of the neighbouring princes, who had all declared for the conqueror, got him into his power, and, upon that bare suspicion, caused him to be put to a most cruel death ^b. He is styled by *Strabo*, *the petty king of the Emeseni*; by *Josephus*, *a petty prince of Arabia*; and by *Dio*, *prince of the Arabians*.

^a STRABO, I. xvi.
I. xiv. c. 13. Dio, lib. I.

^b STRABO, ibid. JOSEPH. antiqu. I. xv. epist. ad fam. I. xv. epist. I.

(A) *Sampſiceramus* is often mentioned by *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus* (1). But *Nizolius* is of opinion, that *Cicero*, under that disguise, meant *Pompey*, who had overcome *Sampſiceramus*.

(1) Cic. ad Attic. & iii. epift. 14, 16, 17, & 23.

UPON his death the kingdom was, by *Antony*, bestowed on his brother *Alexander*, who, continuing faithful to his *Alexander* benefactor in his greatest distresses, was taken prisoner by *Ottader*. *vius*, and not only deprived of his kingdom, but carried in triumph, and afterwards put to death^c. His son *Iamblichus II.* Iamblichus was received into favour by *Octavianus*, and by him restored to his father's kingdom, after he had lived some time in banishment^d. Many years after him reigned *Sampsiceramus II.* whom some writers take to have been his grandson. He is mentioned by *Josephus*, who styles him king of the *Emeseni*^e. He was succeeded by his son *Azizus*, who, falling in love with *Druilla*, the sister of *Agrippa minor*, embraced the Jewish religion, in order to marry her^f. His sister *Jotape* was married to *Aristobulus*, the brother of *Agrippa the Great*^g. *Azizus* is the last king of *Emesa* we find mentioned in history. This small kingdom was perhaps seized by the *Arabians*; for, some years after, we find it possessed by the *Itureans*. The emperor *Helogabalus* was a native, as *Evagrius* informs us, of the city of *Emesa*.

^c Dio, lib. li.^d Idem, lib. liv.^e JOSEPH. antiqu.

l. xviii. c. 7, & l. xix

c. 7.

f Idem, l. xx. c. 5.

ZONAR. tom i.

g Idem, l. xviii. c. 7.

A D I A B E N E.

AS we have described elsewhere the province of *Adiabene*^a, which was the richest and most fruitful of all *Affyria*, we shall in this place only give a succinct account of the kings, who, taking advantage of the disturbances that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, erected here a new kingdom, and held it in spite of the *Syrian* king, till they were driven out by the superior power of the *Roman* emperors. The first king we find mentioned in history, reigned in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and joined *Tigranes* against *Lucullus*, as we read in *Plutarch*, though that author does not acquaint us with his name^b. Many years after, that is, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, one *Monobazus*, called also *Bazeos*, ruled over the *Adiabenians*. This prince, falling in love with his sister *Helena*, married her, and had by her two sons; to wit, *Monobazus* and *Izates*. He had several children by other wives; but, as he favoured *Izates* above all the rest, this raised no small jealousy in his other sons, especially in *Monobazus* the eldest. To prevent therefore the evil consequences

^a See vol. iv. p. 245, 246.^b PLUT. in Lucull.

which his partiality might occasion in his family, he sent *Izates* to be brought up by one *Abemericus*, lord, or, as *Josiphus* calls him, king of a rich country in that neighbourhood. *Abemericus*, who then resided at a place called *Sparissus*, brought him up with great care, and gave him his daughter *Samacha* in marriage, and with her a rich and fruitful country by way of dowry. In the mean time *Monobazus*, as he was stricken in years, and desirous to see his favourite child before his death, sent for him, and, receiving him with great tenderness, bestowed upon him the country of *Cæron*, which abounded with odiferous plants, and was famous, as *Josipinus* informs us, on account of the remains of *Noah's* ark, which were still to be seen there in his time. In this country *Izates* remained till his father's death, when his mother *Hælena*, calling together the chief lords of the kingdom, told them, That the deceased king had, by his last will, appointed *Izates* to reign in his stead, as the most worthy of all his children; but that she had not thought proper to acquaint him therewith, till the honour, to which he had been destined by his father, was confirmed to him by the unanimous consent of his subjects. She had scarce uttered these words, when the nobles, prostrating themselves on the ground before the queen, according to the custom of the country, declared, that they approved the king's election, and were ready, not only to obey *Izates*, who had been deservedly preferred to his brothers, but to put the ^{rest} all to death, that he might enjoy the kingdom without disturbance. The queen thanked them for their zeal, but at the same time desired them to forbear shedding the blood of any of the royal family, till the will of their new sovereign was known. Hereupon they intreated the queen to confine at least the young princes till the king's arrival, and in the mean time to appoint one to govern in his name. *Hælena* readily complied with their request, and named her eldest son, *Monobazus*, guardian of the kingdom during his brother's absence, placing with her own hand the diadem on his head, and delivering to him his father's seal, with the robe, called by the *Adiabeni*, *sampæra*; and exhorting him to govern with justice and moderation, till the arrival of his brother, to whom the crown belonged, both by the last will of his father, and the unanimous election of the people. In the mean time *Izates*, being acquainted with his father's death, and the zeal his new subjects had shewn for him, hastened to his kingdom, where he was received with great rejoicings, and met by his brother *Monobazus*, who, on his arrival, resigned to him the diadem, and other ensigns of royalty.

WHILE *Izates* was at the court of *Abemarigus*, he had been instructed in the *Jewish* religion by one *Ananias*, who, at his request, had attended him into the kingdom of *Adiabene*, and continued with him in the province of *Caron*, which his father, as we have said above, had bestowed on him (A).

IN his reign *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*, being driven out by his rebellious subjects, had recourse to him, and was not only kindly received at his court, and treated like a king, but, by his good offices, restored to the crown, as we shall relate in the history of *Parthia*; in acknowledgement of which kindness, *Artabanus* yielded to him the fruitful pro-

(A) His mother likewise, having been instructed by another *Jew*, had embraced that religion; but nevertheless did all that lay in her power to dissuade her son from circumcision, to which, as a zealous proselyte, he had a great inclination, thinking himself obliged to comply with all the duties of the religion he had embraced. *Ananias* his instructor agreed with the queen, and, fearing lest Ionic misfortune might befall him, if the king's conversion, which had been brought about by his means, were publicly known, represented to him, that he might serve the true God, without being circumcised; that since he had resolved to live according to the other laws of the *Jews*, God would pardon him this neglect, in consideration of that resolution; that true religion consisted in the pious sentiments of the soul, and not in the circumcision of the body; which was indeed enjoined by *Mosis*, but might be dispensed with in the present circumstances, considering the danger he was in of forfeiting his kingdom, by an open profession of the *Jewish* religion, &c. Lastly, *Ananias*, who, it

seems, was a time-server, threatened to forsake the pious prince, if he did not lay aside, for the present, all thoughts of circumcision. By these remonstrances, *Izates* was prevailed upon to suspend the execution of his desire, but not long; another *Jew*, by name *Elaazar*, a man well versed in the law of *Mosis*, and of great learning, arriving at the court, and finding the king, when he went to wait on him, reading the books of *Mosis*, told him in plain terms, that he offended both against God, and the law: for it is not enough, said he, for any man to understand his religion: the main duty incumbent upon us, is, to do what our religion commands us. How long will you remain uncircumcised? If you are unacquainted with the injunctions of the law touching this point, read it now, that you may no longer be ignorant of the guilt you incur, in omitting one of the most essential duties of your religion. *Izates*, struck with these words, immediately withdrew; and, in compliance with the law, submitted to the ceremony which it prescribed (1).

(1) *Josipb. antiqu. l. xx. c. 2.*

vince of *Nisibis*, which he had lately taken from the king of Armenia. Upon the death of *Artabanus*, a civil war breaking out in Parthia between *Gotarzes* and *Meherdates*, *Izates* pretended to favour the latter, whose claim was supported by the emperor *Claudius*, but maintained the whole time a private correspondence with the former, and joined him at last with all his forces, which brought on the ruin of *Meherdates*^c, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Parthia.

Monobazus, the king's elder brother, and the other princes of the royal family, finding that *Izates* had been attended with wonderful success, says *Josephus*^d, in all his undertakings, ever since the change of his religion, resolved to follow his example; which so offended the chief lords of the

*His sub-
jects con-
spire a-
gainst him*, they wrote privately to *Abias* king of Arabia, promising him great sums of money, on condition he would assist them in driving out *Izates* from the throne, and assuring him, that they were all to a man resolved to forsake him, and deliver him up to the first that should invade his dominions.

Hereupon *Abias*, having drawn together a considerable army, entered the kingdom of *Adiabene*, where he was met by *Izates*, and a battle ensuing, the *Adiabenians*, at the first onset, fled, as if they had been seized with a panic fear, and retired in great disorder to their camp. The king, seeing himself abandoned by his men, retired with them; and, having found, on examining the cause of so sudden a flight, that the private men had only followed the example of their leaders, and by that means discovered the whole plot, he caused the chief conspirators to be immediately put to death; and, marching out the next day who is de- with the rest, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gained feated by a complete victory. The king of Arabia being closely pursued by the *Adiabenians*, sheltered himself in the fortress of *Arsum*, which *Izates* immediately besieged, and assaulted with such vigour, that it was soon obliged to surrender. He found there an immense booty, and great store of provisions; but *Abias*, by a voluntary death, escaped captivity, as did many of the Arabian lords who attended him^e.

THE conspirators, tho' thus disappointed, still persisted in their former resolution of getting rid, by some means or other, of a king, who endeavoured to abolish their antient religion, and introduce a strange law. They therefore had recourse to *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, intreating him to assist them in driving from the throne *Izates*, and to give them a Parthia.

^c *TACITUS*, annal. I. xii.

^d **ibid.**

^e *Idem ibid.
king*

king of the race of the *Arsacidæ*, since they could not live under a prince, who countenanced a religion differing from that of his own country. Upon this invitation, *Vologeses* marched with a mighty army against *Izates*, who, finding himself no-way in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy with his own strength, had recourse to prayers, beseeching the Almighty, for whose sake he was reduced to such straits, to exert his power in the defence of one, who put all his confidence in him. He had scarce ended his prayer, when news was brought him, that *Vologeses*, who had encamped over-against him on the other side of the river, which parted *Adiabene* from *Media*, was retired in great haste and confusion, upon certain advice, that the *Dahæ* and *Sacæ*, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded *Parthia*, committing every-where most dreadful ravages^f. *Izates*, being thus delivered, by the protection of heaven, from the imminent danger he was in of losing both his life and his kingdom, spent the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, and died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. *Josephus* gives him a most extraordinary character, which he well deserved, if all that writer relates of him be true. He had by his wife *Samacha* or *Samaco*, the daughter of *Abemirigus*, five sons, who were all brought up under their grandmother *Helena* at *Jerusalem*, and there taught both the Jewish language and religion (B).

Monobazus,

^f JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 2.

(B) They were in that city while it was besieged by *Titus*, who generously pardoned them, and carried them with him to *Rome*, where they remained as hostages (2). *Helena*, who was both mother and aunt to *Izates*, and a zealous proselyte to the Jewish religion, no sooner saw her favourite son settled on the throne, but she undertook a journey to *Jerusalem*, being desirous to visit the holy city, and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving in the temple, which was so renowned over all the world. *Izates* not only supplied her with all things that were necessary for her jour-

ney, in a royal and magnificent manner, and with large sums of money, but attended her in person great part of the way. On her arrival at *Jerusalem*, she was received by the priests and chief men of the nation, in a manner suitable to her rank, and entertained with great splendor and magnificence; but soon after the city being most grievously oppressed by a famine, that, in all likelihood, which had been foretold by the prophet *Agabus*, as we read in the *Acts* (3), the pious queen not only refused to be maintained at the public expence, but plentifully supplied the poor

(2) *Idem*, de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 23.

(3) *Acts*, c. xi. ver. 28.

Monobazus, who succeeded his brother *Izates*, sent his body, with that of his mother *Helina*, to be deposited in the magnificent monument, which he had erected with three lofty pyramids, about three furlongs from the city of *Jerusalem* ^g (C).

THOUGH *Izates* had several children, yet, by his last will, *Monobazus* he bequeathed the crown to his brother *Monobazus*, rewarding him thereby for the great care, and indefatigable fidelity, with which he had governed the kingdom during his absence, and the entire submission he had shewn him, though a younger brother, the whole time of his reign. But as to the affairs of this kingdom, there is a profound silence among authors, from the death of *Izates*, who was cotemporary with the emperor *Claudius*, to the reign of *Trajan*, when

§ JOSEPH ubi supra

of the city with corn from *Egypt*, and other provisions from the island of *Cyprus*. She likewise persuaded her son *Izates* to send a considerable sum of money to the governor of *Jerusalem*, for the relief of the afflicted citizens ⁴ (4). These poor offices, and the zeal she shewed for the *Jews*, gained her, as *Josephus* informs us, the affection of the whole nation. She continued in *Syria*, where she built a magnificent palace, which was burnt by the Romans under *Vitellius*, till the death of *Izates*, when she returned to *Adiabene*, and soon after died.

(C) This monument is mentioned by *Eusebius* (5), St. *Jerome* (6), and *Pausanias* (7). The latter speaks of it in the following terms: Tho' I have heard of many monuments worthy of admiration, yet I shall here take notice of two only; the one at *Halicarnassus*, the other in the country of the *Jews*. The former, erected in honour of *Ma-*

sulas king of *Halicarnassus*, was so magnificent and stately an edifice, that the *Romans*, struck with its extraordinary beauty and grandeur, called all majestic monuments *mausoleums*. The other, a monument of surprising workmanship, stands at a small distance from *Izates*, and is the sepulchre of one *Helena*, native of that country. It is built of marble, and has a door, which, on a stated day and hour of the year, opens by some hidden spring, and soon after shut again. At other times, you may break it down; but it is impossible to open it. Thus, far *Pausanias*, but *Josephus*, who was better acquainted with the monuments of his own country than any of the Greeks, takes no notice of this prodigy. *Orofius* tells us (8), that *Helena* embraced the Christian religion, and, during the above-mentioned famine, supplied the indigent and distressed Christians with corn brought from *Egypt* for that purpose.

(4) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 2.*
(5) *Euseb. hist. eccl. l. iii. c. 12.*
(6) *Hieronym. ad Euseb.*

(7) *Pausan. l. viii.*
(8) *Orof. l. vii. c. 6.*

one *Mebarsapes* ruled there, and joined *Cosdroes* king of the *Mebarsa-Persians*, against the *Rorrans*; but that war proving unsuc-
cessful for him, and his allies, he was driven from the throne,
and obliged to shelter himself in the dominions of *Manus*
king of *Arabia*, who attempted to restore him to his king-
dom; but as the strong castle of *Adenystrae* was held by a
Roman garrison, which he could never dislodge, he was forced
to drop the enterprise, and, abandoning his friend and ally,
conclude a peace with *Rome*^h. We find no further men-
tion made of the *Adiabeniens*, till the reign of *Sapor II.* king
of *Perse*, when they embraced the *Christian* religion, as
*Sozomenus*ⁱ and *Vicephorus*^k inform us, and were, on that
account, treated with great cruelty by the above-mentioned
king, to whom they were at that time subject.

^h *Dio*, in *Trajan Sex Ruf* in epit. *Theodos Min.* in
fragment lib lxxv *Dionys.* ⁱ *Sozom.* l. ii. c. 12. ^k *NICEPH.*
Histor. *tupar.* l. viii. c. 38

E L Y M A I S.

ELymais, or, as *Strabo* calls it^a, *Elymatis*, was a *Elymais*.
province of *Perse*, lying between the rivers *Eulaeus* and
Oroates, and extending from the confines of *Media* to the
Hitherian sea, or *Persean* gulf. It was formerly divided into
three great districts; to wit, *Mesabatene*, *Gabene* or *Gabiene*,
and *Gariabani*, and contained the following cities, *Selucia*, *Cutie*.
in more ancient times *Solus*, on the banks of the *Hedypus* or
Hedynus, which *Strabo*^b calls a great city; *Safirate*, at a
small distance from mount *Cassius*, *Badaca*, on the *Eulaeus*;
and *Elymais*, the metropolis of the province, famous for a
rich temple consecrated to *Diana*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes*
attempted to plunder; but was obliged by the inhabitants to
retire with disgrace, as we have related in the history of
Syria. We must not confound this city with that of *Persepolis*,
called also by some writers *Elymais*; for the city we
are here speaking of stood in the province of *Elymais*, and the
other in that of *Perse*. The temple of *Elymais* was after-
wards plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found
in it, as *Strabo* tells us^c, ten thousand talents. In this coun-
try there was also a very rich temple consecrated to *Jupiter*
Belus, which *Antiochus the Great* attempted to plunder, but
lost his life in the attempt, as we have related in the history
of his reign. The country of *Elymais* was inhabited, ac-

^a *STRABO*, l. xvi. ^b *Idem ibid.* p 512. ^c *Idem ibid.* p 744.

cording to *Pliny*^d, by the following nations; to wit, the *Oxii* or *Uxii*, *Mizai*, *Parthusi*; *Mardi*, *Saitæ*, *Hyi*, *Coffæi*, *Parætaceni*, and *Messabatæ*. The *Elymaeans* were, as *Strabo* informs us ^e, a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, skilful bowmen, &c. and never subdued either by the *Syro-Macedonian* or *Parthian* kings, but governed by their own princes. If what *Strabo* writes be true, we may date the rise of this kingdom from the downfal of the *Persian* monarchy; for it is agreed on by all the antients, that the *Elymaeans* were subject to the kings of *Perſia*; and, if they never submitted to the *Syrian* yoke, they must have been first governed by their own princes, either in *Alexander's* life-time, or soon after his death. Their kings are often mentioned by the antients; but not one of them, which is somewhat surprising, named by any writer. All we know of them is, that they assisted *Antiochus the Great* in his wars with *Rome*; but afterwards cut off both him, and his army; in defence of their temple. The like fate would have attended *Antiochus Epiphaneus*, when he attempted to plunder the temple of *Diana*, had he not, by a timely flight, retired into *Media*^f. They afterwards, under the conduct of their king, engaged in a war against the *Babylonians* and *Susians*, in which they were assisted by the *Coffæans*, who, it seems, were not subject to the kings of *Elymais*, with thirteen thousand archers ^g(A).

^d *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 27. ^e *Idem ibid.* ^f *POLYB.* in excerpt. *VAL.* p. 144. *APPIAN.* in *Syriac.* l. *MACCAB.* c. vi. ver. 1, 2, &c. ^g *STRABO*, *ibid.*

(A) *Juſtin* writes (1), that *Mithridates* king of *Parthia*, having overcome the king of the *Elymaeans*, made himself master of all his dominions. But what *Juſtin* says, is contradicted by *Strabo*, as also by *Plutarch*, who

tells us in express words, that the *Elymaeans*, in *Pompey's* time, were governed by their own kings (2). But as neither their actions nor names have been transmitted to us, we shall dwell no longer on this barren subject.

(1) *Juſt.* n. l. xl.

(2) *Plut.* in *Pomp.*

C H A R A C E N E.

Characene.

CHARACENE was the most southern part of *Susiana*, a province of *Perſia*, lying on the *Persian* gulf, between the *Tigris* and the *Hulæus*. It was so named from the city of *Chorax*, called first *Alexandria*, from its founder *Alexander the Great*; afterwards *Antiochia*, from *Antiochus V.* king of *Syria*, who repaired and beautified it; and lastly, *Chorax Spasinae* or *Pasinæ*, that is, the mole of *Spasines*, an *Arabian* king

king of that name having secured it against the overflowing of the *Tigris*, which often laid it under water, by an high bank or mole, extending three miles, which served as a fence to all that country ^a. *Dionysus Periegetes*, and *Isidorus*, author of the *Parthicae Mansiones*, were both natives ^c of this city. The small district of *Characene* was seized by *Pasines* the son of *Sogdonaucus* king of the neighbouring *Arabs*, during the Sogdona-troubles of *Syria*; and erected into a kingdom ^b. *Lucianus*, ^{founder of this} calls him *Hypaspes*, and adds, that he ruled over the *Characeni*, and the neighbouring people; and died in the eighty-fifth year of his age ^c. The other kings of this country we find mentioned by the antients, are, *Teræus*, who died in the ninety-second year of his age, and after him *Artabazus* the seventh, as *Lucian* informs us, who was driven from the throne by his own subjects; but restored by the *Parthians* ^d. And this is all we find in the antients relating to the kings of *Characene*.

^a PLIN. l. vi. c. 27.^b Idem ibid.^c LUCIAN. in macrob.^d Idem ibid.

C O M M A G E N E.

THIS country, which was part of *Syria*, we have described elsewhere ^a, and therefore shall proceed to the history of its kings. *Commagene* was subject to the *Syrians* gene, or in the time of *Antiochus the Great*, and left to him by the Comage-treaty of peace, which he concluded with *Rome*, after the ne-famous battle of *Magnesia*; whence it is probable, that it was seized by some of the princes of the *Seleucian* family, during their intestine wars; for we find no mention made of the kings of *Commagene* till *Pompey's* time, and the names of those, who afterwards reigned there, are intirely *Syrian*. The first we find mentioned in history, is *Antiochus*, who, together with *Darius* king of *Media*, opposed *Pompey* as he entered *Chus*. *Syria*, after the defeat of *Tigranes*; but, being overcome in battle, he submitted to the conqueror, and was, for his submission, not only confirmed by *Pompey* in his kingdom, but rewarded with part of *Mesopotamia* ^b. In the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, he sent large supplies to the latter. He afterwards joined *Pacorus* king of *Parthia*, whom *Labiens* had invited into *Syria*, and was, on that occasion, besieged by *Ventidius* in the city of *Samosata*, and obliged to purchase a peace of *Marc Antony* with three hundred talents. In the reign of *Augustus*, a dispute arising between him and

^a See vol. ii. p. 256.^b JOSEPH. antiqu. l. ii. OROS. l. vi.

his brother *Mithridates*, he caused the ambassador, whom his brother had sent to plead his cause at *Rome*, to be treacherously assassinated. Whereupon he was summoned to appear before the senate, and, being by that body found guilty of the murder laid to his charge, he was, by the emperor's order, put to death ^c.

Mithridates.

Antiochus II.

Antiochus III.

Antiochus IV.

He was succeeded by *Mithridates*, on whom *Augustus* bestowed the kingdom of *Commagene*, though no-way related to the deceased king, as a reward for his services during the war with *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. *Mithridates*, the king's brother, was excluded from the throne, for having sided with *Antony* ^d. Upon the death of *Mithridates*, *Augustus* suffered *Antiochus II.* the son of *Antiochus I.*, to take possession of his father's kingdom. He died in the reign of *Tiberius*: and upon his death great disturbances arising between the nobles and the people, the latter demanding a king, and the former desiring to be governed by a magistrate sent them from *Rome*, *Tiberius* complied with the request of the nobles, and appointed *Q. Servaeus* to govern *Commagene* in quality of prætor ^e. But *Caligula* restored the kingdom of *Commagene* to *Antiochus*, the son of *Antiochus II.* adding to it the maritime parts of *Cilicia*. He defeated the *Cilicians*, who refused to acknowlege him for their king, and took *Trejabor* their ringleader prisoner. He assisted *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, and served under *Titus* at the siege of *Jerusalem*; but, being afterwards suspected of holding a private correspondence with the *Parthians*, he was taken prisoner by *Cesennius*, and sent in chains to the emperor *Vespasian*, who banished him to *Lacedæmon*, but afterwards suffered him to lead a private life at *Rome*. *Antiochus* left two sons; to wit, *Antiochus* and *Callinicus*; and one daughter, named *Jotape*. *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, served under *Otho* against *Vitellius*, and under *Vespasian* in his war with the *Jews*, and distinguished himself at the siege of *Jerusalem*. *Callinicus* is mentioned by *Josephus* ^f, who tells us, that his sister *Jotape* was married to *Alexander*, king of *Lidis* in *Cilicia*. But *Vespasian*, having reduced *Commagene* to the form of a *Roman* province, would not allow any of the sons of *Antiochus* to succeed him. This country was afterwards made part of the province called *Augustobatensis*, or, as *Amianus* has it, *Euphratensis*, and was commonly known by the name of *Euphratia*.

^c *Dio*, lib. lii. p. 495.

^d *Idem*, lib. liv.

^e *TACIT.*

annal. I. ii. *JOSEPH.* *antiq.* I. xviii. c. 3.

Jud. I. vii. c. 27.

^f *JOSEPH.*

de bell.

C H A L C I D E N E.

CHALCIDENE, one of the most fruitful provinces Chalcis of Syria, we have already described ^a. It was seized by Ptolemy the son of Mennaeus, during the troubles of Syria, Kings and by him made a separate kingdom. Ptolemy himself is Ptolemy styled, by Josephus ^b and Hegesippus ^c, only prince of Chalcis; but his son Lysanias is honoured, both by Josephus ^d and Dio ^e, with the title of king. Upon the death of Antiochus Dionysius king of Syria, Ptolemy attempted to make himself master of Dumacus, and all Cœlesyria; but the inhabitants, having an utter aversion from him, on account of his cruelty and wickedness, chose rather to submit to Aretas king of Arabia, by whom Antiochus and his whole army had been cut off ^f. He opposed Pompey, on his entering Syria; but was by him defeated, taken prisoner, and sentenced to death; which, however, he escaped, by paying to Pompey a thousand talents ^g, who left him also in the possession of his kingdom. After Aristobulus king of Judæa had been poisoned by the friends of Pompey, and Alexander his son beheaded at Antioch, as we shall relate in the history of the Jews, he sent Philippion his son to Ascalon, whether the widow of Aristobulus had retired with her other children, to bring them all to Chalcis, proposing, as he was in love with one of the daughters, named Alexandria, to maintain them in his own kingdom, in a manner suitable to their rank; but Philippion likewise falling in love with Alexandria, married her on the way, for which Ptolemy put him to death on his return, and then married her himself ^h. By reason of this affinity, he supported, to the utmost of his power, Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus; who, being thus assisted by him, took the field at the head of a considerable army; but, on his first entering Judæa, was entirely defeated by Herod ⁱ. Ptolemy soon after died, and was succeeded by his son Lysanias, who, espousing the cause of the Asmonæan family with no less warmth than his father had done, promised to Barzaphernes, who command the Parthian troops in Syria, and to Pacorus the king's son, a thousand talents, and five hundred women, provided they put Antigonus in possession of the kingdom of Judæa, and de-

^a See vol. ii. p. 258.

^b JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xiv. c. 13.

^c HEGESIP. l. i. c. 24.

^d JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 17.

^e Dio, l. xlix.

^f JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xiii. c. 23. & de bell. Judaic.

l. i. c. 4.

^g JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xiv. c. 5.

c. 13.

^h Idem, l. xiv. c. 21.

posed

- posed *Hyrcanus* ^k. He was not long after put to death by *Mark Antony*, at the instigation of *Cleopatra*, who, in order to have his dominions granted to her, accused him falsely of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians*^l (A).

AND thus far of the conquests of *Alexander the Great*, and the several kingdoms which sprung up on the downfall of the *Macedonian* empire, from their rise, to their being subdued by the *Romans*.

^k *Josern. de bell. Jud. I. i. c. 11.* ^l *Idem, antiqu. I. xv. c. 4.*
Dio, I. xlxi. p. 411.

(A) *Dio Cassius* calls him king of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*; but *Strabo* informs us (1), that he possessed only the mountainous parts of *Ituræa*; as we shall see in the history of *Arabia*, to which the small kingdom of *Ituræa* belonged.

(1) *Strab., I. xvi.*

C H A P. XI.

The History of the Jews, from their Return from the Babylonish Captivity, to the Destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus Vespasian.

*The division and chronology
of this chapter.*

THIS chapter, long and extensive as it is, containing an epocha of five hundred and thirty-six years, from their return into *Judæa* to the birth of Christ, and seventy-three more from that time to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and total dispersion of the Jewish nation, may be conveniently enough divided into seven sections or æras, according to the following chronological order.

	Years of the flood.	Total of years.
Sect. I. From their return to <i>Jerusalem</i> , to their being governed by their high-priests,	{ 1812 1932	127
where the canonical books end ——		
II. From thence to the death of <i>Mattathias</i> , the father of the <i>Maccabees</i> , and his being succeeded by his valiant son <i>Judas</i>	{ 2182	243
III. The reigns of the <i>Maccabees</i> , from <i>Judas</i> to their being subdued by <i>Pompey</i>	{ 2283	101
IV. To the reign of <i>Herod</i> , and his taking of <i>Jerusalem</i> ; a short, but copious epoch	{ 2311	28

V. To

Years after Christ.

V. To the birth of Christ, concluding with an account of the principal Jewish sects at that time : And,	33	70
VI. To the death of Christ, in the thirty- third year of his age		
VII. To the total destruction of Jeru- <i>salem</i> , and dispersion of the Jewish nation	73	40
		609

BUT, before we pass to the first section, it will be convenient *A sum-*
to premise some few things concerning the state of the Jews *maryc the*
during this new epoch ; for from this time they are no more *state of the*
to be looked upon, as that free, rich, and glorious people, which Jews *du-*
they had been, either under their former theocracy, as *fo- ring this*
sephus rightly terms it^a, or under their opulent, and warlike *pocha.*
monarchs, and the direction of their prophets. Their con-
dition, government, manners, their very name, and every
thing but their religion, is now intirely changed. And indeed,
it could hardly be expected otherwise, when we consider, that
those that had been carried away into *Babylon*, were sold for
slaves, and dispersed far and wide through that vast empire,
according to the custom of those conquerors ; and though
some of them we find to have attained to very considerable
posts^b, *own exceeding rich in the land of their captivity*,
yet their ^c few in comparison of those who groaned
under the heavy hand of their oppressors^c. Neither were they
the former, but the latter, that is, the poorer sort, that came
back into *Judaea* ; and even of these, the whole number of
all that came, either with *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra*, or *Nehemiah*,
scarcely amounted to seventy thousand ; among whom a mul-
titude of strangers was likewise intermixed, either by mar-
riages, or otherwise, most of them so indigent, that they were
forced to be supported in their journey by the charitable con-
tributions of those that stayed behind.

THEY were indeed to be governed by their own laws ; but
as they still continued in subjection to other nations, to the
Perians, *Syrians*, and *Romans*, that privilege, as well as the
exercise of their religion, very much depended on the arbi-
trary will of their conquerors, and was often curtailed, and
sometimes wholly taken away. Even whilst they were under
the *Perians*, the lives and estate, of the whole nation were on
the brink of being sacrificed to the ambition of a favourite

^a Cont. Apion. 1. ii. c. 6. ^b Vid. NEHEM. i. E. TH. i.
Tobit pass. ^c Vid. int. al. PSALM cxlvii

Haman, had not *Ester's* interest miraculously prevented the execution of that bloody edict^a; and so weak did they continue under them, that they were a long time exposed to the injuries of even the neighbouring *Samaritans*. They seem however to have recovered themselves by degrees, and to have lived in more peace and plenty during the two following centuries; and that is perhaps the reason of that vast chasm of near two hundred and fifty years in their history, between the death of *Nehemiah*, and the times of the *Maccabees*, when those illustrious heroes not only shook off the foreign yoke, but raised the glory of their nation by their victories and conquests, and by obliging other nations to embrace the *Jewish* religion. But this epocha was but short-lived, and eighty years were hardly expired, before the ungovernable ambition of some of their unworthy successors introduced a general apostasy, and brought them under such subjection to the *Romans*, as they could never more shake off. *Herod* indeed, whom these raised to the royal dignity, greatly increased the glory and opulence of the *Jewish* nation; but as he was an *Idumean*, who had gained the crown by the destruction of the *Ajmonæan* race, as he was a vassal to the *Romans*, and a tyrant of the *Jews*, they could neither be said to be free or happy during his hateful reign, much less under those of his successors, when the government of *Judæa* was split into so many toparchies; so that the nation went from thenceforward from bad to worse, till their total destruction. We observed, that they were changed in their very name; that of *Israelites* was quite lost, as well as those of all the other tribes, which were absorbed into that of *Judah*. So that, from their return, they were chiefly known by the name of *Jews*, in opposition to the *Samaritans*, who were a mongrel mixture, partly of the ten tribes, partly of revolted *Jews*, and of other nations; as we have already shewn in a former volume^c, and as will be farther seen in the sequel of this chapter. Religion was the only thing that received the least change since their re-establishment; and, if we except some apostasies occasioned by persecutions, or the ambition of some of their high-priests, we shall find them in the sequel more averse to idolatry, and to all heathenish superstitions, than ever their forefathers had been prone to them before the captivity; such strict observers of the sabbath, as to suffer themselves to be murdered by whole armies, rather than violate it by standing on their defence; in a word, so zealous for their religion, and such strict observers of their oaths, whether of allegiance or confederacy, as to suffer the most bloody persecutions, and horrid butcheries,

^a ESTHER iii. & seq.

^c See vol. iv. p. 161, & seq.

with the utmost courage and constancy, rather than to violate their laws or fidelity. This was indeed a virtue, which, as Josephus rightly observes was peculiar to the Jews¹, and which no other nation or religion, could ever lay any claim to, till the sufferings, number, and constancy of the Christian martyrs did in a great measure eclipse the glory of the Jewish ones. We have indeed seen but few instances of it in the former part of their history, but shall find them so much the more frequent and extraordinary in the sequel of this.

¹ Cont. Apion. ubi supra.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Jews, from their Return out of Babylon, to their being governed by their High-priests, where the canonical Books end.

AS soon as the seventy years captivity, pronounced by Jeremiah against this rebellious people², were fully accomplished (A), God was pleased to raise up the great Cyrus to Cyrus's the throne; who, upon the first year of his reign, issued out decree.

that Year of
the flood

1812.
Bef. Chr.

536.

* JEREM. XXV. 11. XXIX. 10. See before, vol. iv. p. 182, & seq.

(A) These seventy years are differently computed: some begin them from the fourth of Jeboiakim, when the first Jewish captives were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar (1), and end them at the first issuing of Cyrus's decree. Others, from the words of Zechariah (2), place the beginning of it at the destruction of Jerusalem, and its conclusion at the publication of Darius's decree for the building of the temple, and restoring liberty to the Jews. Both computations may be justly maintained, and may have even been designed by Jeremiah, since between either of the two epochas there are just seventy

years, and the latter begins and ends just eighteen years after the former.

For as the captivity, which began in the fourth of Jeboiakim, could not be said to be completed till the total destruction of the city, and Jewish monarchy; so neither could their deliverance, begun at the first decree of Cyrus, be said to be completed till the fourth year of Darius, which confirmed and put it in full vigour and execution.

We may still reckon a third method or stage of computing these seventy years, which answers in the same exactness with the two former; namely, from

(1) 2 Kings xxiv. 10, &c seq.

(2) Ch. vii. 1, &c seq.

that decree in favour of them, of which an account has been given in a former volume^b. By this edict, they were not only permitted to return to their own land, which that prince had doubtless beheld, in some late expedition, lying desolate and barren, though naturally fertile (B); but also to rebuild their temple at *Jerusalem*, renew the divine worship, and transport thither all the sacred utensils which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought away from thence. These last he ordered to be delivered by *Mithridath*, his high treasurer, to *Shebazzar*, whom we take to be the same with *Zerub-*

* Vol. v. p. 189, & not.

the twenty-third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Nebuzaradan* carried off all the remainder of the conquered *Jews*; at which time the captivity was completed to all intents; and the full restoration of their temple-worship, at the solemn dedication of the new temple, and their celebrating the first passover immediately after it, in the seventh year of *Darius's* reign; when, and not till then, was fully completed the end of their thralldom, and the *Jewish* religion restored to its ancient splendor and regularity. All these the reader may see fully demonstrated by the learned *Prideaux* (3) in the place last quoted.

However the words of the prophecy before us, we own, seem to fix the epocha according to the first of these stages; though those of *Zechariah* do more plainly belong to the last, as will be shewn in due time.

(B) We have shewn in a former volume (4), that the *Jews* were obliged by the *Mosaic* law to let their lands lie fallow every

seventh year (5); but this had been neglected for a considerable time; for which God caused it to lie desolate and uncultivated, till it had recovered the full respite, of which that rebellious nation had deprived it (6).

If therefore we reckon the whole seventy *sabbatic* years to be here implied, it will follow, that the omission of this law began even before the time of *David*, or even of *Samuel*; but it is scarce credible, that it should have been suffered under the government of two such pious persons; whereas, if we date the desolation of the land from the murder of *Gedaliah*, at which time those few *Jews* that were left there, fled into *Egypt*, to this first year of *Cyrus*, the number of *sabbatic* years will be just fifty-two, and will carry us back three hundred and sixty-four years, that is, to about the beginning of *A/a's* reign, from which time the people began to be very remiss in this and many other particulars of the *Mosaic* law (7).

(3) *Vid. Prideaux. connect. vol. i. part 3.*
& seq. (4) See before, vol. iii. p. 36.
(5) *Levit. xxv. 1, &c seq.*
2 *Exodus. cap. ult. vers. 21.* (6) *Conf. Levit. xxvi. 34, & seq.*
et al. in loc. sup. citat.

(7) *Vid. Prud. ubi supra. Tremell. Munif. &*
et al. in loc. sup. citat.

*babel (C), who, being the grandson of Jeboiakim, or Jeconiah, king of Judah, was then the first prince of the royal blood, and was therefore appointed head governor of Judea, under the title of Tirshata^c. He likewise gave directions concerning the dimensions of the temple; which was to be *sixty cubits in height and breadth, built upon a strong foundation, with three rows of great stones, and a row of timber*; the expence of the whole to be furnished out of the king's house^d. To all these the king added a full permission to all Jews that were disposed, to return into Judea, and to those who preferred staying behind, perfect liberty to contribute, as liberally as they pleased, gold, silver, or any other precious stuffs, towards the building and adorning that sacred edifice, and the renewing and carrying on the worship of God there^e.*

IMMEDIATELY upon the publishing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with the priests and Levites, assembled themselves; and as many as retained still a love for their country, and a zeal for the God of Israel, disposed themselves to return to that once happy land. As for the rest, who were the far greater number, who preferred the land of Babylon to it, they contented themselves with furnishing their returning brethren with gold, silver, cattle, and other conveniences, either for their journey, or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of these were *Zerubbabel* mentioned above, and *Jeshua* the high-priest (D). *The heads of those that returned.*

^c Conf. Ezra*m* i. 8, ii. 2. iii. 8, 10. v. 16. ^d See Ezra vi. 3, 4. ^e Ibid. i. 3, 4.

(C) It is likely, that the first was his *Babylonish* name (8), it being customary for those conquerors to change the names of their captives, as we find they did those of some of the later kings of Judah (9), as well as those of Daniel, and his three companions (1). As to the title of *Tirshatha*, or *Hatirshatha*, though some derive it from the Chaldee, *תירשָׁתָה* *dispensator potus*, or cup-bearer, such as Nehemiah seems have been to Ar-

taxerxes; yet it is most likely, that the word implied some higher dignity, such as governor, lord lieutenant, a deputy, and the like; for such was here our *Sherbazzar* or *Zerubbabel*.

The vessels that were delivered to him by the king's order, the reader may see in Ezra (2): the rest were afterwards brought to Jerusalem by Nehemiah.

(D) This office belonged to him by a lineal descent, he being the son of Jozadak (3), whose

(8) Conf. Ezra*m* iii. 8, 10. & v. 16. (9) Vid. 2 Kings xxiv. 17, & alib. pass. (1) Dan. i. 7, & alib. (2) Ezra i. 9, & seq. (3) Conf. Ezra*m* iii. 4, & seq. & 2 Chron. vi. 14, 15.

The next in rank were *Nebemiah* and *Mordecai* (E), *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Bilsham*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*, who were all heads of families, and assistants to *Zerubbabel*, in the re-establishment of the *Jewish* affairs, both in church and state^f. The rest amounted to about forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, including those that came afterwards with *Nebemiah*; besides their servants and slaves of both sexes, which were in all seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven g. Neither were they all of the tribes of *Levi*, *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, though from that time they were all blended together under the name of *Hebdom*, or *Jews*; for many of those of the other ten tribes, which had been formerly carried away by *Tiglath-pilezer*, *Shalmanezer*, and *Ezrabbaddon*, and had still preserved the true worship of God, took the advantage of the king's edict, to return into the land of their forefathers. To these we may add a great number, who had formerly gone from the idolatrous ten tribes, to put themselves under the protection of the kings of *Judah*^h: and this may be the reason, why the whole number of those mentioned in *Ezra*'s list amounts but to twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and to thirty-one thousand and thirty-one in that of *Nebemiah*; whereas both these historians make the sum total to be forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; so that the overplus seems to be added from those of the other ten tribes, which returned with those of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (F). We find

^f EZRA ii. 2. NEHEM. vii. 7.
^g CHRON. xi. 16. xv. 9, & alib.

^h Idem ibid.

Vide

father *Seraiah*, high-priest at the taking of *Jerusalem*, had been put to death at *Riblah* (4). As for *Jozadok*, he was carried captive into *Babylon*, and had been dead some time before the publishing of this decree, so that *Joshua* was then the head of the pontifical family.

(E) Some think these two to be the same with those so often mentioned in the books of *Esther* and *Nebemiah*; and that, finding the work of the temple obstructed by their enemies, they returned

again to *Jerusalem* (5): but it is generally believed, that they were quite different persons of the same name (6).

As for the other seven, the *Jewish* writers affirm them to have been the chiefs of the *Jewish* synagogue, or grand council of the *Jews*, which they say sat at *Jerusalem* after their return from *Babylon*. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this synagogue in the sequel of this chapter (7).

(F) Accordingly we find the

(4) 1 KING: xxv. 18, ad 21. (5) Abenezar. CORN. & LAP. &c al. in EZRAMII. 2.
(6) Vid. PRUD. cinn & al. supra citat.
(7) Vid. Abenezar, in loc. Kimch. in rad. & al. Marst. & Jun. in loc.

find likewise mention made of two hundred men and women singers, whom they brought with them; four hundred and thirty-five camels, seven hundred and thirty-six horses, two hundred and forty-five mules, and six thousand seven hundred asses'.

ONE may see by this list, how small the number was of those who returned, in comparison of those who stayed behind: and accordingly the Jews themselves tell us ^k, that only the bran came out of *Babylon*, but that the flour staid behind: even of the priests, who, as we observed in the former part *Priests* of their history ^l, were divided into twenty-four classes, *that rep-* only four returned, namely those of *Jedaiah, Immer, turned. Pashur, and Harim*. These, however, soon after their arrival, subdivided themselves each into six, that they might again make up the old number, and called themselves by their names accordingly ^m (G). Some of these ⁿ were, who, not being able to make out their lineal descent from the priesthood, were deprived of the office and privileges of it, until some high-priest should arise, who could decide their title by the urim and thummim ⁿ. The same dispute happened also concerning some others, who being come from *Tel-Melah, Tel-Harfa* (H), and

^k *ERRA* ii. 65, & seq.

^l *Talmud Babyl.* in *Kedushim.*

^m See before, vol. iii. p. 85.

ⁿ *Sedar holam rabb.* c. 29.

Talmud Hieros. in *Taanith.* Vid. *PRID.* ubi supra.

^o *EZRA* ii. 62, 63.

decree of *Cyrus*, and afterwards that of *Artaxerxes*, extended not to those two tribes ~~only~~, but to all the people of the God of *Israel*, and to all those that worshiped God at *Jerusalem*, which could not but include all the other ten (8).

In consequence of which *Ezra* concludes the chapter in which the above-mentioned list is, with these remarkable words; *So the priests, levites, people, singers, porters, and nethinims, dwelt in their cities, and all Israel in their cities.* And when he speaks of the expiatory sacrifices, which

were offered at *Jerusalem*, he mentions expressly twelve he-goats, according to the twelve tribes of *Israel* (9).

(G) Hence it is, that *Zecariah*, the father of *John the Baptist*, is said (1) to have been of the course of *Abia*, and *Matthias* the *Maccabee* to have been of that of *Joarib* (2); tho' it is plain neither of them, nor any other but the four above-mentioned, returned into *Judaea*.

(H) Perhaps the same with *Telassar*, a province of *Arsyria*; if not, we own we are in the dark about the situation of

⁸ *Ezra* i. 3. vii. 13.
Maccab. ii. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.* vi. 16, 17.
⁽²⁾ *Vid. PRID.* ubi supra.

⁽¹⁾ *Conf. Lact.* i. 5.

and other places, could not prove themselves to belong to any tribe^o. These were about six hundred and fifty in number, besides upwards of three hundred and ninety nethinims, the posterity of those *Gibeonites*, whom *Solomon* did afterwards dedicate to the service of the temple^p; so small was the number of those of unquestionable descent, who returned either with *Zerubbabel* or *Nehemiah*. And hence it is, that, ever since this time, the number of *Jews* that dwelt in *Palaestina*, was always vastly inferior to those that were dispersed in *Chaldaea*, *Persia*, &c. The priests, levites, singers, nethinims, and other officers of the temple, settled themselves as well as they could in or near *Jerusalem*, that they might readily wait on the service of *God*, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things against the next grand solemnity: as for the rest, the greater part of them dispersed themselves in the neighbouring cities and country, where some of them had formerly dwelt, and where they probably found also some of their brethren, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* had left there.

*The feast
of trumpets.*

By this time the month *Tisri*, which, as we have elsewhere shewn^q, was the first of the civil, and seventh of the ecclesiastical year, was at hand. The first day of it was the feast of the trumpets, because the new year was to be proclaimed by the sound of that instrument^r. It ushered in moreover two other great solemnities, namely the expiation-day, or grand fast, which was to be kept on the tenth^s; and the feast of tabernacles, which began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-second of the month^t inclusive. The greatest part of *Expiation*: that of expiation, such as the high-priest entering on that day into the most holy place, &c. they were forced to set aside, for want of a temple: however, they failed not to come from all parts to the solemnity, and to fast, pray, &c. and to offer the proper sacrifices on the altar, which they had by that time repaired; so that from this day they ceased not to offer the morning and evening, and all other sacrifices prescribed by *Feast of tabernacles*: the law of *Moses*. The feast of tabernacles coming five days after that of expiation, they erected booths at *Jerusalem*, and celebrated that festival with the usual solemnities, and so set about to restore in good earnest the worship of *God* in that metropolis.

^o *Ezra* ii. 59, & seq. ^p See before, vol. iii. p. 96. ^q *Ibid.*
p. 30, & seq. ^r *Ibid.* ^s *Ibid.* p. 44, & seq. ^t *Ibid.*
p. 26, & seq.

those places. The reader may see, what we have said of volume (3).

(3) See vol. iv. p. 314, & seq. sub nos. (F).

IN this solemn assembly, it was resolved to set about the rebuilding of the temple, towards which every one cheerfully contributed according to their power. The whole amounted to sixty-one thousand drachms of gold, and five thousand minas of silver (I), besides an hundred vestments for the priests to officiate in. This was indeed a small sum toward such a vast and expensive undertaking ; and therefore we do suppose it to have been a free-will addition of their own to a much greater one, which had been contributed by their brethren, who chose to stay in the places of their dispersion. This money was put into the hands of proper officers, who were to oversee the work ; and who immediately hired workmen, sent to Tyre and Sidon for cedars from Libanus, pursuant to Cyrus's decree, and employed the first year in preparing the materials for the building ^u.

IN the second month of the following year, which was the Year of the third of Cyrus's reign, and the second from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple with great solemnity, 1814. in the presence of Zerubbabel the governor, of *Jeshua* the high-priest, and of the whole congregation. It was accompanied with the sound of their trumpets, and other musical instruments, the priests and musicians singing some psalms proper to the occasion, and all the people shouting for joy at the laying of the first stone. But whilst the younger sort were thus expressing their joyful zeal upon this occasion, many of the priests, levites, and heads of families, who had seen that the famous building in its splendor fifty-three years before, could not forbear uttering the loudest cries of grief at the sight of that which they were now going to build ; insomuch that the acclamations of the one, and the sighs and groans of the other, were so intermixed, that it was not easy to distinguish them from each other ^w (K).

WHILST .

^v EZRA iii. 5, & seq.

^w EZRA iii. 12..

(I) Every drachm of gold being computed to be worth about ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver, about nine pounds sterling ; the whole amounted to seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds. Whether this sum was raised by those only who returned, or included the presents sent by those who stayed behind, is not agreed. The first however is the more probable

of the two ; and the latter must be supposed to have amounted to much larger, since no less than some millions could be sufficient to rebuild the temple.

(K) That there was a real, and even considerable disparity between the old and new temple, is very certain, since God is pleased to comfort them for it, and to promise to raise the glory of the latter above that of the former,

WHILST the work was carrying on, the *Samaritans* (L) came to *Zerubbabel*, and the *Jewish* congregation ; and expressed

former, by the presence of the *Messiah* (4).

This difference, however, cannot be understood of its largeness; since the new was built upon the foundation of the old. Of the two, the decree of *Cyrus* seems to allow this new one three times the breadth of that of *Solomon*; this being but twenty, and that sixty cubits broad (5); but our learned *Prideaux* has sufficiently proved, that the dimensions were the same, only differently taken, to wit, the one from in to in, and the other from out to out.

The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the second temple wanted five considerable things, which were the chief glory of the first (6). These were, 1. the ark or mercy-seat: 2. the divine presence, called by them the *Shekinah*: 3. the holy fire upon the altar: 4. the urim and thummim: and lastly, the spirit of prophecy. And they are certainly in the right; but then it doth not appear from the sacred historian, that these were the things which the *Jewish* elders bewailed, at the foundation of this second temple (7).

It seems therefore probable, that their grief arose from the unlikelihood, that it would ever be raised to the grandeur and magnificence of the old one, seeing the one had been built by the wisest and richest king, and constantly adorned by some one or

other of his posterity; the other was now begun by some few exiles just returned from their captivity: the one in the time of profound peace, and greatest opulence; the other in time of adversity and oppression from their enemies round about: the former was built of the most curious and costly stones, timber, and other materials wrought with the most exquisite art, and overlaid with a prodigious quantity of gold; insomuch that the overlayings in the most holy place, which was but thirty feet square every way, are said to have amounted to six hundred talents of gold (8), that is, to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. What likelihood therefore was there, that this, which was mostly built of the materials that were dug up out of the ruins of the former, would ever come up to it? Lastly, there were in the old one many sumptuous galleries, buildings, gates, and other ornaments, which were not in this, nor were added to it till *Herod's* time, that is, about five hundred years after, as shall be seen in its proper place.

(L) These were not of the seed of *Israel*, but the posterity of that mixed multitude, whom *Shalmanezer* king of *Affyria* sent from *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, *Sephuraim*, and other provinces, to inhabit those parts, out of which he had carried the ten

(4) *Haggai* ii. 3, &c seq.
Ezra vi. 3.

(5) *Conf.* *1 Kings* vi. 8, appen. ad vol. i. cum
Ezra vi. 3. (6) *Talm.* *Hierosol.* in *Tanithb.* c. 2. &
Babyl. in *Toma.* c. 1.
vid. Prid. part. i. lib. iii.

(7) *Ezra* iii. 12.

(8) *2 Chron.* iii. 8.

pressed an earnest desire to join their assistance in it, seeing they had worshiped the same God ever since the time of *Ezrabbaddon* king of *Affyria*, who had settled them there. But whether the *Jews* suspected the sincerity of their offer, or out of contempt to a people, who were not of the seed of *Israel*, but only imperfect worshipers of God; *Zerubbabel*, and the whole congregation, refused to let them bear any part in the undertaking, alleging, that the decree of *Cyrus* being only directed to those who were of *Israelitish* descent, it would be a dishonour to their nation to admit any strangers to be partners in the work*. Whether this refusal *Why ob-*
was really justifiable or not, we shall not pretend to determine, stracted by
since the scripture doth no-where either praise or discomind the Samari-
tans. Sure it is, that it proved the source of a bitter and irre-
concilable hatred between these two nations, the sad effects of
*which the *Jews* soon felt in the immediate obstruction of their*
undertaking, and by numberless ill offices, which the incensed
Samaritans did to them, and of which we shall give a further
account in the sequel of this chapter.

THE first step the repulsed *Samaritans* took to obstruct the work, since they knew they could not procure a reversion of the king's decree, was to bribe underhand some of his head-ministers and officers to represent the *Jews* as a rebellious nation, and their rebuilding of the temple as dangerous, and tending to shake off their obedience to him. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly stopped,

* *Ezra* iv. 1, & seq.

Israelitish tribes, as we have seen in a former volume (9); they therefore took the name of *Samaritans* from *Samaria*, the capital of that kingdom; but by the *Jews* they were called *Cuthites* from *Cuthah*, one of the provinces out of which they came (1).

These had, soon after their settlement in and about *Samaria*, been taught the worship of the true God; but they likewise retained, each of them, the worship of their own, so that their religion was a mixture of judaism and heathenism. *Samaria* hav-

ing been then totally destroyed by *Sheba* *mezer*, according to the prophecy (2), they were not in a condition to rebuild it, but went and dwelt at *Sbeckem*, near mount *Girizzim*, and made it their capital (3).

However, they seem to have rebuilt and repeopled the old city, at least in some degree, by that time the *Jews* were returned from *Babylon*, since both *Ezra* (4) and *Nehemiah* make mention of the inhabitants of *Samaria*: and in this situation they were when they came to offer their assistance to *Zerubbabel*.

(9) *Vol.* iv. p. 162, &c. *not.*
i. 6,

(1) *2 Kings* xvii. 23, &c. *seq.*
(3) *Joseph. antiqu.* lib. xi. c. 8.

(2) *Mic.*

in a great measure, not only during the remaining five years of Cyrus's life, but also during the reign of his successor (M). However, while Cyrus lived, the Jews still kept on ga-

(M) This suppression of the work is supposed to have given occasion to Daniel's three weeks fasting and praying; which we read of (5) in the third year of Cyrus's reign, and which began on the third day of the first month (6), and at the end of which he saw the famous vision of the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, contained in the three last chapters of that prophet, and which seem to have been the last he ever had.

And indeed, if we compare what he says in the close of them, with his great age, it is reasonable to believe he did not outlive it long, since he was then in the seventy-third year of his captivity; to which if we add but fifteen, the age he was of when carried into Babylon, and less than that he cannot be supposed to have been, he must then have been near ninety years old: however, whether he died when we suppose, or lived any time longer, we hear no more of him, except in the talmudic writings.

How low an opinion the Jews have concerning him, and his writings, has been seen in a former volume (7). But Ezekiel, and even Josephus, give him much the preference to the other prophets (8); and, what is of more weight than all, our Saviour himself (9) acknowledges him to have been a prophet; and if the Jews since then had not been fatally

blinded, they must have been forced to own, that they had found him a very true one to their cost. But this will best be seen in the sequel of their history.

In the mean time we cannot forbear observing concerning his prophecies, whether those that relate to the Messiah, or to those foreign empires above-mentioned, that they are the clearest and most circumstantiate of any; insomuch that Josephus, in the place above quoted, rightly observes, that he did not only foretel future events, as the rest of the prophets did, but did also determine the time in which they should come to pass.

And this wonderful agreement between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies that foretold them, appeared so exact and irrefragable, that Porphyry could no other way elude the force of it, than by supposing the latter to have been written after the former (1).

Besides those prophecies of his, which were originally written, partly in Hebrew, and partly in Chaldee; the Latin version has some other pretended pieces of his, which were, however, never admitted by the Jews into their canon, and are therefore thrown out by the protestants among the apocrypha; concerning which, the reader may see all that is worth knowing in the authors quoted in the margin (2).

(5) *Dan. x. 1, & seq.*

(7) *Supr. vol. iii. p. 237, sub not. (O).*

(9) *Mattb. xxiv. 15.*

ibid. & in Dan. xiii. Calmet. prefat. in eund. Prideaux connect. part i. lib. iii. & al. plur.

(6) *Vid. int. al. Uffer, sub A. M. 2470.*

(8) *Ezek. xiv. p. 11. Joseph. lib. x. c. 12.*

(1) *Vid. Hieron. prefat. in Daniel.*

(2) *Ib. in eund. Prideaux connect. part i. lib. iii. & al. plur.*

thering materials for their work, in hopes of better times : they were still assisted in it by the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, who furnished them with cedars from *Libanus*, with masons, carpenters, and other workmen ; and these, being, as it were, pent up in their maritime cities, received in return a proportionable quantity of corn, wine, and oil, from the *Jews*, as their ancestors had formerly done from king *Solomon*¹. But *Cyrus* was no sooner dead, than the *Samaritans*, encouraged by the ill disposition of his successor *Cambyses*, called in Scripture *Ahasuerus*², instead of their former subdolous practices, declared themselves openly against the *Jews*, and against their undertaking ; and wrote in the most pressing terms to that monarch to put an immediate stop to it. *Cambyses*, however, probably out of respect to his father's decree, would not seem to revoke it, but privately gave them leave to obstruct the execution of it ; so that the work, tho' it was not wholly suppressed, went at least very heavily on during his whole reign, which lasted but seven years and five months.

Cambyses being dead, and one of the magi having mounted the throne (N), as has been elsewhere related³, the *Samaritans* failed not to renew the accusation against the *Jews* to 826. that usurper : they represented to him, that that nation had been always famed for rebellion, for the truth of which they appealed to antient records ; and added, that if they were suffered to go on in the rebuilding of their city and temple, which they were then about, it would not be long ere they shook off the yoke. The usurper, who had been one of the chiefs of the sect of the magi, against whom the *Jews* were known to be diametrically opposite in point of religion, did not want any great arguments to induce him to suppress them ; but sent an immediate decree to them, to desist from their enterprize, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it executed. These therefore, having received the order, went straitway with it to *Jerusalem*, and caused a total stop to be put to the work, till the *Jews* obtained a fresh decree in the second year of *Darius* his successor's reign, that is, about two years after.

THE *Jews* by that time had been so disheartened, partly by the constant opposition of the *Samaritans*, and partly by this punishment with

¹ Conf. 1 KINGS v. 8, & seq. & EZRA iii. 7. ² EZRA iv. 6. dearib.
See also vol. v. p. 198, & seq. ³ Ibid. p. 199, & seq.

(N) This is he whom *Ezra* calls *Artaxerxes*, or rather *Artahshastha* (3) : he is differently named by profane historians, as Smerdis by Herodotus ; Mardys by Æschylus ; Spendadates by Ctesias ; and Oropastes by Justin (4).

The work resumed.

last decree, that though the latter ceased with the discovery and death of the usurper, yet did they not shew the least readiness to resume their enterprize, till God had punished their indolence with a great dearth, and let them know by his prophet *Haggai*, that it was upon that account that both their harvest and vintage had failed them^b. This was indeed an effectual argument to awake the zeal of that selfish people, who had by this time took care to seat themselves in commodious and sumptuous houses, without giving themselves any further thought about the house of God. The prophet was therefore sent to the governor, to the high-priest, and to the rest of the heads of *Judah*, to upbraid them with their ingratitude^c; and at the same time to assure them, that if they would now set about the work in good earnest, God would not only make it prosper in their hands, but that he would make the glory of this second temple by far exceed that of the first^d. This message had at length the desired effect, and the people, roused up by these promises and threats, resumed and pursued the work under the eye and guidance of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*^e.

In the mean time the *Samaritans*, who kept a watchful eye over them, being surprised that they should dare to go to work again, in spite of the decree they had obtained against them, went and applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, and acquainted him, that his enterprize was resumed, not only against the king's order, but to the manifest detriment of his realm. They expected probably, that this new governor would have immediately suppressed that work; but he, being a man of more temper and moderation, came directly to *Jerusalem*, accompanied with some of his counsellors, and with one *Shethar-boznai*, who is supposed to have been governor of *Samaria*, and inquired of the *Jews*, by what authority they ventured upon it. *Zerubbabel* and *Joshua* undertook to answer for the rest, and acquainted him with the decree they had formerly obtained from *Cyrus*; and at the same time produced the sacred vessels, which that monarch had ordered to be restored to them, in order to renew the worship of God in *Jerusalem*. *Tatnai*, having received this answer, thought the matter of too great consequence to interfere with, till he had sent a full account of it to *Darius*, and desired that search might be made concerning that decree. It was accordingly found among the records that were kept in the palace of *Ecbatan*^f,

Tatnai comes to Jerusalem.

Darius's decree.

^b HAGGAI i. 6, & seq. ^c Ibid. vers. 4. ^d Ibid. ch. ii. 4, & seq. ^e EZRA v. 1, & seq. ZECHAR. i. 1, & seq. ^f De hoc vid. vol. v. p. 4, & 189, & seq. Vid. & EZRAM v. 3, & seq.

where *Cyrus* was at the time of his granting it; and *Darius*, out of respect to that great monarch, two of whose daughters he had then married, readily confirmed it by a new one, in which all the grants of the old were repeated and ratified, with this severe penalty annexed, that whosoever should presume to contravene or obstruct it, his house should be pulled down, and a gallows made of the timber of it, and the offender hanged upon it. The execution of the decree was committed to *Tatnai* and *Shetharboznai*, and was brought to them accordingly much about the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius's* reign (O), and by them communicated to the *Jews*^g.

It was then that the building began to rise apace, since they were now not only free from any obstructions from their enemies, but were supplied, by the king's order, with all the necessaries towards the expence of it, out of the treasury of that province: and this addition of the king's bounty, joined to the offerings, which both they of *Palestine*, and their brethren abroad, paid towards it, caused such a dispatch in the work, that it was completely finished in three years; that is, in the sixth year of *Darius*, and in the month *Adar*, which is the last finished. *The temple* of the Jewish year, answering in part to our *February*^h. The dedication of that sacred building was celebrated with suitable solemnity and joy, and with abundance of sacrifices; after which they prepared themselves for the approaching festival of the passoverⁱ, at which many of their brethren from other provinces assisted, having heard of the success which that long-wished-for ent^j prize had met with; and from this time we reckon the complete restoration of the *Jews*, mentioned in the first note of this chapter. Accordingly, when those that dwelt in *Babylon* sent about this time to *Jerusalem* to inquire of the prophets, whether they might not thenceforward desist from

^g *Ezra* vi. 6, & seq. Vide & *JOSEPH.* antiqu. l. xi. c. 4. ^h See before, vol. iii. p. 36, sub not. ⁱ *Ezra* vi. vers. 15. ch. vii. 6.

(O) The learned *Usher* seems to place this decree one year sooner; but if we consider, that it was about the beginning of the third year of that monarch, that *Tatnai* sent to the king about it, one may reasonably allow six months for the messenger's going and coming from *Jerusalem* to *Shushan* in *Persia*, hence, as we have seen a little

higher, *Ezra* was four months in coming from *Babylon*; and less than another six months can hardly be allowed before they could obtain in so great a court an order for searching the records, going from *Shushan* to *Echatan*, procuring an authentic copy of the decree, bringing it back to *Darius*, and obtaining a confirmation of it (j).

Year of
the flood
1830.
Bef. Chr.
518.

keeping the fasts of the fifth and seventh months (P), *Zecharias*, among other things contained in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies, tells them, that they had now kept those fasts seventy years¹. In memory of this decree, which, we observed, was given from *Shushan*, or *Susa*, the *Jews* gave the name of *Shushan* to the eastern gate of the outward temple-wall, and caused a bas-relief of that metropolis to be set up over it, which continued there till its total destruction by the *Romans*^k.

In the mean time, the mortification which the envious *Samaritans* received from the king's decree in favour of the *Jews*, and the wonderful dispatch with which they had finished their temple, did but serve to augment their rancour against them. Their being obliged to pay, not only towards the rebuilding of that edifice, but towards the sacrifices and oblations that were daily to be offered up there for the prosperity of the king, and the whole realm, and towards the maintenance of the priests who officiated there^l, was what they *refuse* seemed to resent above all the rest : and therefore, as soon as *to pay to it*. the temple was finished, tho' the outbuildings were still unprepared, and continued so for many years, they made it a pretence for with-holding the usual tribute, alleging that it was to cease as soon as the building was finished. This obliged the *Jews* to send a deputation to *Darius*, at the head of whom were *Zerubbabel*, *Mordecai*, and *Ananias*, to complain to the king of it. *Darius* received them with his usual benevolence, and after a full hearing issued out a fresh decree, commanding his officers at *Samaria* to cause the usual tribute to be paid to the temple, and for the future on no pretence whatever to give the *Jews* any cause of complaint upon that article^m. After this they met with no farther obstacle during the rest of that monarch's reign, which lasted twenty-eight years longer, nor during the twelve years of his successor ; but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high-priests in matters

¹ *Ezra* vi. 16, ad fin. ^k See *LIGHTFOOT*'s prospect of the temple, ch. 3. ^l *Ezra* vi. 8, & seq. ^m Vide *antiqu. ubi supra, c. 4.*

(P) These were fasts which the captive *Jews* kept in those two months, in memory, first, Of *Jerusalem* being first besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*: secondly, Of its being taken by him : thirdly, Of its being burnt with the

temple : and, fourthly, For the murder of *Gedaliah* (6). All which fasts they still keep to this day, though they have somewhat changed their place in their calendar.

(6) See *Septēr Taanith*, *Munster*, & al.

of religion, and in those of state by the heads of the tribe of *Judah*, though still in subjection to the kings of *Persia*, and subordinate to his governors on this side the *Euphrates* (Q). *Xerxes* had no sooner succeeded his father, than he confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the *Jews*. This was not without a singular mark of the divine providence, since the temple of *Jerusalem* was the only one that obtained this particular regard from that prince, whilst he was plundering and destroying all the rest that came in his way. But he was in both cases fulfilling the prophecies of *Isaiah*ⁿ and *Jeremiah*^o, which had long since foretold both the downfall of the heathen idols and temples, and the restoration of the *Jewish* one, under the protection and favour of *Cyrus*, and his successors. *Josephus* adds, from a passage out of an antient poet (R), that the *Jews* assisted *Xerxes* in his wars, and that he had a band of them in his army ^p. It is true, the meaning of the poet has been much canvassed by very great critics; but, whether or no he intended the *Jews* by it, it is hardly to be supposed, that they, who were so well known for their valour, fidelity, and attachment to that prince, should be the only people excused from the war, when his army was composed of all the other nations of the *Persian* empire. In the third year of his reign, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, died the *Jewish* high-priest *Joshua* in the fifty-third

Xerxes.
Year of
the flood
1890.
Bef. Chr.
458.

ⁿ Ch. xxi. 9.
^p Cont. Zion. l. i.

Ch. x. 11. li. 44, 47. & alib. pass.

(Q) These particulars we have from *Josephus*, who adds, that *Zerubbabel* was the person who answered the wise question proposed by the king, which we have in the apocryphal book of *Baruch*. But we scarce think it worth inserting here, though the same author tells us, the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of the *Jews*, were granted him as a reward for his merit and judgment. The canonical books are silent as to all those particulars, and we shall stick close to them as far as they go.

(R) The passage is out of *Caerilius*, and is to this purpose: That a strange people, who used

the *Phoenician* dialect, and dwelt in the high and hilly grounds of *Solyma*, near to a great lake, marched under his (*Xerxes's*) standards. The *Jews* speaking then the *Syriac* language, *Solyma* being one of the names of *Jerusalem*, and it being situate upon hills, and near the famous lake *Asphaltites*, it was natural for *Josephus* to understand the people here mentioned to have been the *Jews*. Some great critics, however (7), have pretended to apply it to the *Solymi* of *Pisidia*, against whom *Salmusius* has undertaken to vindicate the *Jewish* historian (8), who seems indeed to be most in the right.

(7) Scalig. not. ad fragm. Bockart. Phaleg. part iii. l. i. c. 2. Cunaeus de rebus pub. Hebr., (8) Officig. litig. Hellen. See Prid. ubi supra. vol. ii. p. 465. year

year of his high-priesthood, and was succeeded by his son *Zoiakim*⁹; and *Xerxes*, being murdered in the twenty-first year of his reign, was succeeded by his son *Artaxerxes*, whom we have elsewhere shewn to have been the *Ahasuerus* of Scripture, the husband of *Ester*¹, and consequently the greatest friend the Jews ever had, either before or since their restoration.

Artaxerxes or Ahasuerus farous the Jews. How he came to be so above all his predecessors, we chiefly learn from the book of *Ester*, whose history there related is so well known, that we shall content ourselves with giving our readers as short a summary of it as is necessary for the thread of our history. *Ester* or *Hadasseh* was an orphan of the tribe of *Benjamin*, brought up and adopted by her uncle *Mordecai*; this last was a descendent of those who had been brought captives into *Babylon*, with *Jeconiah* king of *Judah*; and, by his constant attendance at the palace-gate, seems to have been one of the king's porters. He had had interest enough to introduce his niece into the palace, among other beauties, who were to be candidates to succeed the repudiated *Jastis*, and she had already captivated the *Perisan* monarch, even before he had set the diadem on her head, that she could obtain any thing from him which her uncle bid her ask; it being a peculiar privilege of those virgins, whenever their turn came to appear before the king, to obtain whatever they asked of him². It is therefore reasonably supposed, that it was by her interest that *Ezra*, a very learned and zealous Jew, of the house of *Aaron* (S), obtained an ample commission

Ezra sent into Judaea.

⁹ NEHEM. XII. 10. JOSEPH ubi supra, c 5.
P 255, & seq. & not ² Ester II 13, & seq.

* Vol. v.

(S) He calls himself here, according to the Hebrew idiom, the son of *Seraiah* (9), who was the high-priest whom *Nebuchadnezzar* caused to be slain at the taking of *Jerusalem* (1); but, had he been his real son, he must then have been at least a hundred and thirty two years old, supposing him to have been an infant when his father died (2), and so wholly unfit for such a journey and employ; whereas we find him capable of reading

the Scriptures to the people from morning to noon, one whole week, and of assisting *Nehemiah* in his office thirteen years after (3), when he must have been at least an hundred and forty-five years old.

But since he there also calls *Azariah* the son of *Meraioth*, though it appears from the book of the *Chronicles* (4), that there were six descendants between them, what should hinder but he may himself have been some de-

(9) Ezra viii. 1. rarg. chronol. in vobis places. 1., & seq.

(1) 2 Kings xxv. 28, & seq.

(2) Neh. viii. 2, & seq.

(3) Coram. 74.

(4) Chron.

scouts

sion from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with as many of his nation as were willing to go with him, and there to regulate or reform all matters, whether of church or state, as he should see fit^t (T).

Ezra staid some days near the river Ahavaah for the rest of his company; and during that time being willing to take some nethinims with him to Jerusalem to serve there as formerly in the temple, he sent some of his retinue to Idio, who was chief of those that dwelt near the place Casiphia (U), from whence

^t Ezra vii. 6, & seq.

scents off Seraiah, though it doth not appear how many?

What reputation he was in at the Persian court, may be gathered from the commission itself, which is so extensive in favour of the Jewish nation, as well as of Ezra himself, that a less interest than that of Esther can hardly be supposed to have procured it to him. It was to this effect (5):

"Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest of the law of the God of heaven, peace, &c. It is our decree, that whosoever of you, whether priests, levites, &c shall be desirous to return to Jerusalem, be permitted to go safely thither. — We give you power to settle and reform every thing according to the law of your God, and to convey thither all the money, vessels, &c. which we, our counsellors, as well as the priests and others of your nation that stay in the province of Babylon, shall freely offer for the service of the temple of your God; which is at Jerusalem, or to dispose of it in any other way you shall think fit; — and that whatever other charges Ezra shall think necessary for the house of God, shall be

" forthwith furnished to him out of our revenue on the other side the Euphrates, as far as an hundred talents of silver, an hundred measures of flour, wine and oil, &c.
" And we do likewise forbid our governors in those provinces to levy or demand any toll or taxes on any of the priests, levites, singers, &c. of the temple. and we unpower thee, Ezra, to appoint judges, magistrate, &c. according to the wisdom with which God has endowed thee, to judge the people on that side the river, and to condemn every offender to death, banishment, or any lesser punishment, according to the nature of his crime."

(T) This commission was granted to him in the seventh year of that monarch's reign, in virtue of which he began his journey from Babylon on the first day of the month Nisan, answering to the middle of March.

(U) It is not easy to guess what place this was, the text calls it צָפְרִיא, Casiphia ham-makom, Casiphia the place. Some have taken it for the Caspian mountains, situate between Media and Hyrcania, in the mines of which these captive nethinims

(5) Ezra vii. 12, & seq.

whence he gathered about two hundred and twenty of them, besides some priests and levites^u; after which having proclaimed a solemn fast, to implore the divine protection, they set forward, and arrived at *Jerusalem* on the first day of the fifth month, or the middle of *July*, that is, after a journey of four months.

His com-mission.

AT his arrival he opened his commission before the whole *Jewish assembly*, and there delivered to the priests the offerings which had been made by the king, nobles, and by the *Babylonish Jews* (W); after which having sent to acquaint the governor of *Syria* and *Palaestine* with the power he had received from the king, he began with appointing judges and magistrates to reform evry thing that was contrary to the law of *Moses*; and, pursuant to his commission, impowered them to punish offenders, not only with fines, imprisonment, and other lesser punishments, but even with banishment and death, according to the nature of the crime^v. *Ezra* continued in the faithful discharge of his authority thirteen years, that is, till he was succeeded by *Nehemiah*, who was sent thither with a fresh commission from the same monarch. But

Reforms in the church and state. before that, the *Jews*, having received fresh tokens of the king's favour upon his raising *Esther* to the diadem, *Ezra*, relying upon the protection of two such powerful friends as the new queen, and *Mordecai*, who now engrossed the king's favour, gave himself up wholly to the care of the *Jewish affairs*,

^u ERKA viii. 15, & seq.

^v Ibid. vii. 25, &c.

are supposed to have been sent to work; if so, it is no wonder they should be so ready to embrace the benefit of the king's decree.

Josephus passes by this whole affair, and is so far mistaken both in chronology and history, that he makes this decree, like that which *Nehemiah* obtained thirteen years after, to have been both granted by *Xerxes*, contrary to the *Hebrew* text, which calls him *Artaxerxes*, but this is not the only place where that historian eris.

(W) These offerings amounted to (6) an hundred talents of gold,

beside twenty basons of gold, amounting to a thousand darromim, or darics (7), six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver, to the weight of an hundred talents more, and two vessels of some fine copper, then reckoned as valuable as gold.

From this new reformation made by *Ezra* in the *Jewish church* and *commonwealth*, the learned *Prideaux* begins the computation of *Daniel's weeks*; but as this is a subject quite out of our province, we refer those readers who are curious about it to consult the book itself (8).

(6) Ibid. ch. viii. 24, § 11, &c seq. Vid. Prid. part 1. l. ii.

(7) Of this coin see before, vol. v. p. 129, &c. Cunct. part 1. l. v.

and

and to reform some crying abuses which had crept in among those, who were returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel (X).

His next great work, in pursuance of his commission, was to reform the whole state of the Jewish church by restoring its discipline and rites, according to its antient pattern, under the former prophets. In order to which, his first care was to collect and set forth a correct edition of the sacred books, and then to reduce the observance of the *Mosaic* law to that standard. This circumstance we find neither expressly mentioned in the sacred historians, nor in *Josephus*; but we have it from the *Talmudists*, and other antient Jews, who add a great many others, which not carrying the same probability with this, we shall for that reason give an epitome of in the note (Y). But, as for this point of his collecting and revising the sacred

(X) One of these was the intermarriage, which not only the common people, but even priests, levites, and heads of families, had made with some of their idolatrous neighbours (9), by which they had introduced a mixed mongrel breed of *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Samaritans*, and other strange nations, among the true *Israelites*. To rectify this, Ezra issued on a proclamation, and ordered all that were returned from the captivity to appear before him at *Jerusalem* on a set day, under the penalty of being excommunicated, and forfeiture of all they had. As soon as they were assembled, he upbraided them in the severest terms for their crimes, so strongly forbidden by the *Mosaic* law; after which he obliged them to take a solemn oath, that as many as had been guilty of it, should put away both their strange wives, and the children they had by them. But as the thorough cognizance of the matter was like to take up some considerable time, and the court of the temple was still uncovered, and exposed to

the rains that fell then abundantly, he appointed commissioners to make strict search into every family, and to oblige all delinquent, to comply with the covenant which Ezra had exacted from them. This scrutiny was accordingly begun on the first day of the tenth month, and ended on the same day of the first month, when the number of delinquents was found to amount to an hundred and fourteen, some of whom had had children by those strange wives (1).

(Y) They tell us, 1st, That he was assisted in it by the grand synagogue or sanhedrin, which they pretend to have been originally instituted by *Moses*, in the seventy elders, and to have been increased to an hundred and twenty. We have already confuted the greatest part of this assertion in a former volume, to which we refer the reader (2)

2dly, In this synagogue they place among the principals of them the prophet *Daniel*, and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Methoch*, and *Abednego*, whom they pretend to have been still alive,

(9) *Ezra ix. 1, &c seq.* (1) *Ibid. cap. ult. vers 17, &c seq.* (2) *Vol. iii. p. 418, &c seq., sub fin. note (H).*

cred writings, making some small additions to them, and fixing the canon of the *Old Testament* to twenty-two books, as they are now received by the *Jews*, and protestant Christians; we have many reasons to confirm it. He was excellently well versed in them; his extensive authority enabled him to gather up all the best copies that could be met with, either at *Jerusalem*, or among the dispersed *Jews*; he was himself inspired, and had the assistance of two or three prophets (Z) in the work. The then confused state of the *Jews* required such

and to have returned from the captivity, though neither he, *Ezra*, or *Nehemiah*, mention any thing about any of them.

Lastly, and to mention no more, they place at the tail of this synagogue *Simon the just*, between whom and the time we supposed *Daniel* to have died, there elapsed near two hundred and fifty years. The method they take to avoid this difficulty is equally absurd, and only exposes their ignorance of chronology; and this makes the judicious dean above quoted rightly suppose, that this pretended assembly of an hundred and twenty, was only a succession of men who put every one an helping hand to complete what *Ezra* had set on foot; and that *Simon the just*, who is the last there named, and was really so in point of time, was the person who gave the finishing stroke to that great work (3); for that it was not so far completed in *Ezra's* time as to have had no addition or amendment made to it afterwards, is scarce credible;

1st. Because we find in *Nehemiah* (4), the genealogy of *Je-sua* the high-priest is carried down to *Saddua*, and mention made of *Darius the Persian*, or *Codomennus*, who were recenter by at least an hundred years; and in the third chapter of the first

book of the *Chronicles*, *Zerubbabel's* genealogy is carried down so far as must necessarily reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*.

2dly, Among the various readings noted in the margin of the sacred books, which are attributed to *Ezra*, and are known by the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*, we find some in those of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which cannot be supposed to have been put in by them, but by some of their successors in the work.

3dly, We may add, that *Nehemiah* and the *Chronicles* fall very short of that correctness of style and method that we find in the other books of the *Old Testament*; and, for the reasons above alleged, were hardly admitted into the canon till about the time of *Simon the just* above-mentioned.

(Z) These were *Haggai*, *Zer-chariah*, and *Malachi*, to which the *Jews* add, as we hinted in the last note, *Daniel*, and his three companions. As for *Malachi*, they pretend that he was the same with *Ezra*; that this last was his proper name, and מלאכי *Malachi*, which signifies my angel or messenger, was that of his office, as being the person or prophet sent by God to restore the *Jewish* church to its pristine splendor and standard.

St. *Jerom* and some other an-

(3) *Connest. ubi supra.*

(4) *Cb. xii. 10, 22.*

a collection and revisal of the sacred writings ; and some such thing we find done soon after Nehemiah's arrival in *Judea*, when Ezra brought forth the sacred volume, and read and expounded it to all the people from morning till noon, during the whole seven days of the feast of tabernacles^x. Lastly, the whole current of *Talmudist* writers, and all the antient and modern Jews^y (except the *Samaritans*, who reject all but the pentateuch, as shall be seen in due time ; and *Josephus*, who perhaps did not think proper to tell the world, that the sacred writings stood in need of such a revisal and amendment), ascribe this work to Ezra, as president of the sanhedrin, and chief director and overseer of the whole ; in which they have been followed by no small number of antient fathers^z, and by far the greatest part of moden writers. We may further add, that there is no other way of justifying that great and zealous man, for leaving the city and outworks of the temple in that desolate state in which Nehemiah found them at his coming^a (considering that he met with no more obstacles, that we read of, from the *Samaritans*, but all possible encouragement from the *Persian* court), but the supposition, that he thought it of greater moment to bestow his time and care in this new and correct edition of the sacred code, than to busy himself in repairing the outworks of the city and temple. It is in the time of this revisal that he is supposed to have exchanged the old Hebrew character for the more beautiful and commodious *Chaldee* now in use, and to have invented the *Masorah*(A), vowel and other points, concerning which we have given a full account in a former volume^b.

ANOTHER

^x NEHLM. viii. 2, & seq. ad fin. ^y Vid. SELD. de synedr. BUXTORF. Tiberiad. & auct. ab eis citat. ^z CLEM. ALFYARD. Strom. l. i. IREN. l. iii. BASIL. epist. ad Chilon. ISIDOR. orig. l. vi. & al. mult. ^a NEHEM. i. 2. ii. 14, & seq. ^b Vol. iii. p. 210, & seq.

tient writers have maintained the same notion (5) : sure it is, that Malachi is rather a common than a proper name, and that in Ezra's time prophets were called by it (6) ; and accordingly several antient fathers quoted Malachi under the title of the angel or messenger of God (7).

What seems to confirm, that

he was an assistant to, if not the same with Ezra, is his reproofing the people for marrying strange wives (8), for their opposition of their poor brethren (9), and several other abuses, which were then rectified by Ezra and Nehemiah.

(A) By the term *Masorah* or *Masoreth*, which signifies tradi-

(5) Comment. in Malach. & alibi plur.

(6) Hag. i. 13. Mal. iii. 1, &c alib.

(7) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. Tertul. cont. Judaeos, c. 5. Orig. in Jud. &c alib.

(8) Gb. ii. 11.

(9) Ibid. ver. 10, & alib. puf.

Corrects them. ANOTHER and very useful improvement which he and his inspired associates are generally, and with great probability, believed

tion, is meant the unwritten rule or canon, by which the reading and writing of the sacred books was fixed. We have already seen elsewhere, that the *Jews* affirm it to have been given by God himself to *Moses*, who delivered it to *Joshua*, *Aaron*, &c. by whom it was transmitted by oral tradition, through a long succession of holy and inspired men, quite down to rabbi *Judah*, surnamed *Hakkadoš*, or the holy, who wrote it in the book which they call the *Mishna*; all which we have formerly confuted as a series of rabbinic fictions (1).

Others, with more probability (2), attribute it to this *Ezra*, who, in the comparing of the several copies, out of which he was to compile his new authentic one, found himself under a necessity of correcting several errors which had crept in, through the ignorance and carelessness of the transcribers; and observing likewise here and there a different reading, which might be well enough preserved, he put the one, perhaps that which he thought the best, in the text; and this the *Jews* call *Keri*; the other he put in the margin, to intimate that it was otherwise written in some copies; and these marginals were called *Ketib*. It were, however, absurd to suppose, that they were all inserted by him, since, as we hinted in a former note, we find some of them, not only in the book that

goes by his name, and is justly attributed to him, but in some of a later date: besides, many of those marginals are really trifling, and some of them far beneath the dignity of such an author. Those who understand the *Hebrew* tongue may see an instance of this in the places quoted below (3).

As for the vowel-points, which are said to have been invented by him, in order to fix the true sense of words, we have heretofore shewn them to be of much more modern date (4). But, as to the grammatical ones, especially the *atnach* and *filluc*, or *soph pessuk*, so called, because this last concluded every period, called by the *Jews pessuk*, it is most likely, they were devised either by or very soon after him; for the *Hebrew* being almost forgotten during their captivity, and the *Chaldee* being become the current tongue, there was a necessity, that those parashas or portions of scripture, that were read in the temple, and other synagogues, should be expounded to them by proper interpreters; and this the *Talmudists* (5) tell us was done verse by verse in the law, which gave occasion to the invention of those points, in order to direct the readers when to stop: but when they were afterwards forbid by *Antiochus Epiphanes* to read the law (6), and had substituted the lecture of the prophets instead of it; the

(1) See before, vol. vi. p. 5.
xvii. 27. Ifu 2b 22a 21 12.
start. Megill. c. 4. Vide et Talmud sicagom. c. 3. Et aut. ab evan. Ierem. Tifbie.

(2) Pr. i. ubi supra.
(4) P. i. p. 225, &c seq.

(3) 2 Kirgs
(5) Mishna
(b) P. i.

believed to have made to this new edition of the sacred books, is the interspersing here and there an explanatory clause by way of parenthesis, and making such other additions to the text, as were necessary to explain, illustrate, or confirm it. Of this nature some suppose the account of *Moses's death*, and the excellent character given to that great lawgiver in the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to have been; but it seems to us more probable, that this was inserted much earlier, namely by *Joshua*, or some of his cotemporary writers, in order to inspire

sense in these generally running a greater length, they were obliged to read and expound three whole verses at a time.

However, when the *Macca-bees* had, by recovering their liberty, restored the antient reading of the law, they continued still the lecture of the prophets, and expounded the former verse by verse, and the latter every third verse: in process of time they added likewise the other books, called by them כחובין *Ketubim*, or *Hagiographa*; and this probably gave rise to the distinction of legal, prophetical, and hagiographical books, often mentioned in the gospel (7), and by *Josephus* (8).

How these periods or verses were marked in their books, is not easy to guess. If the *Jews* were then as superstitious as they have proved since, it is certain they could never suffer them to be inserted in any shape into the text, which they look upon as polluted by every adventitious point or dot, though ever so accidental. It is indeed a question whether they were so scrupulous in antient times; but then, if *Ezra*, or any of his successors, ever admitted those stops, lines, points, or in any other form, it

will be a wonder how they came afterwards to be expunged; for it is plain there are none such admitted in their synagogues.

But the difficulty may be easily removed, by supposing that they only left a blank space between period and period; or, as *Maimon* imagines (9), that they finished every verse or period with a break, and began the next line with a new verse. But as they found these breaks to run to too great a length, in many places, and caused their books, those we mean which they had for their private use, to swell to too great a bulk, they invented the two grammatical points, which are now in use, and which the reader may find in all their pointed books.

But this was not the sole use of these grammatical points. Those who are acquainted with that tongue need not be told how necessary they are in fixing the sense in many places, nor how it may be, and is often, rendered obscure, unintelligible, or even contrary, by the misplacing of them. We have formerly given a notable instance of it (1), from which the reader may guess of the rest; and shall dwell no longer upon it.

(1) *Rule c. ult. n. 42. A.D. xii. 15, E3 alib.*

(9) *Ex Talmude in Brada Batra, cap. 7, G. 9.*

& not. (D).

(2) *Cant. Apion 1. i.*

(1) *Fol. vii. p. 223, G. 19.*

the people with a singular respect and credit both to him and his writings. However that be, we meet with a great number, which, being manifestly inserted long after the facts, cannot well be ascribed to any but *Ezra*, or some of those prophets that assisted him in the work: thus we find in several of the historical books concerning some ancient monuments, such-like words as these added by way of testimony, *which remain unto this day*^c: nay, many others of the like nature the reader may see in the note (B). To the same end he is supposed likewise to have added some new names of places to the old ones, which were become obsolete. Thus *Abraham* is said to have pursued the confederate kings as far as *Dan*, the name which the *Danites* gave long afterwards to the city of *Leshem* or *Lish*^d. The same was done to *Bethel*, antiently called *Lur*, to *Hetzor*, whose original name was *Kirjath-Arla*, and to many more, by the help of whose new names we come to the knowledge of the places there mentioned, which we could never have known by their old ones.

Reformes THE last work of this great man was the restoring the divine worship of the temple according to its intient form before the captivity; to revise and amend the Jewish liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thanksgivings proper for the festivals that were intercalated after their return from the captivity; such as the dedication of the new temple^e, of *Purim*^f, and the like; and as the psalms &c entered into almost every part of

^c *Deut.* vi. 14. *Joshua* x. 27, & alib. plur. ^d *Conf. Gen.* iii. 14. & *Ios.* xix. 47. *Jude*. xviii. 29. ^e *Ezra* vi. 16. ^f *Esth.* ii. ix. 20, ad fin. ^g *Vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 205, & seq.*

(B) Thus it is said in *Genesis* (2), that the Canaanites did then dwell in the land; which words could not be inserted till they had actually been extirpated out of it; and in another place of the same book (7) it is said, *These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king in Israel*; which last words must of necessity have been inserted long after Moses's time. The large iron bed of *Og* king of *Basam*, said in *Deuteronomy* to have been still to be seen in the

metropolis of the *Ammonites* (4), plainly intimates, that that prince had been killed long before this last clause was added. Lastly, and to mention no more, the twenty fifth chapter of the *Proverbs*, which begins with these words, *The proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out*, plainly shews the words were added some considerable time after this last named king, who was twelve generations off Solomon.

(2) *C. xl. 6.*

(3) *Ch. xxxvi. 31.*

(4) *De t. iii. 11.*

their

their worship, and were to be sung alternately (C), as we have seen in a former volume, it is not to be doubted but he took the same pains in collecting the whole book, and giving it the same revision which he had to the rest. Whether he digested them in the same order we have them in, as is generally believed by *Jews* and *Christians*; and whether he was the author of those which were manifestly composed during the captivity^b, and after their return from it¹, such as we take those which are stiled gradual to have been (D); and lastly, whether he lived to finish all these things, or left them to be completed by his successors; we will not pretend to determine. One thing the second book of *Maccabees* informs us, that *Nehemiah* founded a library at *Jerusalem*, in which he deposited the acts of the kings, of the prophets, and of *Du-*

^b Psalm exxxvii.

¹ Psalm cxvi.

(C) That is, not by *hemistichs*, as *Metbonius* and some others seem to have imagined, but by whole verses, as they are now sung in our cathedrals; for, first, some of those verses there are, which is a learned prelate has justly observed againt him (5), manifestly consist of threemembres, and so are incompatible with the method of singing by *hemistichs*.

But what seems to us more decisive is, that in some other acrostics (6), whole verics are consequently determined, the letter *vau* not being admitted to begin the sixth verse, but being thrust in the middle of the fifth, just after the *athnach*, they substituted a verse after the last alphabetical one, which begins in them with the letter *D*, which can hardly be supposed to have been done but to make the number of verses even, that the same side of the choir might not begin and end the same psalm; which addition would have been needless, had they been sung by *hemistichs*.

(5) *Hanc prolegom* page 4, and 5.
Tract. M. s. &c. al (8) *Vid. int*
Nib. vii, 5, 6. *Pf. cxi.* *Ter. xxii.*, 22, *& alib.* *Ezech. xxxix.*, 2, *& alib.*
(9) *Vid. Calmet, praefat. in Pf. Grad.*

(D) Concerning the title of these, which are fifteen in number, beginning at the hundreth and twentieth, various have been the conjectures of the learned. Its original import is a *sang of degrees* or *steps*, which some interpreters mistaking, have rendered a *sang of excellences*, or a *most excellent sang* (7).

But if we consider, that the whole tenor of those psalms consists chiefly either in fervent prayers for their return from their captivity, or thanksgiving for having obtained it; and that the terms, *ascent*, and to *ascend*, are frequently used to express their return into their own land (8), as it was indeed an high hilly ground; is it not more natural to suppose those psalms to have been composed, some a little before, and some presently after, and all upon the subject of this happy ascent or return from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem* (9)? So *Sbir Haminehaloth* will properly signify the song of the return, or of those that returned.

(6) *Pf. xxv.* and *xxxiv.* (7) *Fur.*
ai. Par. i., 3, 5, *& seq.* *ii. 2.*, *vii. 9.*

vidj; which seems to intimate as if the revisal of them had been completed before that time.

IT is no less uncertain whether this revisal of the sacred books reached so far as the restoring the poetical parts to their ancient metre, or whether they contented themselves with such a punctuation and division of verses as would best fit them for the service of the temple. The generality of writers are for the latter, but there is one reason which seems to us very strong for the former, namely, that those psalms which were composed after the captivity appear to us to run much in the same cadence with those which had been written before it, and many of them, whatever some critics may say to the contrary¹, seem to be in no case inferior to them; which seems a plain intimation, either that the rules of Hebrew poetry were not lost at Babylon, or that they were recovered after their return, though they have been in vain sought for ever since the total dispersion of that nation, as we have fully

An account shown in the place last quoted out of the third volume of this *of bishop Hare's edition of the psalms.* However, since that time the reverend prelate above mentioned has favoured the learned world with his metrical edition of the psalms, by which he has at least convinced us, that the Hebrew metre is not so irrecoverably lost as we then imagined. It is true, we are far from thinking, that he has actually discovered it— we shall give our reasons for it in the next note—but this we are bound to say in justice to his great learning, the indefatigable pains he has taken in that work, and the powerful arguments with which he has exploded the greatest part of the *Masoretic* trash, which has been hitherto an unsurmountable impediment to such a discovery, as well as the many judicious criticisms which the reader will find in that edition, that if his lordship has not quite paved the way to it, he has at least blown up those discouraging obstacles that obstructed it, so that we may now hope, that, by the help of this elaborate piece, those who have both time and genius for such an enterprise, will be encouraged to follow so noble an example from the present prospect of success. Having said thus much in justice to that learned author, we shall now, with that honest freedom which the dignity of the subject deserves of us, offer our reasons why we think, that his lordship's new-found metre comes infinitely short of what it appears to us to have originally been; and consequently that the greatest part of the alterations and corrections made for the sake of it, and which are to be found in every page, are so many deviations from the original. And since we find, that many of our

readers expect we should say something of this performance, especially as it so much clashes with what we have said in a former volume¹, we doubt not but if we clear the sacred text from the pretended corruptions which our learned prelate thinks he has corrected in it, and the Hebrew poetry from being such a low, crawling, and imperfect thing as this edition makes it, they will be pleased with it; and that the merit of the cause will plead for the length of the following note, into which we shall, for order and brevity's sake, insert all that we have to say upon that subject (E).

We

¹ Vol. iii. p. 199---200.

(E) In speaking of the sacred Hebrew poetry in a former volume (t), we ventured to affirm, that it was unreasonable to suppose, that an art, which, with respect to its noblest part, the strength of expression, loftiness of thought, beauty of metaphors and imagery, was almost at its height in *Moses's* time, and had been so excellently well cultivated during so many centuries after, should yet be so uncouth and imperfect with respect to the metre, as *Le Clerc*, and some other critics, have made it; the latter being but a mere jingle, and within the compass of a much more ordinary genius. And this argument we think will hold much stronger against that even heavy and inelegant bitony, which our learned prelate has given us in lieu of it; and especially,

2dly, If we take in another part of his lordship's affirmation, namely, that it admitted of no distinction of long and short syllables, but used them all indifferently, as the nature of the verse, which is there affirmed to consist of no other variety than *trochaic* and *iambic*, required. For, this licence allowed, we may safely say

with the poet, that *Nil non erit versus*, and that there is no period in the *Old Testament*, from *Genesis* to *Malachi*, that may not be thus versified, not to say, any other book, in any other language; for proof of which, if the reader will but be at the small pains we have been induced to take, he may with ease reduce the whole common-prayer-book, either *English*, *Latin*, or *Greek*, into the same kind of verse, and without those frequent alterations which his lordship has been forced to make in the *Hebrew* text.

We may add, that quantity is in many cases so necessary and obvious to fix the sense of what is said or sung, that it is absolutely impossible the sacred poets should have been thus totally negligent of it.

But, thirdly, That neither poets nor musicians from *Moses* to *David* should have stumbled upon a variety of metres, answerable to the variety of subjects treated of in the psalms: but that the penitential ones, than which nothing can be more grave or solemn, as to the expression, should run on in the same merry pace with the eucharistical, encyclical, epithalamical, and others of a more

(1) Vol. iii. p. 193, &c seq.

We return to *Ezra*, who, having been succeeded by *Nehemiah*, after he had governed the Jewish church and nation thirteen

cheerful nature; or that *David*, bewailing and begging pardon for his secret sins, should expel himself in the same leaping *Anacreontic strain*, as when he speaks of the mountains skipping like rini, and the little hills like young sheep (2) *credat quicunque vult*.

Lastly, If the book of psalms, a book so highly esteemed, and in such constant use, among all the Jews, can be once supposed to have been so mutilated, as to stand indeed, not only of all that vast variety of collections which are here introduced for the sake of that metre, but of a great many more, which that learned Prelate owns he could not restore; it is to be said, whatever his lordship might think to the contrary, its authority will soon dwindle into nothing, especially if that be admitted, which his lordship affirms in several places of that work, that a great number of those corruptions have been introduced into the text, not by the inadvertency or ignorance of transcriber, but by the superstition, or even malicious intent, of the Jews themselves. But such a severe charge against a people, who, for ought appears to the contrary, have rather run into the other extreme, ought to have been backed by some stronger proofs, than the bare structure of this new-found metre, which is at best built upon a tottering foundation, and in many cases upon a wrong one, as will, we hope, appear by what follows.

These were some of the main reasons that induced us to in-

(2) Compare, in this new edition, Psalm xix. 14, with cxiv. 3, & seq.

partial

quire further into the grounds of this new metre: and here we own, that his lordship could not have fallen upon a better way to come at his intended discovery, than that of framing his rules from the acrostic psalms, whose verses being confined within their alphabetical limits, take away at once all occasion of expatiating. But the misfortune was, that he made choice of so short a one for his ground and pattern, as, consisting but of ten verses, and by its structure appearing to have been designed, like some others of the like nature, to be committed to memory for frequent use, could not afford that variety of measure, &c. which is to be found in acrostics of a greater length, such as xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. and especially cxix.

This last, his lordship justly observes, comes indeed vastly short of the poetic elegancy of the rest, with respect to the diction; but, as to the metre, it affords such a beautiful variety of it, that it seems to contain an epitome of the whole Hebrew metre; and we doubt not but if his lordship had bestowed the same pains in framing his rules from it, he might not only have given us a more noble idea of the sacred poetry, but likewise saved himself the endless trouble of distorting the text, to make it square with his own. All which put together, gave us just cause to think, that his fondness for this new discovery had made him overlook several great beauties and excellencies in the Hebrew metre, which a closer and less,

thirteen years, assisted him in some part of his office some few Ezra's years, after which we hear no more of him. Josephus tells *death and us m.*, that he died and was buried at *Jerusalem*, but the rest *character.*
of

** Antiq. I. xi.*

partial examination might easily bring to light.

We had not gone far in this inquiry, before some of his metrical emendations gave us a manifest proof of it, and set us upon a much better scent. We observed, that his lordship was often forced, for the sake of the verse, to curtail a trisyllable into a bisyllable, or to stretch the latter into the former, but more particularly the names of God, *Jah*, *Jacob*, and *Elohim*, by exchanging them *ad libitum*, and contrary to the text, according as the verse required one, two, or three syllables, even as far as eighteen times in one psalm (3).

This, we observed, was constantly done in verses whose heimisticks ran either in the same number of syllables, except only in these names of God, as in the following :

(4) נָאֲלֹהִים אַהֲלֵל רְבָר
בִּיהוָה אַהֲלֵל רְבָר

or in parallel verses of different psalms ; in the one of which the word *Jacob*, and the other *Elohim*, and sometimes *Adonai*, did occur (5), *ceteris paribus*. This made us apprehend at first, that if there was really any such metre in the psalms, his lordship was mistaken in reading the word יְהָוָה *Jahvah*, which ought to have been a trisyllable, in order to answer to *Elohim* and *Adonai*.

(3) In Psalm lxviii.
lil. 3. lxx. 10, & cxxii. 3. & alib pluriss.

(4) Psalm lvi. 11.

(5) Corf. Psalm xiv. 3, &
(6) Pj. lxvii. 3

(7) V.d.
prolegom. p. 4, & 27.

But finding upon further examination, that *Elohim* was in several places set to answer to other words, which were certainly bisyllabic, as in the following (6),

Jodua Iammim Elohim
Jodua hammim Cullum

what could be a stronger proof than this, that *Elohim*, consisting of two shorts and a long, was equivalent to the two long ones in *Cullam* ; and consequently that the *Hebreo* metre admitted not only of long and short syllables, two of the last of which were equal to one of the former ; but also, that it consisted of trisyllables, bisyllables, and monosyllables, or what the prosodists call *cœcuses* ; such as we find in the *Latin* pentameters, and in the *Hebreo* iambics. We have not room in a note to multiply examples. The reader may, by comparing the following ones, which are exactly according to the text, with those of our learned author, as he has been forced to distort them from it, to reduce them to his metre, easily guess what a vast number of needless emendations this one single error of the *Hebreo* poetry consisting only of bisyllables, without distinction of quantity (7), has given birth to, which might otherwise have been happily avoided.

Ezkör

of the *Jews* affirm, that he returned into *Persia*, and died there in the hundredth and twentieth year of his age. They bear

Ezkòr Mâhlè-lè-lè iàh
 Ezkerèh mikedem philekà
 rauka Mâjim Elohim
 raukà Majim jakilù (8)
 Hùshàh lèhèz-rati
 Adonài tèshù-hati (9)
 B'elohím ahal-lèl da bar
 B'jahvoh ahal-lel da bar (1)

Nòdàh Bihudàh Elohim
 Bishraèl gadòl Shemò
 ashiràh lihvòh bekhajài
 azamràh lelohàh behodì
 Elohim berob Khasdeca
 honneni beemeth jisheca

Those that are conversant with the *Hebrew* tongue, and sacred poets, will easily see the advantage of admitting this variety of feet, not only with regard to its superior elegance to a dull constant bitony, but also towards the further discovery of the *Hebrew* metre in verses of unequal hemistichs; some of which run to such lengths above others, even in those acrostics above-mentioned, that they contain even double, and sometimes even treble the number of syllables.

This indeed our author looks upon as such a disgrace to the *Hebrew* poetry, that, right or wrong, he endeavours to avoid it every-where, as much as possible; sometimes by the addition of one or more words, at other times by striking them out (2), by elisions, paragogics, and sometimes by splitting a long word between two hemistichs, or sometimes by splitting an hemistich into two, contrary to the constant structure of the psalm (3): and yet if we were to frame a judgment from the three last quoted psalms, xxxvii. cxix. and cxxxv. one would be apt to think, that the sacred

poets thought these transitions from a long to a very short hemistich, an ornament; and such it is thought by all, in odes, epitaphs, and such-like, which seem therefore to us to come nearest to the *Hebrew* genius and metre, not only of the psalms, but of the other poetic pieces of the *Old Testament* (4).

Now this kind being so opposite to the *trochaic* and *iambic*, which his lordship had pitched upon for his standard^u we need not wonder, that he has succeeded no better in his endeavours to bring it to it, since that could not be done but by constant stretching, dislocating, amputation, and other such-like violent methods, which his lordship, among many other learned men, have justly objected against *Le Clerc*, and others, who have attempted this discovery.

It is not the design of this note to recover the antient *Hebrew* poetry, a task for which we have neither time nor abilities; but to rescue it from that contempt into which both it and the *Hebrew* text must unavoidably fall, if it should once be supposed, that the

(8) *Psalm lxxvii. 12, &c 17.*
xxxvii. 20, 25, & seq. cxix. pass.
et. Exod. xv. & Lament. c. iii.

(9) *xxxviii. ult.*
(1) lvii. 11.
(2) Ps. cxxxvi. 9.
(4) Vid. int.

former

bear so great a veneration for him, that they look upon him as a second *Moses*, a restorer of the sacred books and *Masorah*, and, in a word, one every way worthy to have been their

former consisted only in a dull, sleepy, and uncertain bipedality, and that the latter has been so corrupted and mutilated, partly by Jewish superstition and malice, and partly by the ignorance and inadvertency of transcribers. And therefore, though what has been said seem to us sufficient to vindicate it in both cases, yet, as the last is a matter of such great moment, we shall take the liberty to animadvert upon some few more of his lordship's metrical emendations, that the reader may see how little reason he had to say, *Ex metro liquido apparet; frustis ergo sunt ornes hic interpretis* (5). We shall begin with the fiftieth psalm, out of the first verse of which he has struck the two names of God, *El* and *Elahim*, into the line, upon no other authority than the last-mentioned. Could his lordship indeed have backed it with one single instance of a psalm, intitled, *Mizmor el Elohim*, or shewn that there was any absurdity or inelegancy in the expression, *El, Elahim, Jah voh*, or *Jehovah*, the God of gods, or the Mighty God; such a change might have past for an amendment; but to reject so noble an expression for the sake of a metre, which is at best as yet but in embryo, is a criticism which few of his readers will digest.

But were it really for the sake of metre that his lordship rejects this triplicate name of God, how easily might it have been reme-

died by lengthening the verse, without any violence to the text! as,

*El Elohim Jah voh dibber vajira
Erets mimish ab jhemele bud meboo*

or by any other way, rather than slapping the original of so lofty an expression. But if the reader is by this time reconciled to that variety of metre we have endeavoured to establish above, the whole verse may be still made to run more elegantly, and conformably to the rest of the psalms, thus:

*El elo him Jah voh dib ber
Vajira eietz nimmiz iah
Sheinesh ve had meboo*

But his lordship seems to be fond of spying out difficulties in the original, that he might have an opportunity of exercising his critical talent. We shall give thrice pregnant instances of it; the first is in the eighth and ninth verses of the fourth psalm; this place, obscure and intricate as his lordship calls it, after some additional words, and new disposition of the original ones, he leaves much more dark and unintelligible, and less elegant and grammatical, than he found it, as the reader may see by comparing it with the text.

Now all this trouble might have been saved, and the text not only cleared, but exactly adjusted to the place where the

(5) Note in v. 1. Psalm.

their lawgiver, had not that honour been bestowed on *Moses*ⁿ. They join the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* into one, and make

ⁿ Vid. Sed. Hol. Cabbal. ABR. LEVIT. Seph. Juchaf. Shalsheleth, & al. plur.

epistle to the *Hebrews* quotes it (6), by the single addition of the letter כ *caph* before the word בְּמִגְלָת bimgillath, . and which may easily be supposed to have been omitted by reason of its similitude to the ב *beth*, or even by the bare changing the one for the other, and reducing cemgillath instead of bengillath ; and then the verses will run thus, and in the bishop's own metre,

As a-marti hinneh batî
then said I, lo! I come
(kebim-gillath sepher catub
(as in the volume of the book
it is written
halai) Lahfoth rezo-neka
of me) to do thy will
Elo-haikha-phasti
O my God, I am well pleased
with it
Vetho-rathca betoc mehai
And thy law is within my heart.

The altering the points in the verb *khabazti*, and making it the substantive *khephazati*, will render it still more elegant ; and the sense will be, O my God, and my delight ; or, O God, thou art my delight, and thy law is within my heart.

The next is in the sixty-eighth psalm, verse 14, where the author not being able to light upon a better sense than that which the *Vulgate* and our version gives it, *Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, &c.* has been forced to insert the words *tebiu*

and *ce*, and to double that of *Yonab* with the addition of כ in the first. Now all this might have been saved, and the sense made not only much plainer, but more elegant, by reading ינֶה instead of כנֶה, which is but a small alteration in comparison of his ; and then the sense will be plainly this ; *Though ye have lain among the pots, or rather, according to the parallel in Genesis xl ix.*

15. *Though ye sink between two burdens, yet shall the dove (emblem of innocence) escape with her wings covered with silver, and her feathers with the purg^t gold.*

The last is in psalm cxxxviii. ver. 2. the latter part of which running thus in the text,

Ki higdalta hal col shemca
imratheca ;

which not being altogether so intelligible, his lordship rectifies by adding the word *shem* before *sr-mka*, and casting out the last word, as absurdly added, and without sense ; and for a proof of it sends us to the parallel of St. Paul.

I hope his lordship did not think *imratheca*, thy word, to have been here maliciously added by the *Jews*, since, if we understand the apostle right, he speaks there of Christ the word, the *logos* made flesh, and crucified, and for which God has given him a name above every name.

make him the author of it: and he was certainly so of the first, since he mentions nothing in it but what was done in his time, and under his eye; and almost every-where speaks of

If therefore, instead of striking it out, his lordship had only expunged the pronoun י after *Shem* without any farther alteration, the sense would have much better tallied with St. Paul's quotation thus; *For thou hast magnified thy word above every name.* His lordship could not be ignorant what is universally understood by the Hebrew *Inrab*, the *Géldes Mamre*, the Greek *Logos*, and the Latin *Verbum*, when applied to that divine Person.

It is true, if we admit the original word *inratbeca*, the verse will be one syllable too long for the foregoing; a misfortune which often happens in the text, but which his lordship is never at a loss to obviate, either by an elision or a paragogic, tho' for our part we could rather chuse to remedy it by the rule heretofore given of making two short syllables equal to a long one.

Much of the same nature is the correction of *Psalms lxxix. v. 3.* where his lordship strikes out of the verse the words *l'may-shuoth netzakk*, perpetual desolations, as absurd, and contrary to the context (in which the psalmist begs of God to put an end to them), and fills up the chasm with the word *Calib*, which he fetches out of the eleventh verse, where he pretends it to be redundant.

His lordship, we believe, was the first that thought it nonsense for a man to pray to God to put an end to his perpetual, that is, constant, and hitherto uninterrupted misfortunes; besides, the word נזק *netzakk*, it is well known, doth not always im-

ply the duration, but often strength, greatness, violence, insufficiency of a thing; and therefore not only very applicable to the then dreadful desolations of the sanctuary, but also very fit to be humbly represented to that God whose hand alone could remedy them.

But there is still another and much more natural way of clearing the original, than that of his lordship's, by supposing the verb to have been originally נזק *netzab*, fly, which the transcribers not understanding, changed it for the other, which was more known to them. The expression of *lift up thy feet*, which alludes to a bird just going to take flight, confirms this sense, which will run thus, *Lift up thy feet, and fly to those dreadful devastations, which thy enemies perpetually commit in thy holy place.*

But this not being perceived by the transcribers, in order to make their *netzakk* ran smooth with the rest, they changed the order of the words, which probably ran thus:

Harimah pahameka
Netzah lecol Malshuoth
Herah ojeb bakkodesh.

As for the word נזק, which his lordship fetches from the eleventh verse, we think it fully as well where it is, and where it is properly the participle *pabs* of the verb נזק, to shut or inclose, the ε clided by reason of the feminine, the hand, there said to be shut up in the bosom. See a parallel in *Psalms lxxxvii. v. 9.*

of himself in the first person ; but if he wrote the second, some additions must have been made to it since his death ; tho' the difference of stile seems to prove it of another hand, as well as that of the two books of *Chronicles*, which it is not, however; improbable he might have had the revision of : as for the

From these few examples the reader may see the ill consequence of too great an attachment to a favourite system : but the mischief has not stopt here ; and the notion, that the text was so corrupt, that nothing but these violent means could possibly recover it, has spread itself to other places, where the metre did not want those emendations. Thus his lordship tells us, in his notes on *Psalm cvii. v. 25 and 29*, that the words *jabmed* and *jakem* had manifestly changed places. We had indeed long before suspected some error in the last verb ; but never dreamt of this way of rectifying it.

But we had not often read over the expression *jabmed ruakh segarab lidmamah*, before we observed a manifest absurdity in it, since that verb in this conjugation doth not signify to make to stand still, but to cause to stand, in order to act ; and could not consequently belong to the latter, but to the former of the verbs, where it was raised to cause the storm there spoken of ; and we accordingly replaced it where it ought to be.

The difficulty then was how to rectify the word *jakem*, which, as it is there written, must be owned to be nonsense, unless we take it in the same figurative meaning which it is known to have in *Sam. iv. 15.* and *1 Kings xiv. 4.* and elsewhere. But here the thirty-third and thirty-fifth

verses of the same psalm furnish us with a much more plausible salvo than his lordship's improbable transposition, it being much more likely, that a transcriber should mistake or overlook one letter for another, than that he should thus transpose two distant words against all sense ; and thus we wrote יָבֵם *jabem*, to turn, instead of יָקֵם *jakem*, to raise. *Jasjem shebarab lidmamah*, turneth the tempest into a calm, will then answer to *Jasjem nabaroth l'midbar*, verse 33, he turneth the rivers into a dry wilderness ; and *Jasjem midbar lagam majim*, verse 33, a dry wilderness into a standing water.

We pass by several quier ways of rectifying that seeming impropriety of the verse, which would be more easy and natural than his ; because, after all, we very much question, whether any other change need to be made than the bare transposition of the particle ה from *demamah* to *segarab*, and so קם לפערה רְמַחֲה will properly signify, He makes the calm to succeed the storm ; an expression no-ways irregular or inelegant.

We shall end this note with one animadversion more on that learned prelate's edition, by which the reader will plainly see that his lordship was not always so happy as to take the best sense of the psalmist. We observed in a former volume (7), that some of the figures in that sacred book

(7) Vol. iii. p. 194, note.

the other two books falsely attributed to him, and known by the names of the first and second books of *Esdras*, they are

are so high and compound, that they were not easily perceived by every reader.

Our learned bishop's singular opinion of the rudeness of the Hebrew poetry hath made him not only overlook many of them, but even quarrel with some, which ought much rather to have challenged his admiration. One of them, for instance, is in *Psalm lxxii. v. 16.* This noble psalm is intituled to *Solomon*; but what is contained in it, is rightly understood to regard the reign of the *Messiah*: but be that reign whose it will, here is foretold, among other great blessings attending it, such an uncommon plenty, that *Pissath bar*, a little handful of corn, sown on the tops of the mountains (naturally the most barren), should outvie the fertile *Libanus* for increase. One would wonder now a person of his lordship's judgment could be dissatisfied with so elegant a phrase; and yet he tells us in his note, that unless the word *pissath* be allowed here to have a contrary sense, that is, to signify a great abundance, he shall suspect it to have crept in instead of some word of the like import; which would be, in fact, losing all the beauty of the expression; as much as if his lordship had said, that the fertile valleys ought to be inserted, instead of the barren mountain-tops; for where would be the wonder, that a great heap of corn, or a fertile ground, should bring forth a plentiful crop?

Of the same nature is that noble expression of the psalmist (8), where he compares himself to *bammim klopbi*, to a corpse secluded even from among the dead, alluding to the Jewish way of burying; for as the graves of the dead polluted the living, who came near them, so those who died a violent death, or under the anathema, were to have a grave separate from the rest, lest they should pollute even their fellow-dead; and that this is the allusion here intended, is plain by the verses immediately following, and implied in the word *khulalim*, which should properly be rendered, not wounded, but profane, abominable, and which, *mijad ca rigzaz*, are cut off from thy hand, plainly shews (9); but his lordship, having overlooked this beautiful figure, has struck off the word *banurrim*, as spoiling the sense as well as the verse; how rightly, let the reader judge.

Thus much we thought incumbent upon us to say of that elaborate work, which, if it has not answered the end which its learned author proposed, may yet be read, with great pleasure and profit, not only on account of several judicious criticisms and observations which the reader will find in it; but as it will administer no small helps towards the recovering of the antient Hebrew metre. As to the rest, we dare believe, it would be no small pleasure to that learned and pious prelate (were he living), to find

(8) *Psalm lxxvii. 6.*
p. 132, (X).

(9) Concerning these burials, see before, vol. iii,

are justly rejected : however, we shall subjoin a short account of each in the note (F).

Nehemiah, cup-bearer to the king of Persia, a Jew (G) sent of great learning and piety, had heard by some of his nation into Judaea lately come from Jerusalem, of the ruinous condition which

the discovery of his mistakes turn so much to the credit and vindication of the sacred text, and of it, inspired penmen.

(F) The first book of *Ezdras* is no other than the first book of *Ezra*, with a variety of fabulous circumstances, particularly that of the three young men of Darius's guard ; who, for their exquisite wisdom in answering his questions, are there pretended to have obtained, among other marks of his favour, the liberty of returning to Jerusalem, and of rebuilding the temple (1). The Greek church is the only one that holds it among the canonical books.

The second book is acknowledged by neither Jews nor Christians, being a work which carries the manifest marks of imposture. It is falsely pretended to have been written by Ezra himself, though filled partly with rabbinic fables, such as the account of the six days creation, particularly of *Bebemot* and *Leviathan*, two monstrous creatures, designed for a feast to the elect, after the resurrection (2), and partly with some gospel notions, corrupted and fitted to the author's taste. Of this nature are the nearness of the day of judgment, the appearance of the Son of God to him, and many more

not worth repeating. We likewise omit some other fabulous accounts which the eastern churches, and from them the *Mohammedans*, have given of Ezra's recovering and compiling the sacred books, which the reader may see in *D' Herbelot* (3), and which seem to be taken chiefly from the fourth book of *Ezdras* above-mentioned (4).

(G) The text calls him barely the son of *Hachaliah* (5), without informing us of what tribe he was. Some therefore, from a passage in the *Maccabers* (6), where he is said to have offered sacrifices, and from his being reckoned at the head of the priests that signed the new covenant with God (7), have affirmed him to have been of the family of *Aaron*.

But as there is nothing conclusive in all this, and it seems expressly contradicted by his saying in another place, that he was not a fit person to shelter himself in the temple (8); the far greater part suppose him to have been of the royal family of *Judah* (9) : and this is so much the more probable, because we find none but such promoted to those high stations about the king's person ; but never read of a priest that was so, till a long time after, and upon a quite different account, as the sequel will shew.

(1) *Cit. iii. § 7.* (2) *Cit. vi. 49, &c seq.* (3) *Biblioth. orient. sub rro Qmair. Ben Serapb. Vid. & Koran. cap. Bacra.* (4) See in particular *cv. xiv. 22, &c seq.* (5) *Nebem. i. 1.* (6) *Ibid. ii. c. 1. 2B, 21.*
(7) *Nebem. x. 1.* (8) *Ibid. c. vi. 21.* (9) *R. Abrab. in Cabbat. Eusib. Iisd. Genib. &c al.*

that city still stood in, notwithstanding the favours which Year of that monarch had heaped on the returned *Jews*. Being there the flood fore aided by the queen, who is expressly said to have been at ^{1903.} the table, when he made his petition to the king ^p, he obtain- Bef. Chr. ed a commission from him to succeed *Ezra* in the government ^{445.} of *Judea*, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with fresh orders to *Sanbal'at*, and others of his officers on this side *Euphrates*, to furnish him with all necessary materials out of the royal treasury. *Nehemiah*, having gathered a fresh supply of men and women to return with him into *Judea*, departed under an escort, which the king had granted ; and arrived at *Jerusalem*, where he kept himself in private three days, at the end of which he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found to answer exactly the sad report that had been made of it to him at *Shushan*. On the morrow he sent for the heads of the people, and in the great assembly opened his commission, which he told them he would immediately put in force, and set about the finish-^{The wall} ing of the wall : he divided the work between a number of *families*. great families, each of which undertook a part of a stated extent, and were to build it at their own charges ; and the new governor plied them so close, that in fifty-two days they had all completed their task, notwithstanding the many discouragements which they met with both from within, and from without ^q.

FOR while the work was going on, they were forced to bear with many bitter sarcasms from *Sanballat*, an *Hore-nite* (H), governor of *Samaria*, and some others of his officers ; but this was nothing to some of their underhand plots to obstruct it ; for they went so far, as to hire some treacherous *Jews* to dishearten both the governor and people, with the specious pretence, that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. *Nehemiah* soon found out the cheat ; but, foreseeing that his enemies would not fail to use force, if their subdolous practices failed, ordered the people to arm themselves, even while they were at work, placing strong guards to defend them, and trumpeters at convenient distances

^p NEHEM. ii. 6.

^q Ibid. iii. & seq.

(H) Probably so called, because he was a native of *Hore-naim*, a city of *Moab*. Their other two principal enemies were *Tebias the Ammonite*, and *Geshem the Arabian* ; all consequently

ill-affected to the *Jews* ; but now doubly so, since they were likely to be dispossessed by them of many a good estate, which they had seized on, during their captivity.

from each other, that at what quarter soever they should chance to be attacked, the rest upon hearing the alarm, might come immediately to their assistance. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorest sort, who were to bear the greater share of the labour, had been so impoverished by continual extortions from the rich, for some years before his arrival, that they had already been forced to mortgage their lands, sell their sons and daughters, and submit to so many other hardships, that they were quite disabled from pursuing it. *Nehemiah*, who expected nothing less than to hear of such horrid cruelties being committed by the Jewish rulers, upbraided them in the severest terms, and partly by persuasions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to restore all their ill-gotten wealth to the poor owners; and at the same time took care, that they should be supplied with all necessary sustenance while they continued in the work; and by these means defeated the measures of the *Samaritans*.
It consecrated. As soon as the wall was finished, he caused the dedication of it to be celebrated, with the usual solemnities, by the priests and levites^s (I); and left the government of the city to his two brothers *Hanani* and *Hananiah*^t, whilst himself returned, as is reasonably supposed, into *Persia* (K), to obtain

a new

^r NEHEM. v. pass.

Ch. xii.

^t Ch. vii.

(I) This noble ceremony, which is described in the chapter above quoted, consisted in the purification of the priests and people, that they might partake of the sacrifices that were to be offered on that solemnity. After this they assembled themselves at one of the gates, whence, dividing themselves into two bands, the one of them took to the right, and the other to the left, and marched in a solemn procession round the wall, till they met each other at the temple; they were followed by the priests blowing their trumpets, with other singers and musicians.

As soon as they were come to the temple, the two choirs placed themselves opposite to each other;

and while they were singing some psalms proper to the occasion, the priests offered a great bur of sacrifices, especially oxen; after which they spent the remainder of the day in festivity.

(K) This is indeed the most probable opinion, as the learned *Prideaux* observes (1); for as his commission was only to repair the wall of the city, the only thing he had begged of the king, it is likely he went to have it enlarged, before he undertook any thing new: besides, it is not very likely, that he would have committed the government of the city to any one, whilst himself was there present.

(1) *Connex. lib. vi. sub an. A. Chr. 445.*

a new commission, the old one extending no farther than the rebuilding the city-wall, which was now actually done.

HITHerto *Jerusalem*, large and spacious as it was, remained but thinly peopled, the far greater part having settled themselves in the countries round about : and whenever any business called them into the city, they seldom failed returning at night to their habitations. This *Nehemiah* had indeed forbidden, while the wall was a building ; but after it was finished, they returned to their country-seats. This *The city* therefore obliged him to provide for its safety, by causing a ~~peopled~~^{cry} greater number of people to come and settle in it. He persuaded, at first, the nobler and richer to build them houses there ; which they the more gladly complied with, because the country was very much infested with thieves and banditti, who made frequent excursions against them. After this they took in all that willingly offered themselves to come and settle there ; but these not proving sufficient, he was obliged to take every tenth family by lot ; so that by this time the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, it began to resume something of its former lustre^u ; and *Herodotus*, who saw it soon after this time, compares it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of *Aisa Minor*^v (L).

WHILST *Nehemiah* was thus employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying of the genealogies, both of priests and people (M), *Ezra*, who had by that time finished his collection of the sacred books, was preparing himself, and some other learned priests, to give a solemn lecture of them to the whole nation on the

^u NEHEM xi

^v Lib. iii.

His great interest at the *Persian* court might then give such a dispatch to his business, and his return to *Jerusalem* might be so sudden, that he did not think it material to mention it in his history.

(L) *Herodotus* calls it *Cadytis* ; but whoever reads what the learned *Prideaux* has said on that subject (2), will easily think with him, that it could be no other than *Jerusalem*.

(M) This had been done once before, soon after the return, as was lately hinted ; but not so

clearly, but that there were still many families of priests, levites, and of the people, who could not make out their claim to their tribes. It is therefore likely, that some of them were since enabled to do it, and were then inserted in this new register, together with those who came up with *Nehemiah*. Several of the old families, that came up upon the first edict, might be by this time extinct ; all which is probably the cause of the difference we find in the genealogies of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

(2) *Sub ann. 610. & 445.*

next approaching festival, which was that of the trumpets, ushering in the new year. To this end a capacious scaffold or desk was raised in one of the largest streets of the city, that the people, who came from all parts of the land to the *law* ^{feast,} might conveniently hear it. *Ezra* was seated in the ^{publicly} ~~midst~~, with the sacred volume before him; and on each side stood six priests, well versed in the Hebrew and *Chaldee*, who interpreted in the latter what he read in the former; and this was done, as we observed before, verse by verse, and was continued from morning till mid-day. *Nehemiah* then reminding them of the joyful festival they were celebrating, dismissed them for that day, charging them to spend the remainder of it in feasting and joy, and to make their poor brethren partake of their pleasure. This caution was so much the more necessary, because he observed, that the people shed abundance of tears at the hearing of the law; which he interpreted to proceed from such a remorse of their past deviations from it, as was likely to damp the joy of that solemnity ⁴. As the people shewed a more than common desire to have this lecture and exposition continued to them, *Ezra* complied with their request, until he and his assistants had gone through the whole pentateuch. The grand festival of tabernacles being likewise near at hand, it opportunely happened, that that part of *Leviticus* in which it is enjoined, was read some days before; by which they were made sensible, how short they had been till then of its due observation, so that the next they kept, was observed with Year of greater strictness and solemnity than it had been since the time the flood of *Josua* ^y (N).

1906. BUT this was not all the advantage which *Nehemiah* bei Chr reaped from this lecture of the law. there appeared such a lively concern in them, whenever any point was read, of which they knew themselves transgressors, that he made use of that

442

x NEHEM. viii. pass.

y Ibid. verf. 1.

(N) It is supposed to have been at this solemnity, that the notable discovery happened of the sacred fire, related in the book of *Maccabees* (3). The Jews affirm, that *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet, had caused it to be hid in a dry well a little before the taking of *Jerusalem* (4): the

memory of it having been still preserved to that time, *Nehemiah* caused it to be fetched out for the divine service.

In memory of this wonderful discovery, the Jews instituted a feast, which they called the feast of the new fire.

(3) 2 Macc. i. 18, & seq.

(4) Ibid. verf. 19, & cap. ii. 1, & seq.

happy disposition to extort from them a general confession of all their sins, and a solemn promise and vow to rectify all that was amiss for the future ; and this was accordingly complied with by all the people, especially with respect to the four following heads ; namely, 1. Not to make any intermarriage with the *Gentiles*, and to disannul the old ones : 2. The observation of sabbaths, sabbatic years, and those divine commands which related to them^a : 3. The punctual payment of their yearly tribute to the temple, both for the repairs and the maintenance of the divine services in it : and, 4. The exact payment of their tythes, first-fruits, vows, &c. to the priests and levites^a. The solemnity concluded with a generous collection, which he caused to be made among them for the service of the temple : in which, to shew a noble example to the rest, he gave himself a thousand drachms of gold, fifty dishes, and five hundred and thirty-two priestly vestments (O).

HAVING thus, with great credit and honour, completed the tenor of his commission, he returned into *Persia*, according to his promise to the king^b, after having enjoyed the government of *Judea* twelve years.

DURING his absence, which lasted but five years, it is almost incredible, what abuses were crept into the Jewish church and commonwealth. *Eliashib*, whether the then high-priest, or some other of the same name, who was overseer of the temple-chambers^c, had married his grandson to the daughter of *Sanballat*, the professed enemy of the Jews ; and had had so much base complaisance for him, as to allow *The temple* his friend *Tobiah the Ammonite*, another sworn enemy, a large apartment in that sacred place, from which even the *Israelites*, who were not of the tribe of *Levi*, were excluded (P).

ANOTHER

^a De his vid vol. iii. p. 14, & seq.

^a NEHEM. c ix & x.

^b NEHEM. ii. 6.
supra, vol. iii. 428.

^c De hoc vid. commentat. & PRID. ubi

(O) *Josephus* (5) adds, that he built several houses for the priests, in order to oblige them to reside at *Jerusalem*. Sure it is, that whether his place of cup-bearer had raised his fortune to such an height, which is not improbable, or whether he had a considerable patrimony, to enable him, he did many generous and public-

spirited things in *Judea* ; among which, that of maintaining a noble table, and splendid equipage, at his own cost, without exacting the tribute assigned for the maintenance of a governor, was none of the least.

(P) To this end, he caused those chambers, wherein the tythes of corn, wine, and oil,

(5) *Antiq.* l. xi. c. 5.

The sabbath profaned.

ANOTHER shameful abuse, which had crept in during his absence, was an almost total disregard of the sabbath ; they threshed their corn, pressed their wine and oil, bought and sold from the *Tyrians*, and other strangers, who affected to bring their mercantile wares into the city on that day, rather than on any other of the week ; and were basely suffered to do so by those magistrates, whose business it was to have hindered it. To prevent this practice for the future, *Nebemiah*, having reproved those magistrates in the severest terms, ordered the gates of the city to be shut up every *Friday* night about sun-set, and not to be opened again till the sabbath was quite over ; by which means those strangers having been disappointed twice or thrice, and been threatened from the walls with some further punishment, desisted from coming *forevermore* any more on that day. What aggravated the folly and baseness of the *Jews* is, that they had among them three considerable prophets, who rebuked them severely for their crimes, and warned them of the dreadful punishments which they would bring upon them.

The worship re-flared.

THESE were *Zechriah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, of whose remarkable prophecies the reader will find a short summary in the note (Q) ; but what the authority of the prophets could

meat-offerings, &c. used to be reposed, to be emptied for his accommodation. This mischief was followed by another : and the priests, seeing the temple profaned by that stranger, their apartments given to his retinue, and rifled of that which was laid up for their own maintenance, forsook the place, and went to live elsewhere, where they could ; and this caused an intermission of the divine worship. It is not improbable, that *Nebemiah*, who, even at the distance he was then from *Jerusalem*, kept still a watchful eye over it, was soon informed of these abuses ; so that, having procured a fresh commission from *Artaxerxes*, he returned to *Jerusalem* at the end of five years from his departure. A less authority than his, or a man of less zeal, could hardly have ventured to reform an abuse, in

which some of the greatest persons were concerned ; but the base cowardice of the priest, and the impudence of the *Ammonite*, were too flagrant and impious to be suffered by a man of his character. As soon therefore as he was come to *Jerusalem*, and had been witness of the fact, he expelled the gentile stranger out of his apartment, caused all his furniture to be thrown out, the place to be purified, and the priests and holy things to be replaced as formerly.

(Q) *Zechriah*, for the number, excellency, and preciseness of his prophecies, is emphatically termed *Sol inter prophetas minorum* ; he was cotemporary with *Ezra*, *Nebemiah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, if this last be not the same with *Ezra*. He began to prophesy about two months after *Haggai*, and, with him, to encourage

could not do, that of the governor's presence soon brought about ; so that, besides those abuses we have already observed, *Abuses reformed by Nehemiah*, he rectified a number of others, which were no less enor-mous ; one of which was the ceasing of the divine worship Nehe-miah. through the avarice of the people, who, refusing to pay the priests and levites their tythes, and other dues, had forced them to seek their living out of the temple and city. All these *Nehemiah* restored to their former regularity, and re-formed every thing that was amis, not probably all at once, as one might be apt to think, from their being mentioned together in one chapter ^d, but at several times, and as opportunity serv'd.

^d NEHEM. c. ult.

courage the rebuilding of the temple, by assuring them of the divine protection and blessing on the work.

But these prophecies are irre-considerable, in comparison of those which foretel the coming of the Messiah in the plainest terms ; the cruel war which *Antiochus Epiphanes* waged against the *Jews*, and God's severe judg-ments against that tyrant ; the *Jews* war with the *Romans*, and the death of the Messiah ; the annulling of the old *Mosaic* con-venant, and the new one sub-stituted by and under Christ ; the thirty pieces of silver ; the siege of *Babylon* by *Darius*, as *Jeremy* and *Iaiaib* had done long before him ; from which it is supposed the *Jews* took timely warning, and retired out of it. Lastly, he speaks gloriously of the state of the Christian church ; of the conversion of the gentiles to it ; of the persecutions which the Christians should endure ; and the severe punishment of their persecutors, and other such-like events contained in the ninth and following chapters of his pro-phecies.

Some learned critics of our

(6) *Hammond.* in *Mugib.* xxvii. *Mede,* l. iv. epib. 31. (7) *Matth.* xxvii. 9, 10.

church (6) have indeed suspect-ed the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which are a continued discourse or prophecy of the same events, to have been of *Jeremiah*, because a formal passage out of it is quoted by St. *Matthew* under his name (7). Some other reasons they give for this their conjecture, which the curious may read in those authors.

But the general opinion is, that the name of *Jeremy* has crept into that place of the evangelist, instead of that of *Zecariah*. How long he prophesied, and what death he died, is no-where said. The *Mohammedans* confound him with *Zecarias*, the father of *John the Baptist*.

As for *Malashi*, of whom we have had occasion to speak be-fore, the current of his prophe-cies runs intirely against the vile abuses that were crept into the *Irreish* church and state, such as mixed marriages, breach of the sabbaths, and sabbatic years, op-pressing the poor, defrauding the priests and levites of their tythes, and such other enormities, which were afterwards reformed by *Nehemiah*.

Holy scrip-
tures or-
dred to L
read.

ALL these enormities, introduced within the short interval of his absence, being manifestly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of the *Mosaic* law, soon pointed out to him, that the only way to remedy them, was to inforce the frequent lecture and exposition of it, not only in *Jerusalem*, but also in all other cities and places of *Judæa*, as it had been formerly done with good success by some of the pious kings of *Judah*. These lectures were probably held at first in some great street or market-place, since we read of no buildings erected for that purpose before this time (R) ; but, as they quickly

(R) We have formerly shewn (8), that before the captivity they used to assemble themselves at the schools of the prophets on the sabbaths, new moons, and other festivals, to have the Scriptures explained to them ; but, as to synagogues, we read nothing precise concerning them ; at least, it doth not appear, that if they had any such places for the reading and expounding of the Scriptures, they were under such strict rules, and in such numbers, as we find them after *Nehemiah's* time.

As to the regulations of these new synagogues, they may be reduced to the three following heads : 1. They were to be under the inspection of certain rulers, called from thence, rulers of the synagogue ; and, by the Greek *Jews*, *archisynagogoi*. 2. They had their stated times for coming to them ; to wit, on the sabbaths, and other feast and fast days, and on *Mondays* and *Thursdays* ; they had also their stated hours for each day. 3. They had proper ministers appointed, some to read and expound the current section out of the sacred books, others to read the liturgy, others to sing, &c. and these, provided they were in every respect else qualified for those offi-

ces, might be chosen out of any tribe ; only they took care to have always one or more of the priestly order, to preside, and see that the service was performed with due order and decency.

The person who was appointed to read the liturgy, was called *shechin zibbor*, that is, the angel or messenger of the congregation, because he offered up the prayers of the people to God, or was the mouth or representative of the congregation to Godward ; and as a messenger from God to men was called an angel of God, so one from men to God was styled an angel of the people. In this sense the Christian bishops were called the angels of the churches. This person was always one of the rulers of the synagogue. He was also called *kba-kam*, or wife, learned, as were also the other rulers ; and presided in their assemblies, and sometimes in their courts of judicature.

Next to him was the *kba-kam*, who either read, or looked over those who offered themselves to read the sections of the day, and corrected them when they read wrong : this officer had the sacred books, and other utensils, under his care ; and had a *sciamas*

(8) Vol. iii. p. 226, &c seq.

quickly found the inconvenience of it in cold and rainy weather, it is not without good reason supposed, that this obliged them to build some convenient places to assemble in, which have been since known by the name of synagogues and schools. For the same purpose the Chaldee paraphrases, Chaldee known by the name of targums, were also introduced much ^{paraphrases} about the same time, to facilitate the knowledge of the *Mosaic's inter-*
law, and of the other sacred volumes, among those who were ^{introduced} unacquainted with the original; but as these were not finished till a considerable time after *Nehemiah's* death, we shall take a more proper time to speak of them. Thus far had this great man carried on the reformation of the Jewish church and state.

How long *Nehemiah* lived after he had made this refor- ^{Nehemiah}, whether he continued in his place of governor, and ^{miah's} whether he died in *Judea*, or in *Perse*, neither the ^{text} ^{death.} *Josephus* inform us; only the latter says, that he died in an advanced age ^c; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he must have been at least seventy years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, died the high-priest *Eliashib*, after he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity forty years; and was succeeded by his son *Joinda*, called by *Josephus*, *Judas* ^f, the unworthy father of that *Manasseh* (S), whom *Nehemiah* had forced to retire into *Samaria*.

^e Antiq. l. xi. sub fin. ult. cap. 5.
NEHEM. xii. 10.

^f Id. ibid. c. 6. vid.

or servant under him, who had the keys and overseeing of the synagogue; but the *khazan's* chief business was to expound the portions of Scripture that were read on that day, or to appoint or permit any other to do it for him, or to preach a sermon on some proper subject.

Thus, when Christ was entered into the synagogue, we read, that the book of *Isaiah* was presented to him, which he read and expounded to the congregation (9); the like was also done by the apostles (1). This *khazan* was likewise the person who gave out and began those

psalms and hymns that used to be sung by the whole congregation.

(S) As for the unworthy son of *Joinda*, whom *Josephus* calls *Manasseh*, instead of complying with the governor's orders, of parting with his strange wife, he retired with her to *Samaria*, to his father-in-law; and drew a great many other rebellious Jews after him, who had been guilty either of the same, or any of those enormous crimes, which were then reforming at *Jerusalem*; and went and settled themselves under the protection of *Sanballat*, the *Samaritan* governor.

(9) Mat. xiii. 54. Luke iv. 16, & seq.

(1) Act. xiii. 15.

for the sake of his beloved wife (T). Whilst that governor lived, he supported his character by the most exemplary zeal for religion, justice, and the good of his nation; and the dignity of his office by a magnificent hospitality (U).

AFTER his death, the face of that government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of *Judea*; but the country seems to have been joined and subject to the prefecture of *Syria*, from which the high-priests received their

Year of authority, as shall be seen in the next section. All that need
the flood be added to this is, that dean *Prideaux* concludes the seven

^{1939.} **Bef. Chr.** first weeks of the seventy of *Daniel's* prophecy, with this last
^{409.} reformation of *Nehemiah* above-mentioned, which was finished,
ed, according to him, in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus*.
The reader may see the proofs for it in that learned author g.

g Connect. I. vi. sub an. 409.

(T) *Josephus* adds (2), that *Sanballat*, to compensate him for the loss of his right to the *Jerwih* priesthood, which his birth intitled him to, promised to make him high-priest of *Samaria*, and to bestow on him the highest place in the whole province. In order to which, he would cause a temple to be built on mount *Garizzim*, resembling that of *Jerusalem*, of which he should have the high-priesthood.

Accordingly, as our author goes on, that governor, having gone over from the *Perians* to *Alexander the Great*, obtained of him, as a reward for his services, leave to build that temple, and made his son-in-law high-priest of it, so that all the apostate *Jews* repaired to it; which still more increased the hatred of those of *Judea*; who, from that time, looked upon them as schismatics.

This story carries a flagrant anachronism (unless we suppose two *Sanballats*). That au-

thor tells us farther, that *Mannass*, succeeding afterwards to the high-priesthood of *Jerusalem*, in right of his great uncle (or, as others read it, nephew), came and took possession of it; but he doth not inform us how, or whether he renounced his schism, nor how he was received by those of *Judea* (3). We shall give a further account of the building of this *Samaritan* temple in the next section.

(U) The daily provision of his table was an ox, six fat sheep, with fowl, fish, wine, and other things in proportion; at which he entertained, besides an hundred and fifty of the head rulers, who eat constantly with him, all the strangers of any distinction, who came from other countries to *Jerusalem*; all which he supported at his own private charge, and without receiving any of the allowance which was usually paid to the governors of that province, who had preceded him (4).

(2) *Ant.* I. xi. c. 7, 8, &c.
& seq.

(3) *Lib.* xii. c. 3.

(4) *Nebem.* vi. 17,

S E C T. II.

The State of the Jews under the High-priests and Maccabees.

HITHERTO we have had *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* for our guides; after them we have no canonical books concerning the Jewish nation; so that we shall be forced to fetch all our intelligence from those of the *Maccabees*, and to fill up all the chasms out of *Josephus*; for, as for profane authors, they were so little acquainted with the Jews, that we have little or nothing from them, but what falls in occasionally with other parts of their history. *Judaea* being now become more strictly a province of *Syria*, and under the prefecture of it, the governors committed the administration of the Jewish state to their high-priests; so that from this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befel their nation, to a set of men, who aspired to that high dignity, more through ambition and avarice, than any real zeal for their religion, or the welfare of their country. This epocha begins with a signal instance of it, which is the more remarkable, because we have it from *Josephus*^a, who is not often apt turn accuser of his brethren.

Johanan succeeded his father *Tiada* in the high-priesthood^b, about the thirty-fourth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, the flood *Bagoes*, being then governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, had contracted an intimate friendship with *Jeshua*, the brother of the pontiff; and had promised him a grant of the high-priesthood, some few years after *Johanan*'s investiture. *Jeshua*, whom our historian calls *Jesus*, came immediately to *Jerusalem*, and acquainted his brother with it: their interview was in the inner court of the temple, where the dispute arose to such an height, that *Johanan*, in striving to throw him out of that holy place, gave him a mortal wound. *Bagoes*, being informed of it, repaired immediately to the place, and upbraided the Jews in the severest terms, for thus making a shambles of the temple of their God: he next offered to enter into that holy place; but, being obstructed by the priests, he asked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure, than the dead carcase which lay there; and, without staying for an answer, forcibly entered in; and, *Johanan* being fully informed of the fact, he imposed an heavy mulct ^{373.} *fined for it.*

^a *Ant.* I. xi. c. 7,

^b *NEHEM.* XII. 11, & 22.

upon the temple (A), which was not taken off, till the death of *Artaxerxes*, which happened about seven years after, had changed the face of affairs. However, they were not altogether free from troubles in the reign of his successor; for *Ochus*, having conquered the greatest part of *Phœnicia*, as we have seen in a former volume^c, marched directly towards Year of the ¹⁰
the ⁵¹¹
^{Bef. C. C.} *Judea*, besieged and took *Jericho*, and carried off a great number of *Jews* captives, part of whom he sent into *Egypt*, and part into *Hyrcania*, along the *Caspian sea*^d. Whether *he* had engaged with the *Phœnicians* against that prince, or by what other way they had disengaged him, our authors do not tell us, nor whether his resentment stopped here, or was felt in any other part of *Judea*. About ten years after, that is, in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, died *Johanan*, their high-priest, in the thirty-second year of his high-priesthood; and was succeeded by his son *Jaddua*; and, three years after, *Ochus* was poisoned by *Bagoas*, who set up his youngest son *Ariaces* on the *Persian* throne, who was soon after succeeded by *Darius III*^e.

^c See vol. v. p. 291, & seq.

^d JOSEPH. ex HECAT. contra Apion. lib. i. SOLIN. SYNCRL. & al.

^e See before, vol. v.

p. 293, & seq.

(A) This fine, which our historian says was fifty drachms, to be paid out of the sacred treasury, for every lamb that was offered in the temple, can hardly be thought considerable enough for the complaint which *Johanan* made, if it was only confined to those two lambs that were offered in the daily sacrifice. For fifty drachms amounting but to a little above thirty-one shillings of our money, seven hundred and thirty lambs, the number offered every year, would amount but to eleven hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings.

Some therefore have thought there was an error in *Josephus*; and that the fine was five hundred instead of fifty drachms, though

all the copies have it fifty: but even this would be still too inconsiderable, considering how he inveighs against it as a great oppression; besides, those governors were seldom so moderate in their fines, especially where the crime was so enormous.

We may therefore reasonably suppose, that it was levied on all the lambs, not only of the daily sacrifices, but on those of all the other festivals, which amounted to a much greater number, as the reader may see by what has been said in a former volume, and on all those that were offered by private persons, whether by way of free-will offering, or upon any other cases, wherein the law required it (1).

(1) See before, vol. iii. p. 18, & seq. 51, & seq.

In the fourth year of this prince's reign, the *Jews* gave him such an instance of their loyalty, as plainly shewed they had not forgot what they had suffered from *Ochus* for siding with his enemies. *Alexander the Great*, having resolv'd upon the siege of *Tyre*, and being informed that the *Tyrians*, a nation wholly given to trade, received all their provisions from *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, sent to *Jaddua* the then high-priest, to demand that supply of them, which they were wont to pay to the *Perians*. *Jaddua* modestly excused himself *His fidelity* from complying with his demand, alleging, that his oath of *loyalty* to *Darius* did not permit him to transfer that tribute *thus* to an enemy. *Alexander*, provoked at this refusal, had no sooner completed the reduction of *Tyre*, than he marched strait to *Jerusalem*, resolv'd to punish the *Jews* with as great severity as he had done the *Tyrians*. He was advancing with full speed *Alexander* towards their metropolis, when the high priest, and the rest *dei's* *saintment* of the people, sensible of their imminent danger, had recourse to *God*, and by their prayers, sacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promise from him, that he would protect his temple and people from the approaching calamity. It was communicated to *Jaddua* in a dream, in which he was commanded to go and meet the thievish conqueror, in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his priests, in their proper habits, and attended with the rest of the people dressed in white garments. *Jaddua* obeyed on the next morning, and, having caused the gates of the city to be opened, marched in so'n procession at the head of his attendance, to an eminence called *Sapha*, or rather *Capha*, because it commanded the prospect of the whole city and temple.

As soon as the venerable priest was come near enough for *Alexander* to view the magnificence of his dress, especially *to that* the sacred name of *God* engraven on the front of his mitre, *pontiff's* he was receiv'd with such an awful respect, that he advanced *tremble* towards him, and with a religious kind of veneration bowed to him, embrac'd him, and paid an adoration to the sacred inscription on his forehead. Whilst the *Syrians*, *Phoenicians*, and others that were present, stood maz'd at the sight, *Parmeno*, with his usual freedom, ventured to ask him the reason of this unexpected behaviour, and was answer'd by the king, that this respect, which was not paid to the priest, but to his *God*, was an acknowledgement for a vision of the like nature, which he had favoured him with at *Dia*, in which he promised to him the conquest of *Perse*, and encouraged him in this expedition by a person of much the same aspect, and the same venerable dress, with the p. ruff now before him. He then gave orders to march on to *Jerusalem*, and was attended thither by the high priest and his retinue, *Jerusalem*.

tinue, and conducted to the temple, where he caused a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the *Jews*. The reader may see an account of this transaction in a former volume ^f, as well as of the great favours which that monarch granted to the *Jews*, and his postponing the request of the *Samaritans* to another opportunity. All that we need to add here is, that the temple of the latter on mount *Gurizzim* proved the source of continual evils to the *Jews*, and the constant asylum of their apostate brethren, who never failed to go over to the *Samaritans*, as soon as they found themselves in danger of punishment for any enormous crimes ^g.

Jews settled at Alexandria.

Alexander at the same time conferred many favours on the *Jews*, a great number of whom, at his return into *Alexandria*, he settled there among other nations, and endowed with large privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and admitting them to the same franchises and liberties with his own *Macedonians* ^h. But what gave them the greatest advantage over their *Samaritan* rivals, was an insurrection made in their capital against his favourite *Andromachus*, whom he had made governor of *Syria* and *Palæstine*; an account of which the reader will find in a former volume ⁱ.

Highly-favoured by Alexander.

ALL this while the *Jews* continued in his favour, both in *Palæstine* and out of it: only those that were in his army, were like to have forfeited it by their stiff refusal to assist at the rebuilding of the temple of *Belus*, which that monarch had begun. The invincible constancy with which they bore his severest punishments, wrought at length so far upon him, that he discharged them from his service, and sent them into their own country ^k; and he himself dying soon after, left his empire in the confused state we have seen in a former volume*. Four years after him died also *Jaddua* the Jewish high-priest, in the twentieth year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by his son *Onias*, who enjoyed that dignity about one-and-twenty years.

Jaddua succeeded by Onias.

Their miserable state under Alexander's successors.

WITH *Alexander* died the prosperous state of the *Jews*: and their country, being situate between *Syria* and *Egypt*, became subject to all the revolutions and wars, which his ambitious successors waged against each other; being successively invaded and captivated by the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, and constantly oppressed under either government. At first it was, as we have seen elsewhere, given, together with *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to *Leomedon* the *Mitylenian*, one of *Alexander*'s generals^l,

* Vol. viii. p. 534, & seq. ^f HECATÆUS ABDER. ap. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. ii. ^h Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 36. Vid. & QUINT. CURT. l. iv. c. 8. ⁱ Vol. viii. p. 543, & seq. ^k JOSEPH. ex HECAT. lib. i. cont. Apion. ^l Vol. viii. p. 543, & seq.

¹ Chron. Alex. EUSEB. inchron. JOSEPH. ant. l. xi. c. ult. See also vol. viii. p. 654, & seq. ix. p. 1, & seq.

and confirmed to him by a second partition-treaty ; but he Year of
being soon after stripped of the other two by *Ptolemy, Judea* the flood
was the only one which stood firm to him, from a sense of their 2028.
oath of allegiance ; so that the *Egyptian* king was forced to B.c. Chr.
invade it with a powerful army, and accordingly laid close 320.
siege to *Jerusalem*. The place, being strongly fortified by art
and nature, might have found him work enough, had not a
superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath prevented the be-
sieged making any defence on that day ; which being under- Jerusalem
stood by the king, he caused it to be stormed on the sabbath, taken by
and accordingly took the city without any opposition ^m. This *Ptolemy*,
did not however prevent his treating them with great severity ;
he carried near an hundred thousand of them captives into *Egypt*; 100,000
but reflecting soon after on their known loyalty to their former Jews
conquerors, and the sacred regard they paid to their oaths, carried
and being by the taking of *Jerusalem* become master of *Judea* and *Samaria*, he committed the keeping of several con- into
siderable garrisons, both here and in *Egypt*, to them ; and having Egypt.
made them swear allegiance to him, and to his heirs and suc-
cessors, endowed them with the same privileges they had
enjoyed under the *Macedonians* (B).

^m AGATHAR. ap. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. ARIST. in libell. de LXX interp.

(B) Of those whom he carried away into *Egypt*, he chose about thirty thousand of the stoutest to fill his garrisons : the rest he sent, some to assist them with provisions, others into *Libya* and *Cyrene*, which he had lately subdued (1). *Appian* adds, that he demolished the walls of *Jerusalem* before he returned home (2). However, he shewed such kindness to those *Jews* that came to settle in *Egypt*, that great numbers of them, being attracted, partly by the fertility of the country, and partly by the great privileges they enjoyed, flocked thither from other parts (3).

From the latter of the countries above-mentioned, were descended the *Cyrnean Jews*, among

whom was *Jason*, author of the history of the *Maccabees* in five books now lost, but of which the second book of the *Maccabees* is an epitome (4). Of the same country were those *Cyrnean Jews* mentioned by St. Luke (5), and that *Simon*, who helped to bear the cross of Christ (6).

This Jewish colony grew in time so numerous, as to have an hundred thousand of them put to death for one mutiny in *Vespasian's* time ; and yet, in a succeeding reign, they proved strong enough to master the whole province, and, as *Xiphilinus* tells us, in the life of *Trajan*, to massacre two hundred thousand inhabitants of other nations.

(1) Agathar. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. Arist. in libell. de LXX interpr. (2) Appian. Syriac. p. 119, & seq. (3) Joseph. antiqu. l. xii. c. 1. (4) Vid. 2 *Maccab.* n. 23. (5) Act. ii. 10. vi. 9. (6) Matth. xxvii. 32, & alib.

Sichem made the capital of the Samaritans. By this time the *Samaritans*, who daily increased in number, strength, and wealth, by the continual concourse of apostate *Jews*, made *Sichem* their metropolis, enlarged and beautified it, and, as we hinted before, made it the head of their schismatic sect ; and as they were neither so scrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor so tenacious of the precepts of the *Mosaic* law, as their rivals of *Judea* were, they seldom

*An account
of the Sa-
maritans.*

made any scruple to side with the strongest, and, if occasion required, to comply with the will of their princes, even in things which were absolutely forbidden by their law. This policy, which they never lost sight of, as the sequel will soon shew, not only freed them from the many persecutions which the *Jews* underwent, but made them fare much better under every government than they ; so that from this time, not only those who fled from *Judea* to escape punishment, but a much greater number, came over to them, to avoid either persecution on account of their law, or the tyranny and oppression of their governors. As therefore this sect became so numerous and powerful, as to make a considerable figure in the *Jewish* history, our readers will doubtless expect to be informed, how far their religion agreed or differed from that of the *Jews* ; and by what strange arguments they have, ever since their separation, endeavoured to prove their claim of precedence to, and to retort the imputation of schism upon them ; since we have already seen, that they were originally a mixture of *Cuthheans*, and other foreign nations, sent thither by the *Af-syrian* kings, instead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them ; and now become a more mixed and mongrel nation, by the constant resort and incorporation of all the renegade *Jews*ⁿ. This digression, if it be really such, is so much the more necessary here, because it will be impossible, without it, to dive into those perpetual jars and disputes that have been ever since, and are still, carried on between those two nations with the utmost irreconcileable hatred. However, that we may contract as much as possible, we shall only give here what is most material concerning their tenets, and throw all their fabulous authorities and pretences, as well as those of the *Jews* against them, into a note (C). The following articles therefore

ⁿ See before, vol. iv. p. 161, & seq.

(C) We shall begin with the account which the *Samaritans* give of their origin, in opposition to that which we have from the sacred books, concerning them : They boast themselves de-

scended from *Joseph* by *Ephraim* ; they pretend, that when *Joshua* entered into the promised land, he caused a temple to be built upon mount *Garizzim*, and appointed *Rue* of the seed of *Aaron*.

therefore are a short summary of their faith in common with, and in opposition to, that of the *Jews*.

I. THEY

to officiate as high-priest, from whom they boast to have an exact genealogy, and uninterrupted succession, down to this very time. They neither own *Jeroboam's* schism (6), nor the transmigration of the ten tribes (7); but give the following account of their going out, and returning into the land.

The kings of *Jerusalem* and *Syria*, say they, having revolted against *Bachtuzzar* (so they call *Nebuchadnezzar*) he came and took *Jerusalem*, and went from thence to the *Siebemites*, whom he ordered to leave that country in seven days, under pain of being massacred, which they did accordingly. The strangers whom he settled in *Judea* and *Sieben* soon after, could not live there, because the fairest fruits of the land were tainted with a mortal poison. The king of *Babylon* having thereupon consulted some of the antient inhabitants, was answered, that the only remedy to that evil was, to send the *Hebreus* thither again, which that prince having agreed to, a place of rendezvous was appointed for the *Jews* and *Siebemites* to return together each into their own land.

Here a dispute arose between them, whether they should go and rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*, or that of *Garizzim*. *Zerubbabel* was for the former, and *Sanballat* for the latter, and each pleaded the sanction of the pentateuch; and each pretended, that the copy of his antagonist was corrupted, that of the former

being expressly for *Jerusalem*, and the other for *Garizzim*.

To end the dispute, they agreed, that that copy, which withstood the fiery trial, should be the authentic one; upon which *Zerubbabel* having flung his own into the fire, it was immediately consumed, whereas that of the *Samaritan* chief came three times untouched out of the flames.

This miracle, they add, having determined the controversy in their favour, the king honoured them with rich presents, and sent *Sanballat* at the head of his ten tribes to take possession of mount *Garizzim*, where he built the temple in dispute. This account they give us out of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, which they pretend to be of great antiquity and authority; but those who have examined it, tell us, that it was written in the reign of some of the Christian emperors, and after *Constantine* (8), unless we suppose it to have been continued from time to time. However, let the chronicle bear what date it will, it is plain by the *Samaritan* woman's question to our Saviour (9), *Our fathers worshipped on this mountain, and ye say, that Jerusalem is the place*, that they claimed this authority long before; and accordingly their pentateuch, of which we shall speak by-and-by, among other interpolations, has changed the word *Ebal* for that of *Garizzim*, wherever those two mountains come in competition.

The *Jews* on their side have

(6) 1 Kings ch. xii. § 3 seq. (7) 2 Kings ch. xvii. (8) Dr loc vid. int. al. Hottinger. lib. *Tosue, seu cbion, Samarit. in exercitat. Antimerin.* (9) *Tobit* v. 20.

Their religion. 1. THEY believe in one God, and his servant *Moses*; and that *Garizzim* is the only place of God's worship (D).

not been sparing of their fictions, as if they had chosen to confute their antagonists by this way, rather than by the authority of the sacred books. *Josephus* tells us of much such another contest that happened in *Egypt*, between those of his nation and the *Samaritans*, about those two temples; and which arose to such an height, that it was like to end in a sedition, had not *Ptolemy Philometor* put an end to it in the following manner (1).

He ordered the contending parties to bring their cause before him, and to have it pleaded by proper person., with this condition, that those who were cast should lose their heads. There appeared but one advocate for the *Jews*, viz. *Audronicus* the son of *Messalami*; but he pleaded his cause so well against his two antagonists, whom our author names *Sabbæus* and *Theodore*, that he gained his point, and they lost their lives (2).

Another antient author (3), whom the *Jews* pretend to have lived before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but by his mentioning of the *Seracæn* empire, must have wrote at least six hundred years after (4), tells us, that when *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were rebuilding of the temple, the *Samaritans* came with an army of an hundred and eighty thousand men to besiege *Jerusalem*; but that those two chiefs having assembled three

hundred priests, pronounced the higher excommunication against them (5). These priests were followed by three hundred young men, who held each a copy of the *Mosaic* law in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, which they blew whilst the priests were excommunicating them, upon which they were immediately put to flight.

(D) The *Jews*, say they, follow other teachers, other precepts, taken from their other books, traditions, and expositions: we stick close to the five books of *Moses*, and reject all other writings, all other authority and interpretation, and guide our faith and practice solely by the precepts of our lawgiver. Accordingly they never admitted any other books but the pentateuch.

In consequence of this, they reject all the prophetical and historical books, as written in favour of the *Jews*, and especially of the house of *David*; they despise the *Jewish* pretence of oral tradition, and all their targums and talmuds.

They value themselves for having preserved the antient *Hebreo* character, and curse the new one, which was since introduced by *Ezra*, whom they brand with the name of impostor, and who, they pretend, substituted it to the *Mosaic* one, for the sake of those other books which he foisted into the *Jewish* canon (6).

(1) *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 6.
part. i. c. 1, & seq.

(2) *Vid. Basnage histoir. des Juifs*, tom. ii.

lib. vi. sub an. 409, & aut. ab eo citat. (4) *Prid.*

133, & seq. & not. (E). (5) *De hac vid. sup. vol. iii. p.*

Vid. Basnag. ubi supra, cap. 3, & 4. l. vii. c. 25,

Vid. & vol. iii. p. 210, & seq.

2. THEY always circumcise their males on the eighth day, never deferring it upon any account, as the Jews do, some of them till the hour of death (E).

3. THEY never allow themselves two wives, or to marry their nieces; but the Jews do both.

4. THEY are bound to wash themselves every morning, after either matrimonial coourse, or any accidental defilement; so that they look upon every vessel and household-stuff they touch before such an ablution, to be polluted.

5. THEY observe the sabbath with the greatest strictness, abstaining from matrimonial commerce on that night, lighting no fires, nor stirring from their houses, unless to go to the synagogue, where they read some portion of the pentateuch, offer up their prayers to, and sing the praises of God.

6. Of all their solemn festivals, the passover is by them esteemed the chief: they likewise observe the other two of pentecost, and of tabernacles, with great exactness, and the grand fast of expiation with uncommon strictness.

7. THEY never offer any sacrifice but on mount *Garizim*.

8. THEY boast a continued succession of priests, from *Ruz* the son of *Phinehas*, the catalogue of which is preserved by them with the utmost strictness; and their high-priest always makes his residence at *Sichem*, now called *Naplosse*; from whence he issues out his directions to the whole sect for keeping their festivals, and whatever relates to the *Mosaic* observances (F). From this short scantling of their faith and practice,

° Vid. int. al. *BASNAG.* ubi supra.

(E) Especially in countries where they are not tolerated, such as *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, &c. and where, for fear of being discovered by the scar of circumcision, they wholly neglect it, and outwardly conform to the religion of the country for the sake of trade. Some of them, however, when they are grown either rich enough, or old and qualmish, will come over into *England*, *Holland*, &c. to be circumcised. As for those that die without circumcision, some of their friends generally come and circumcise them in their coffin,

and lay the prepuce by them, after which the coffin is immediately nailed up, and carried to the grave.

(F) This sect is still very numerous, not only in their metropolis, but in *Damascus*, *Gaza*, *Cairo*, and other parts of the Ottoman empire, besides those which are dispersed into the northern parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. But so ignorant are those of *Turky*, especially of cosmography, whatever they may be as to their religion, that they took the *English* Jews to be of their sect, and *England* to be only a considerable

practice, one would be apt to conclude, that, except those points, which related to their schism, they had been much stricter observers of the *Mosaic* law, than the *Jews*; but, whatever they may have proved in later times, we shall meet with such flagrant instances of the contrary in the sequel of this and the next section, as will easily evince how ready they were, upon the least danger of persecution, or severe usage, from their governors, to sacrifice their religion to their interest and safety (G).

How

siderable city (7), as appears by a letter they wrote to them some time since, and mentioned by the author last quoted; but if they really held those tenets which the *Jews* attribute to them, they must have been no less ignorant in point of their religion. Among other errors they charge them with, that of believing the Godhead to be a corporeal Being, would be sufficient to shew their stupidity; but *Credat Iudeus*.

Epiphanius, who ranks them in the catalogue of his heretics, tells us, that they worshiped the *traphim*, which *Rachel* had stolen from her father *Laban*, and which they digged up from under the oak in *Sichem*, where *Jacob* had buried them: but it is likely he took up this calumny upon some *Jewish* authority. He adds, that they were, like the *Jews*, divided into four sects (8); and gives us there the different tenets of each: but they are not worth dwelling upon.

A modern traveller informs us, that in a letter they wrote to him (9), they acknowledged the book of *Joshua*; but they meant most probably their chronicle we have lately mentioned, and which they stile the book of *Joshua*. However, a more righteous judge

than the *Jewish* rabbies has summed up their character in few words, when he told them, that they worshiped they knew not what, and that salvation was of the *Jews* (1).

(G) However, even in this one point of their schism, it is manifest, they were guilty of most flagrant forgery in corrupting the pentateuch in many places, in order to colour their setting up a new temple with some shew of divine authority. It is true, all the variations of this book are not of the same heinous nature: some of them seem even imputable to the ignorance of the transcribers from the new *Chaldee* of *Ezra* to the old *Samaritan* character, such as their often mistaking of letters, in the former by reason of their similitude, as the *beth* for the *capb*, the *daleth* for the *reph*, which in the *Samaritan* are very unlike. Others again may be looked upon as explanatory interpolations, such as we have observed, *Joshua* and his successors down to *Ezra* and beyond, have thought necessary to add to the text*. But there are certainly several notorious ones, which could not but be designedly made to support their cause against their *Jewish* antagonists,

(7) *Zid. Basnag.* l. viii. c. 25. (8) *Hatzf.* 9. (9) *Ludolph's* letter printed
an. 1688. (1) *John* iv. 22.

* See before 198, &c seq.

How and when this manuscript came into the hands of the *Samaritans*, is hard to guess. The general opinion is, that it was brought into *Samaria* by the priest, whom *Ezrabbaddon* sent to instruct the new inhabitants of that country. The book was not unknown to several antient fathers, particularly *Origen* and *St. Jerom*, who both understood the *Hebrew* tongue; but they have given us no light about it. The opinion of some learned moderns ^P is, that it was brought to *Samaria* by *Manasses*, *Sanballat's* son-in-law lately mentioned; and that it was transcribed from that of *Ezra*, since we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inspired scribe is supposed to have made to those five books; and consequently could be of no older date, much less have been brought by that *Hebrew* priest above-mentioned (H). However,

^P F. SIMON. hist. crit. V. T. l. i. c. 10. PRID. ubi supra.

nists (2), and sufficient to convince an impartial reader, that this *Samaritan* is not the only true authentic copy, because in the old *Hebrew* character; and that of *Ezra* only a transcript of it, because in the now-introduced *Chalde*, as some learned men have thought; and particularly a modern one (3), who has given it by far the preference above the *Jewish*. Those who are acquainted with his notions, need not be told what induced him to this unaccountable partiality.

(H) If it be asked, how he could instruct those strangers in the worship of God, unless he had brought some such book along with him from the place of his captivity; some answer, that he taught them no more than he knew by tradition (4); others distinguish between the whole pentateuch, and an epitome of the law contained in some of the chapters of *Deuteronomy* (5), which is that which they suppose he

brought with him to *Samaria*, since both kings and priests were bound to keep a copy of it written with their own hand.

A late critic has made a bold, but strange path, to reconcile all these difficulties, by absurdly supposing the pentateuch to have been written on the other side *Euphrates*, by the priest, who was sent from thence into *Samaria*, for the instruction of those strangers. To this end, he, it seems, thought fit to give them a short sketch of the creation, flood, and other occurrences, that happened before the giving of the *Mosaic* law; and that he wrote it in the old *Hebrew*, because he was unacquainted with the *Chalde*; and that this happening precisely at the time, when the *Jewish* volume of the law was found out by the high-priest, and brought to *Jerusalem*, he got a copy of it, and inserted it at the end of his own work, as very proper to bring men to the knowlege of

(2) See Prid. cont. part i. lib. vi. & alib. Hettirger ubi s. p. Cap. 11. Basnag. ubi sup. & al. mult. (3) Whiston. (4) Prid. ubi supra.

(5) Vandv. p. 3. ad M. min. in tractat. de id. lib.

*Two ver-
sions of the
pentateuch.*

*How
brought
into Eu-
rope.*

ever, each system has its difficulties, which are not easily solved: all that we shall add concerning this book is, that, besides this copy written in their old character in the Hebrew tongue, they had another written in the vulgar language spoken among them, because, like the Jews, they had forgot the old Hebrew, and were accustomed to a mongrel mixture of *Affyrian, Babylonish, and Chaldee*. Besides this, they had a Greek version of it for the sake of their hellenistical brethren, as the Jews had the *Septuagint*; and it is probable, that this was the version which is mentioned by several antient fathers ⁴, since they cannot be supposed to have understood either the original one, or the vulgar version of it. The old Hebrew copy afterwards remained unknown to the Christians, during near ten centuries. *Scaliger* was the first modern, who got intelligence of it; after which it was brought over into *Europe*, and printed in the polyglots of *Paris* and *London*; the latter of which is by far the best and most correct, as well as the *Latin* version of it ⁵: the further particulars of it we refer to the note (I).

WE

⁴ AFRICAN. EUSEB. DIOD. TARSENS. &c al. ap. PRID. ubi supra.
⁵ Vid. SCALIG. de emend. temp. c. 7. USSER. epist. ad L. CAPEL. WALTON. proleg. in Polygl. MORIN. PRIB. & al.

the one true God; and, lastly, that the Jews, finding nothing to object against the author, or his work, have adopted the latter as conformable to their law and history. This critic has not ventured to set his name to his book, but sent it abroad under a fictitious title (6): however, *Ex angue leonem*; he was not long undiscovered or unconfuted.

Upon the whole, the general opinion is, that this pentateuch was brought by the priest sent by *Ezrabaddon* into *Samaria*; and that, after the rupture of the Jews and *Samaritans*, the latter wilfully corrupted those places of it which made against them; and consequently that the Jewish one

is by far the more authentic of the two.

(1) *Scaliger*, having received from the *Sicemites* an account of this pentateuch by a letter, which he published anno 1676. did in another work (7) complain, that none of the learned of Europe had endeavoured to procure some copies of it, seeing it might probably be of great service in adjusting the scripture-chronology. This awaked the curiosity of archbishop *Ussel*, who, as he tells us in his letter to *L. Capellus*, had observed, that this book had been quoted by several antient fathers, and other writers, down to *Procopius* of *Gaza* and *Synecellus*, and particularly by the learned *Origen*

(5) *Sentimens de quelque theolog. de Hollande.*
I, viii.

(7) *De emendat. temp.*

WE return to *Judea*, which we left in the possession of the *Judean king of Egypt*, but which he was, about five years after, forced ~~yielded to~~ to abandon to *Antigonus* and his son, who came against him *Antigonus with a superior army*. *Ptolemy* contented himself with ~~desires~~ commanding the cities of *Acre*, *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Cæsarea*, and with carrying off an immense booty, as well as a great number of inhabitants, whom he settled in *Alexandria*, and endowed with considerable privileges and immuniti^es, as *Alexander* had done before him. He was then designing to make that city the metropolis of *Egypt*, and was so well satisfied with the faithfulness and usefulness of the *Jews*, that he spared no encouragement to allure them thither; insomuch that vast numbers flocked continually thither from *Judea* and *Samaria*, desiring to live under so generous and friendly a prince in a foreign country, rather than in their own, under the fluctuating government of so many contending tyrants (K).

Selucus

in his book against *Celsus*. From that time this great prelate spared neither pains nor cost, till he had procured five or six copies of it from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and compared them with the *Jewish*; and here he thought he had found out the person who had corrupted them, namely, one *Dositheus*, mentioned by *Origen* against *Celsus*; but this discovery has not been universally received. However, it is from his copies that *Walton* (8) printed that pentateuch in his polyglot: since then several other copies were procured from the same place by other learned persons in *Europe* (9). Those who are willing to know more of the *Samaritans*, and their pentateuch, may consult, besides the letters of *Scaliger*, *Ludolph*, and *Usher* above-mentioned, the authors quoted below (1).

(K) Thus was *Judea* become the subject of the disputes of, and scene of war between *Antigonus*

king of *Upper Asia*, *Selucus*: king of *Syria*, and *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. The partisans of this last pretended, that he had not undertaken to put *Asia* under the government of *Selucus*, but upon condition, that *Cœle-syria* and *Phœnicia* should be relinquished to him (2). Those of *Selucus* on the contrary maintained, that *Ptolemy* was no further concerned in the war, than to help him to conquer those provinces allotted to them; in proof whereof, they urged, that after the defeat of *Antigonus*, *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* had assigned those provinces to *Selucus* (3). Accordingly we find, that this last enjoyed that of *Judea* some time, with a tax of three hundred talents of silver, upon condition that the *Jews* should be governed by their own laws, and that their high-priests should be their only governors (4).

Among those *Jews* whom *Pto-*

(8) *Proleg. II. ad Polyglott.* (9) *Vid. Morin. exerc. I. in Pentat. Serrar. Calmet. Prid. &c al.* (1) *Hottinger. ubi supra. Cellar. Lightfoot. for. Hebr. P-vid. ubi supra. Basnag. tom. ii. p. 1. c. I. & seq. &c al.* (2) *Jof. pl. antiqu. I. xii. & cont. Apion. I. i. & ii.* (3) *Vid. Usser. sub A. M. 3721.* (4) *Vid. Sulpius. Sever. bistor. sacr. I. ii.*

Year of
the flood
2036.
Bef. Chr.



Seleucus's friendship of the Egyptian king, a character which was quite opposite to that of Antigonus; who was of such a fierce nature, that he stuck at no cruelty, falsehood, or tyranny, that served his turn.

This made great numbers of the Jews fall away likewise from that tyrant to Seleucus, who gave them much the same privileges and franchises that his competitor did in Egypt^s. He built sixteen cities in Lesser Asia, which he, from his father, called Antioch; nine he called by his own name, and six by that of his mother Laodicea; three from his first wife Apamea, and one from Stratonice his last wife; in all these he settled such considerable colonies of the Jews, especially at Antioch in Syria, that they became almost as considerable a part of those cities, as they were at Alexandria. Hence that nation came to spread themselves over Syria and Lesser Asia, whilst Judaea became yet thinner of its own inhabitants, till it was again recovered by Ptolemy; after which they came still over to him from the provinces of Antiochus, and increased the number of those whom he found in Babylon; from all whom he received such considerable services, that he spared no favours nor encouragement to bind them to his interest.

Year of the flood 2056. Bef. Chr. 292. SOON after the recovery of Judaea by Ptolemy Soter, died Simon the Jewish high-priest, in the ninth year of his pontificate^t. He had succeeded his father Onias, and had been so eminent for his sanctity and integrity, which shone in all his actions, that he was surnamed the just. He was the first pontiff of that name, and the excellent character, which the high-priest dies. See before, vol. ix. p. 174, & seq. & notes. EUSEB. chron.

lemy's kindness drew into Egypt, Josephus (5) mentions Heczebias, one of the chief priests, a man of learning and probity, and about sixty years of age, who became acquainted with Hecataeus the Abderite, a person trained up under Alexander the Great, and now in great credit at the Egyptian court. Him Heczebias did so well inform of the religion, laws, and customs of the Jews, that he wrote a history of that nation, down from Abraham to his time. The book is now lost; but Jo-

siphus quotes so many passages out of him in favour of the Jews, that an heathen writer, who lived in Trajan's time, did very much question either the genuineness of the book, or the sincerity of the author (6). Had he been better acquainted with them, he would never have called either in question; and it is more than probable, that Hecataeus's high opinion of them procured the nation greater favours from Ptolemy, than they might have otherwise met with.

(5) Lib. i. cont. Apion.

(6) Herenn. Phil. apud Origen. cont. Cels. lib. i.

author

author of *Ecclesiasticus* gives of him^u, shews, how highly he deserved the surname which his nation had given him. But he was no less remarkable for his other virtues, as a Jewish prince and governor; witness his repairing and fortifying the temple and the city with high and strong wall, his famous cistern covered with brass, which he caused to be made in *Jerusalem*, as a reservoir for water, and which was of such capacious circumference, that the author above-quoted compares it to a sea; but his most considerable work was, the finishing the canon of the *Old Testament*, of which we have already spoken (L). He left a son, named *Onias*; but he being then but an infant, *Eleazar*, *Simon's* brother, was substituted high-priest in his stead. He executed this office fifteen years, but with this difference; that whereas all the high-priests before had sat as presidents of the synagogue, or grand council of the Jews, *Simon* was succeeded in this last dignity by one *Antigonus* of *Socho*, a person of great learning and piety ^w. This man, who

^u Ch. 1. i. & seq. ^w De hoc vid. lib. *Juchasin*, *Shalshel*. *EL. LEVITA*. in *Cabbala*, & al.

(L) It has been already observed, that the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and of the *Chronicles*, could not have been inserted into the canon by those two inspired writers; first, because there are in them some marginal corrections, which must have been inserted by some of their successors; and, secondly, because some genealogies are carried down vastly beyond their time, some even to that of *Alexander the Great* *.

The book of *Ester* likewise seems to have been written after their time, and, as some think, the prophecies of *Malachi*. As therefore this *Simon the Just* is by all the Jews mentioned as the last of the great synagogue we have elsewhere spoken of, and was a man of such eminent piety and learning, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he put the finishing stroke to the sacred

code, either by inserting the books above-mentioned, or, if they had been received before, by revising and giving his sanction to them.

From this pontificate is dated the completing of the sacred canon of the *Old Testament*, which was thenceforward received and conveyed without revival or correction. From this time the Jewish doctors applied themselves wholly to study, explain, and comment upon them; and their expositions were in time received with as much submission, as the sacred books themselves.

We have formerly taken notice of several great benefits, which heaven poured down on the Jews, during his pontificate (7). The *Talmudists* have collected a much greater number of them, equally surprising; but for which we shall refer the curious reader to their books (8).

* See before p. 193, &c. seq.

(7) *Mishna in Tora*, *Minor in jam. batipilur.* (8) *Voi. iii. p. 48, sub fin. note (T).*

the Jews tell us, was the master of *Haddoc*, the chief of the *Sadducean* sect, taught, that our serving of God ought to be free, either from slavish fear of punishment, or from selfish hope of reward; and be wholly disinterested, and flow from the pure love and fear of that Supreme Being. Hence his disciple being unable to relish such a spiritual doctrine, took it into his head, that his master meant no more by it, than that there were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so general among the richer sort of Jews, that they monopolized all the great places in church and state, as we shall see in due time (M).

Ptolemy, surnamed *Philadelphus*, having succeeded his father in *Egypt*, the Jews found in him as great a protector, as they had in *Ptolemy Soter*; and with this advantage, that the son, being a great lover of learning, and upon the point of rearing his noble library at *Alexandria*, as we have elsewhere described^x, strove to oblige them with greater favours than any of his predecessors had done, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books, to be translated into *Greek*, and deposited there among that immense number of volumes, which he had procured from all parts of the world. This version is that,

Sec vol. ix. p. 370, & seq.

(M) *Antigonus* by this became head of a new kind of synagogue, which continued from this time to that of *Jehudah Hakkadoth*, the compiler of the *Mishna*, as the old one had from *Ezra* to *Simon the Just*. The difference between them was, that the old one had bestowed their time and labour in collecting, revising, and completing the canon of the *Old Testament*; the latter were wholly employed in expounding and commenting upon it. These therefore, whom the authors of the *New Testament* call by different names, such as doctors, scribes, lawyers, rulers, and such-like, affected to call themselves *Tannaim*, or traditionalists⁽⁹⁾, because they handed down their expositions and doctrines by oral

tradition to their disciples; and their authority once quitted in any of their schools upon any point, either put an end to the controversy, or the recusant was looked upon as an apostate from his master; and as all other disputes in political affairs were to be decided by the law of God, of which these *Tannaim* were the interpreters, so they were chosen also to assist, and some of the most considerable for learning, zeal, &c. to preside in all the courts of judicature, from the sanhedrin or great council of the nation, consisting of seventy-two, down to the more inferior ones, which they had in every city; and upon this account they were also called counsellors⁽¹⁾.

(9) *Vid. Ruyter's lex. rabb. sub voc. תנא.* *xxxii. 50. Acts v. 34.*

(1) *See Mark xv. 43. Luke*

which

which is commonly known by the name of *Septuagint*: our great *Usher* places the making of it in the seventh year of that monarch's reign: we have already mentioned something of it in the place above-quoted, where we promised to speak more fully of it in this chapter. And indeed, when we consider how much this performance has been celebrated, not only by *An account* the most learned *Jewish* writers, but also by the antient *fa-*_{of the Sep-}*thers*, as well as many celebrated *mod-erns*; how much it has *tuagint* been extolled, as a work manifestly conducted by a mira-_{version.}culous providence, and as such referred to and quoted, both by our Saviour and his apostles, and by all the primitive writers of the Christian church; it will perhaps be expected, that we should be somewhat copious upon it. But when we reflect on the other hand, that all those extravagant encomiasts have not only blindly followed their romantic leader, but have in many cases embellished his surprising account of this transaction; that *Aristeas*, the first broacher of this history, has only covered himself with the personage, if not with the name *The author* of a heathen writer, and an officer of *Ptolemy*'s guards, that *of it a fa-* he might be the more liberal of his incense to the *Jewish na-bulous* nation; that he is guilty of several flagrant anachronisms, and of *writer*. a manifest falsehood at the very threshold of his account, where he makes *Demetrius Phalereus* the supposed promoter of this great work, a great favourite of the king, when the contrary plainly appears from what we have already said on that head in a former volume^y; when we consider that *Josephus*, *Ari-*_{Blindly}*Stobulus*, a *Jewish* peripatetic philosopher, *Philo*, the *Talmu-*_{followed}*dis*, and other rabbies, either only copied, or in some cases *by the* improved upon him; and lastly, that those antient fathers, Christians *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Austin*, *Epiphanius*, and others, have too greedily swallowed up the *Jewish* account of this pretended miraculous version, by reason of the preference which Christ and his apostles seem to have given it either to the original, or to the other versions then extant (not perhaps so much upon its being more authentic than any of them, much less than the original, as because it was the most in vogue, and best understood by the generality of the *Jews*); we hope, upon all these considerations, our readers will easily excuse our not entering into so spurious a field, and be content with the succinct account we shall now give them of it in the note (N).

ALL

^y *Ibid. p. 378, & seq.*

(N) The account we have of this version, out of the book which goes under the name of *Aristeas*, and out of those other authors who have followed him, is in substance as follows: *Ptolemy Philadelphus*,

ALL that we shall add here, will be two or three remarks concerning this work. The first is, that there was near that

Philadelphus, a great lover of learning, was enriching the noble library which had been begun by his father, when *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had the inspection of that work, acquainted him, that there were certain books held sacred among the *Jews*, which highly deserved a place in his collection, if they could by any means be procured. He advised him at the same time of a method, in all likelihood the most effectual, to prevail upon the *Jewish* sanhedrin to send those volumes, together with a sufficient number of learned men to *Alexandria*, to translate them into *Greek*; namely, by a general redemption of all the *Jewish* captives that had been taken during the late wars.

Upon inquiry, the number of them was found to amount to about an hundred thousand; at which *Ptolemy* was so far from being discouraged, that he caused an edict to be issued out for a total release, and the sum of twenty drachms *per head* to be paid for their redemption out of his own treasury; so that the whole amounted to six hundred and sixty talents. *Josephus*, who has only ab'dged that author, doth yet differ from him, in that he makes the price of every redeemed slave to have been an hundred and twenty drachms, and yet the sum total to have amounted but to four hundred and sixty talents, though there were, according to him, an hundred and twenty thousand persons released (2).

After this signal favour to the

Jewish nation, the king sent a splendid embassy, laden with presents, to *Eleazar* the then *Jewish* high-priest; who on his side readily complied with the king's request, and sent him with the copy of the sacred books, written in letters of gold, seventy-two *Jews*, well skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* tongues, and a letter of thanks for his noble presents, in which he congratulated him on his glorious undertaking, and wished him good success in it.

Ptolemy received the interpreters with uncommon respect, and paid such a regard to the sacred volume, that he bowed himself seven times down to the ground before it; after which he entertained his guests with suitable magnificence seven days successively, assuring them, 'hat he should esteem the day of their arrival as an addition to the glory of his reign. They were conducted three days after into the island of *Pharos*, which stood about seven furlongs from *Alexandria*, where *Demetrius* placed them in a sumptuous edifice, conveniently situated near the shore, and where they set immediately about the work.

Their method, according to *Aristaeus*, was to sit at it from six in the morning to three in the afternoon; after which they returned into the city, where they had their victuals and other necessaries prepared for them at the king's expence. Whenever any difficulty was started, they debated it in a full assembly; and when the point was settled,

(2) *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 2.

that time a version made of the sacred Hebrew books into Greek, and with which the hellenist Jews were so highly delighted, that,

fair transcript was made, and sent to *Demetrius*, till the whole version was finished, which took up only seventy or seventy-two days.

Philo, an *Alexandrian Jew*, who was sent on an embassy to *Caius Caesar*, soon after our Saviour's death, has greatly improved the story of *Aristeas*, and speaks of this version as altogether miraculous (3); for he adds, that upon comparing the several interpretations of those seventy men, which, according to him, had been carried on by each of them separately, there was not found so much as the difference of a word between them all; but that they had rendered every period, not only in the same sense, but in the same phrase, word, and order, throughout the whole; from whence he infers, that they were divinely inspired. He mentions nothing either of *Aristeas*, or *Demetrius Philaleus*, probably because he would not be suspected of having copied and enlarged the former.

Justin Martyr, who has adopted this extraordinary addition of *Philo*, tells us (4), that *Ptolemy* had caused the interpreters to be shut up, each in a separate cell, to prevent their communicating their thoughts to one another; that, by the conformity of their several translations, he might the more easily judge of the faith-

fulness of the whole version. He adds, that when they came to be compared together, there was such an exact conformity between them all, that the king, who looked upon it as altogether miraculous, sent the interpreters home laden with honour, and with the richest presents; and received their writings with that veneration which was due to books divinely inspired.

His account of this version is somewhat different in another work of his (5), where he tells us, that *Ptolemy* sent to *Herod* king of the Jews, for those sacred books; and that, upon their being sent in their original tongue and character, which were unknown in *Egypt*, he had been forced to send to him for some interpreters to translate them into *Greek*; which being likewise complied with, copies of that version were still every-where to be seen in the hands of the hellenist Jews in his time.

After this ample testimony of that good and learned martyr, we need not wonder if so many ancient fathers (6) have embraced the story, and looked upon that version as divinely inspired; and some of them have given it even the preference to the original, in those places where the difference between them could not be reconciled (7). *Epiphanius*, who lived about the middle of the

(3) In vit. Mos. l. ii. & Igit. ad Cesar. & dicitur con. Ayyalon. (4) Cel. stat. ad gentes, p. 14. (5) Apoteos. ii. (6) Iren. cont. Heret. l. 5. in. Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. 1. Hilar. in Ps. ii. & cxxx. Cyril Heret. Cat. 4. August. civit. Dei. l. xxvi. c. 3c. D. confess. evan. elyph. c. 60, & sib. Ph. 14. Britton. cap. 90. Vid. Prid. concil. fab. ann. 277. Hilar. in Ps. cxxx.

(7) Cel. stat. ad gentes, p. 14. (8) Iren. cont. Heret. l. 5. in. Cyril Heret. Cat. 4. August. civit. Dei. l. xxvi. c. 3c. D. confess. evan. elyph. c. 60, & sib. Ph. 14. Britton. cap. 90. Vid. Prid. concil. fab. ann. 277. (7) Ibid. int. al. Hilar. in Ps. cxxx.

*A feast
and fast
kept in me-
mory of
that ver-
sion.*

third century, and pretends to have preserved the letter which *Ptolemy* wrote to the *Jews*, to obtain this version from them, has given us a copious account of it (8); and to what has been said by *Aristeas*, and the other authors above-mentioned, has added some other circumstances by way of improvement; such as that there were but thirty-six cells, into which the interpreters were shut up by two in each; that they had no windows, but received their light from the top by sky-lights; that each couple had a book given them to translate, which when finished, was conveyed to the next cell, and so on to the third, fourth, &c. and thence to all the rest; by which means each book was translated thirty-six times; that they were confined to their work from morning to evening; after which each couple was conveyed in a separate boat to the royal palace; where they supped with the king; after which they were shut up, each in their separate chamber, till the next day, when they were again conveyed to their respective cells.

When the whole book of the *Old Test.* ent had gone through the thirty-six couples, their versions were read before the king, by thirty-six readers, whilst a thirty-seventh held the original in his hand, with which they were compared; and at the end were found to agree in every respect,

both with the *Hebrew*, and with each other, to such a degree of exactness, that *Ptolemy* looked upon those interpreters as divinely inspired, and caused their several works to be deposited in his library of *Bruchium*, which, as we have observed in the history of *Egypt* (9), held the first, as that which was called *Scrapaeum*, held the second rank.

The *Talmuds of Jerusalem* and *Babylon* agree in most of these particulars above-mentioned; but pretend that *Ptolemy* sent for those seventy-two *Jewish* elders, without acquainting them what work he designed to set them upon, till they were arrived at *Alexandria*, when he caused them to be all shut up, each in a separate cell, and gave them the sacred books to translate.

Lastly, and to name no more, *St. Clement of Alexandria* (1), and *Eusebius* (2), quote some fragments out of one *Aristobulus*, a peripatetic *Jew* of *Alexandria*, who is said to have written a comment on the pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to *Ptolemy Philometer*, to whom he had been tutor. In which dedication he mentions this *Greek* version, which had been made by *Ptolemy's* command, and under the direction of *Demetrius Phalerens*.

The two fathers above-mentioned quote this comment to prove the possibility of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Greek* philosophers, having taken most of

(8) *In lib. de ponder. & mensur. n. 9. &c seq.*

(1) *Sic. ap. lib. i. c. v.*

(2) *C. ap. christ. & prepar. evangel. l. vii.*

(9) *Vit. sup. vol. ix. p. 371.*

of *Pharos*, where it had been made by the seventy-two *Israelitish* elders: whereas the more zealous hebraizing *Jews*, who looked upon it as a vile profanation of their holy religion, conceived such horror against it, that they instituted a fast in memory of it. These even add, that the day on which it was began, proved as fatal to the *Israelites*, as that on which *Jeroboam* set up the golden calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and that the sky was covered with thick darkness three days successively^a. The *Samaritans* have likewise laid claim to the glory of this *Samaritans lay claim to it.*

^a In lib. *Sopherim*. Vid. & *SCALIGER*. not. in chron. *EUSEB.* sub ann. 1134.

their philosophy out of the sacred volumes, since they had been translated so long before in that known language.

The reader may see by what has been extracted out of all those authors, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, that the story of this version has gained considerably by every hand it has gone through; and this improvement, as well as some other variations which are found among those writers, is one main argument why the far greater part of our modern critics reject it as a *Jewish* device, calculated to advance the glory of that nation.

But this is not the only plausible argument against it. We have observed, in the text above, some material objections that are justly urged against the pretended *Aristeas*, who is the first writer of this story; particularly, that he was a *Jew* in disguise, notwithstanding his pretending to be an heathen, and one of *Ptolemy's* guards: and this appears first from his style, which is fraught both with hebraisms, and with panegyrics on the *Jewish* nation.

2. The praises he gives the *Egyptian* king and court are mostly

false, and all of them calculated to advance the credit of the *Jews*.

The vast expence which he makes *Ptolemy* to have been at, to get this version perfected, and which, put together, and computed at the most moderate rate, must have amounted to near two millions sterling; the sending for seventy-two elders, that is, six out of each of the twelve tribes, at a time, when the names and tribes of *Israel* were absorbed into that of *Jews*; the extraordinary answers which those interpreters are said to have given extempore to the king's questions; and lastly, the story of *Demetrius Pholercus* being such a great favourite with that monarch; and the victory which the latter is there affirmed to have gained at sea over *Antigonus*, and which is mentioned by no other writer; all these, put together, render the whole account very incredible. But our design is not here to confute it, but to direct our readers to those authors who have written more copiously on that subject, and which he will find below (3).

(3) *D. Pin. script. ecclesiast. part. i. c. 6. fig. 3. Simon. hist. v. T. l. ii. c. 2. I. J. H. Hodd., Pr. d. corrig. sub a. A. C. 27. Calv. fra. c. S. f. ante, &c. al.*

version, and pretend that their high-priest, as well as that of the *Jews*, having been invited by *Ptolemy* to come at the head of a number of learned men to carry on the work, upon a review of both translations, that of the *Samaritans* had been preferred to the *Jewish* one, and placed in the library of the *Egyptian* monarch.^b

BUT whether all the books of the *Old Testament* were translated at once, and by the same set of men, or, as some contend for, only the five books of *Moses*, we have no sufficient ground to affirm: the latter doth, however, appear the more probable of the two from the difference of style and exactness, which manifestly appears in them; for that of the pentateuch is not only more faithful and agreeable to the original, but seems somewhat more ancient, and in the *Alexandrian* dialect; whereas that of the other books is more loose and incorrect, and sometimes renders the same *Hebrew* word differently from that of the *Mosaic* ones, which seems to intimate, that they had been done by different hands, and at some distance of time. Thus much, however, is more than probable upon the whole, that if the first version went no farther than the pentateuch, the hellenist *Jews*, who found so great a benefit from it, did not go long without having all the rest of the sacred volume translated into the same tongue.

OUR next remark is, that the learned *Usher* has fixed the time of this version to this year, as he believed the main part of the history, which we have under the name of *Aristeas*, to be true and genuine; for, had he placed it later, it could not have coincided with the time of *Eleazar*, who is there mentioned as the *Jewish* high-priest, who sent the seventy-two translators into *Egypt*, and who died about the beginning of the following year; and, had he placed it earlier, it would have been before *Ptolemy* had married his sister *Arsonoë*; whereas the *Jewish* pontiff is there introduced as complimenting that princess, in his letter to the king, as his sister and queen.

OUR last and most material remark is, that whatever wonders and fables the *Jews* may have invented, and the *Christians* swallowed, concerning this version, yet it was not without the conduct of the divine Providence, that these sacred books were translated into a tongue so universally known and spoken, so many centuries before the completion of those prophecies, which they contained, and which were in due time to be fulfilled by and under the promised *Messiah*. Had those divine oracles been still kept in the hands of the *Jews*, and in their original *Hebrew*, till the preaching of the gospel, they must have lost a very considerable part of their evidence;

^b Lib. *Josue* sup. citat.

which,

which, by their being promulgated in so known a language, and dispersed so far and wide, is now rendered unquestionable and irrefragable (O).

We return now to the reign of *Ptolemy*, under whose benign Jewish influence the *Jews*, enjoying all the tranquillity they could by favourably make use of that interval to study and explain the sacred ^{ed} books. They kept open schools, and *Antigonus Sochorus* was ^{lemy;} at the head of them: he died in great esteem of his nation, though *Sadoc*, and another disciple, named *Baitus*, forsook him, and his doctrine, to spread their own new-fangled epicurism. He had two successors, namely *Joseph* the son of *Zozer*, who took the title of *Nassi* or prince, and *Joseph* the son of *John*, who took that of *Ab-beth-din*, or father or president of the sanhedrin; and these jointly read their public lectures at *Jerusalem*. The Jewish chronologers last-quoted place *Antigonus's* death about the end of the twentieth year of *Ptolemy's* reign.

^c *Pirke, Abboth. Juchasin, &c al. sup. citat.*

(O) The reader will doubtless agree, that, without such a version and publication of that sacred volume, it would have been extremely difficult, notwithstanding the manifest impossibility of a combination between the *Jews* and the *Christians*, to have persuaded an unbelieving world, that those prophecies had not been slamped, after their completion, as *Porphyry*, and other enemies of Christianity, absurdly affirmed: whereas this version, and universal dispersion of them through so many distant parts of the known world, put it beyond all question, that they were previous to their completion, at least by some centuries; and owe consequently their origin to persons divinely inspired. We have had occasion to speak of several of them in some of the former volumes; those that relate more particularly to the Messiah, will be best seen in the sequel of this chapter. We shall only observe, with respect to the latter, that when the primitive fathers, who were

ignorant of the *Hebrew*, quoted those prophecies from this *Septuagint* version, many of the hellenist *Jews* found themselves so straitly pinched by them, that they grew as much out of conceit with it, as they had before admired it. This dislike produced three other versions of it, which were afterwards known by the names of their authors, *Aquila*, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*, and, no unlikely also, that discordance, which is found in the various manuscripts of the old one, the antientest and most correct of all which, in the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is that which is known by the name of *Alexandrian*, and is now in the king's library at *St. James's*. A further disquisition upon this head would doubtless be out of our province; and it is, we hope, sufficient to have referred our readers in the foregoing note to those critics who have treated of it more at large.

by Antiochus Thicos. On the other hand, some other contending monarchs shewed no less a desire to ingratiate themselves to the *Jews*: particularly *Antiochus*, surnamed *Theos*, or *the God*, and grandson of *Selucus*, granted to those of *Ionia* the same privileges and franchises with the *Greeks*. This prince held out a long and bloody war against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which was at length terminated by a treaty of marriage, wherin the former was to marry *Berenice* the daughter of the latter, and to repudiate his first wife *Laodicea*; but he having broken his contract by a series of enormous murders, as we have elsewhere related^d, was become so odious to all his subjects every-where, that *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who had succeeded his father in *Egypt*, easily dispossessed him of the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besides several other cities of *A sia*; all which readily opened their gates to him upon his first appearing. *Euergetes*, in his return from all these conquests, past through *Judea* in his way to *Egypt*; and coming to *Jerusalem*, offered a great number of sacrifices at the temple there, as an acknowledgement for his late successes^e (P).

SOON after *Eleazar* died, and *Onias*, though above thirty years of age, was, for some reason or other, set by from the *Manasses* high-priesthood to make way for his great uncle *Alanass*, made high-priest the son of *Zaddua*, the uncle of *Simon the just*; but *M anass* being then very old, enjoyed it but a little while; and

Onias left it to *Onias*, who ascended the pontifical chair in the high-priest, thirty-second year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but in an unlucky hour for the *Jews*. Year of ^{2105.} the flood *Onias*, who was of a base, sordid spirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treasure, and was like to have ruined the ^{243.} Jewish state by his avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to save it.

Judea had till then been taxed at the yearly tribute of twenty talents of silver, which sum his predecessors had constantly paid to the kings of *Egypt*; but *Onias* growing more

^d See before, vol. ix. p. 196, & seq.
Apion. I. ii.

^e JOSEPH. cont.

(P) It is thought, that this preference, which that prince shewed to the God of *Israel* before the deities of *Egypt*, was owing to his having been shewed the prophecies of *Daniel*, in which those great and swift conquests had been foretold. By this time, *Onias II.* the unworthy son of *Simon the just*, was entered into

the pontifical office. During his minority, his uncle *Eleazar*, the brother of *Simon*, had been invested with that dignity, as was lately hinted, and enjoyed it near thirty years: it is during his pontificate that the *Septuagint* version above-mentioned is supposed to have been made.

covetous, as he grew older, had sunk that money into his *His*^{old} *fid-*
coffers, instead of sending it to the king's treasury. How *now*, like to
long he had gone on in *arrears*, our author doth not tell us; *have been*
but they were grown to such an height, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* *fel*^{to} *thought fit to send Athenion*, one of the officers of his court, to *the Jews*.
demand them of that pontiff, threatening him at the same
time, that if they were not immediately paid, he would drive
all the *Jews* out of their country, and repeople it with new
colonies of his own. This threatening and unexpected de-
mand put the whole city into the utmost consternation; and
Onias, who valued neither his dignity nor nation, in compari-
son of his money, was the only person who remained insen-
sible of the danger; being resolved to sacrifice both to the re-
sentment of that prince, rather than refund any part of his
stolen pelf. His sister had then a son by her husband *Tobias*,
who, though young, was highly esteemed for his piety,
justice, and prudence: he was then at his country-seat, whither
his mother sent him word of the peril in which her brother's
forsidness was like to involve the whole nation. *Joseph* (that Joseph's
was the noble youth's name) lost no time to come and expo-*policy to*
stulate with his uncle. He upbraided him in the strongest *save his*
terms for basely preferring his ill-gotten riches to the sacred-*country*.
ness of his function, the safety of his country, and especially
of his friends and relations; and, finding him deaf to all he
urged, advised him at least to take a journey into *Egypt*,
and endeavour to obtain a remission, either of the whole, or
part of the debt. All the answer he could get from the resty
old pontiff was, that he never coveted either his dignity or
government; and that he was resolved to forego them both,
rather than take such a long journey. There being no remedy *Goes into*
left, but to offer himself to go and apply to the *Egyptian* *Egypt*.
monarch, he easily obtained his uncle's consent to it. He
then convened the people in the temple, at that time the usual
place for holding their public assemblies; and there endeavoured
to dissipate their fears, by promising them, that he would shortly
go down into *Egypt*, and find some effectual means, if
they approved of his enterprize, to reconcile the king to
them.

His proposal having been received with universal applause,
Joseph went immediately to *Athenion*, invited him to his house,
and entertained him in a sumptuous, but obliging manner, all
the rest of the time he stayed in *Jerusalem*; and, upon his de-
parture, made him several considerable presents. This noble
carriage failed not to have the desired effect. The *Egyptian* *His success*
deputy promised to set the whole matter in a favourable light *there*.
before the king; and *Joseph*, on the other hand, promised to
allow him soon after, and to give that monarch full satisfaction

Athenion's
friendship
to him.

for all that had passed during his uncle's government. Both these punctually performed their promise: *Athenion*, upon his arrival at court, loudly exclaimed against *Onias*'s sordidness, but said at the same time so many things in praise of his nephew, that *Ptolemy* had already conceived an high esteem for him; and *Josiph*, on the other hand, having borrowed twenty thousand marks from the bankers of *Samaria*, set out for *Alexandria* with an handsome equipage. How he was received, and what succets he met with, at the *Egyptian* court, we have seen elsewhere*: so that, having by his address obtained the farming of the provinces of *Cœle-syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Samaria*, and borrowed a considerable sum of his *Egyptian* friends, he returned to *Jerusalem*, attended with an escort of two thousand men, to assist him in collecting the royal tribute, and to punish those who should refuse to pay it: the succets of whose commission the reader may see in the note (Q).

IN

* Vol. ix. p. 391, & seq.

(Q) The *Aascalonites* were the first who felt the severe effects of his authority. They had not only disobeyed his commands, but had even loaded him with bitter invectives, so that, to prevent the infection spreading further, he was forced to make a severe example of them to the rest. He caused twenty of the ringleaders to be hanged, and confiscated their estates, out of which he sent a thousand talents to the king, with an account of what he had done. He treated the inhabitants of *Scythopolis* after the same manner; and these were the only ones that ventured to follow those of *Aascalon*: the rest being all overawed, did willingly open their gates, and pay their taxes; and *Josiph*, at the same time that he remitted them into *Egypt*, did from time to time send some presents to his friends there, to keep up his interest at court. As for the king, he was so pleased with such a considerable augmentation of his revenue, that he continued him in his office two-and-twenty years,

during which time he gained an immense treasure, under the reigns of three *Ptolemies*, namely *Euergetes*, *Philopator*, and *Epiphanes*, the son of *Philometor*, who was dispossessed of those provinces by *Antiochus the Great*, as we have shewn in a former chapter. After which *Epiphanes* having again recovered them by a marriage with *Antiochus*'s daughter, he was also restored to his farms, and enjoyed them many years after, even, as our Jewish historian tells us, to the day of his death. The reader may see what we said on this head in the place above quoted.

Josiph by this time had seven sons by one of his wives, and an eighth named *Hyrcan*, by his brother *Selinus*'s daughter, whom he had made him marry, instead of a beautiful *Egyptian* dancer. *Josiph*, whilst in *Egypt*, had seen this fair woman at some of the public shews, and was fallen in love with her; he was ashamed to discover his weakness to any but his brother, who promised to procure her to him; but, instead of

IN the interim, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopator*, succeeded Ptolemy his father *uergetes* in *Egypt*, not without strong suspicion of Philopator's having dispatched him by poison, as he was indeed profligat^e enough for such a deed; and *Simon II.* had succeeded his *Simon II.* father *Onias* soon after in the high-priesthood at *Jerusalem*. *high priest*. This pontiff was of a quite different spirit from his father; he was a man of great piety and zeal, of singular conduct and the flood courage; all which were put to a severe proof, before he had passed the first year of his pontificate. He was moreover free from that sordidness and avarice which had proved so detrimental to the Jewish state during his father's office; for, besides those dangers which his wife nephew had the address to avoid, they had suffered a constant series of evils from the *Samaritans*, ever since these last came to be aware of the baseness of the Jewish pontiff. Nothing less indeed could be expected from that exasperated nation, who watched all opportunities to vent their malice, than that they should take the *rasset by advantage of their weak government to insnare and oppress the Samaritans*. Accordingly, *Josephus* tells us, there was scarce a year in which they did not make some incursion, ravage the country, and carry away captives, during the whole time of *Judaea sa-* that cowardly priest^s. But, to return to *Philopator*, *wived by Ptolemy* remember he was likely to have lost *Palaestina* by the treachery of *Theodore*, governor of *Phœnicia*, who had rebelled against him, and engaged to put that province, together with those of *Judaea* and *Cœlesyria*, into *Antiochus*'s hands, who had always looked upon them as dismembered from his own kingdom. The plot having been timely discovered, *Antiochus* openly invaded Galilee, took a great many cities on both sides *Jordan*, particularly *Philoteria*, on the north side of the sea of *Tiberias*, *Bethshan*, or *Scythopolis*, on the south, and *Ittabrium*, strongly situated on mount *Tabor*. From thence he took all the land that had formerly belonged to the two tribes and half on the other side *Jordan*; but winter drawing near, he left five thousand men there under the command of *Hippolochus* and *Keraas*, two other revolters from *Ptolemy*, to

^s *Antiq. I. xii. c. 4.*

of her, he introduced his own daughter into his bed; and, when the cheat was discovered, *Selinus* so well expostulated the matter with him, that he easily convinced him, that he had acted a friendly part in preventing his exposing himself to the contempt of the *Egyptians*, by marrying

such a public actress. *Joseph*, satisfied with his reasons, took his new wife home, and had this *Hyrcan* by her, who proved such a promising youth, that he soon ingrossed his affection from all his other brethren, and the sequel will shew, that he was really deserving it (4).

(4) *Joseph. antiqu. I xii. c. 4.*

keep

Antiochus keep the country in awe till the next spring. By that time defeated **Ptolemy** came with such a powerful army against him, that by Philopator, he defeated him in a set battle, and forced him out of those provinces ; after which all the cities readily opened their gates to the conqueror, and sent their embassadors to make their submission and presents to him ^b.

THE **Jews**, always attached to the *Egyptians*, were some of the forwardest to come and congratulate him upon his late success. They were kindly received by him, and, among other marks of his favour, he told them, that he designed to go to *Jerusalem*, and offer his sacrifices to their **God**. He did so accordingly, and, besides a great number of victims which he there offered, he made some considerable presents to the temple ; but this munificence gave them but a short-lived joy, which was soon after turned into the deepest mourning.

The temple of its worship, unhappily raised in the king a curiosity of profaned seeing the inside ; and **Simon II.** who then officiated as high-priest, failed not to represent to him the sacredness of the place ; the entrance of which was by their law forbid not only to strangers, but even to the **Jews** themselves, who were not of the sacerdotal order : he even ventured to denounce some heavy punishment from **God**, in case he presumed to profane the temple ; whilst the priests were humbly surrounding him to obstruct his passage, and the people, in the utmost consternation, sending up their cries to heaven to avert his design.

All this opposition made that obstinate monarch more resolute, and, having forced his way through the outward courts, he was going on to enter into the holy place itself, when **God** smote him with such a dread and terror of mind, as put a full stop to his further progress. He was carried out half-dead by his attendants, and as soon as he was come to himself, instead of adoring the powerful hand that had smitten him, he breathed out the most dreadful threats, not only against those who had dared to oppose his will, but against the whole nation. Soon after which he departed from *Jerusalem*, full of the deepest resentment, the sad effects of which he was not long before he made them feel, by one of the dreadfiest persecutions

His miraculous punishment, and resentment against the Jews.

that that unhappy nation had ever suffered, but which was happily stopped by the singular interposition of providence.

We have given an account of this wonderful change in the former volume¹ ; and all that we shall add here is, that as their constancy to their religion had obtained this miraculous deliverance, it drew as heavy a punishment on those who through fear had apostatized from it. **Ptolemy**, now more

^b Id. ibid. c. 4. 3 MACCAB. i. 1, & seq. ¹ Vol. ix. p. 398, & seq.

than ever convinced, that the *Jews* were protected by a divine power ; and that men, who could be thus faithful to their *God*, could never turn rebels to their prince (R) ; among other marks of his favour and high esteem, did at their earnest request grant them full power to inflict what punishment they thought fit on those few apostates, who were soon after put to death, to the number of three hundred, as a warning to future ages (S).

Ptolemy

(R) They gave that prince soon after a noble instance of this, when he was forced to make war against his rebellious *Egyptians*, in which the *Jews* proved so faithful to him, that sixty thousand of them lost their lives in one battle (5).

(S) The *Jews*, thus happily delivered, erected a stately pillar, and instituted a festival, in memory of it, which was observed during several centuries after. This remarkable history, however, has been omitted by *Josephus* ; he says nothing of it in his antiquities ; and, as for what we find of it in his book against *Apolion*, besides that it is only in the *Latin* version of *Rufinus*, and not in the original, it is there said to have happened under *Ptolemy Physcon*, so that the book out of which this persecution and deliverance were taken, seems to have been unknown to the Jewish historian.

It is improperly called the third book of the *Maccabees* ; for it is prior to the other two in point of time, and to the second book in point of authority. As for the word *Maccabee*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel, it was used by the *Jews* to signify those brave heroes, who either stood up in defence of, or suffered for

their religion ; and therefore that name is given to this book, as it contains the history of that persecution which the *Jews* suffered at *Alexandria*, and were like to have suffered in all the dominions of *Philopator*. Who the author of it was, is not there said ; but he is supposed to have been an *Alexandrian Jew*, who has embellished his history after the manner of his nation, with some enlargements, and couched them in a romantic style, not very likely to raise the credit of it, though the main purport of the story be nevertheless acknowledged to be true ; for the *Jews* have undergone many such persecutions, and have been often as wonderfully delivered.

The time in which this book was written, is thought to be after the other two of the *Maccabees*, and that of the son of *Sirach*, called *Ecclesiasticus* (6). What is related in the beginning concerning *Theodotus* and *Arsince*, seems taken out of *Polybius*, and therefore is supposed to have been written after this last (7) ; and yet both authors might have it from more ancient records, so that no sure inference can be made about it.

It was written originally in *Greek*, and is quoted by some ancient fathers (8) as canonical,

(5) *Euseb. chron. VId. Uffr. in anno 3789.*
(7) *Prid. coniect. sub an. 216.*

Albaras. synops. Nicépor. &c al.

(6) *Grot. Colin. &c al.*
(8) *Euseb. chronic. Theodoret. in Dan. xi. 7.*

Ptolemy Philopator died some time after, and left the kingdom to his son, surnamed Epiphanes^k; who, being then but Epiphanes between four and five years old, gave a handle to his two competitors, *Antiochus the Great*, and *Philip of Macedon*, to join the flood their forces to divest the young monarch of his whole kingdom (T): the former was to invade the provinces of *Palæstine* and *Phœnicia*, and the latter *Egypt*; and each was to keep all he conquered. On this occasion the Jews wanted loyalty failed them, so that they took part with *Antiochus*, who made a quick progress in that province; but was again as quickly deprived of it by *Scophas* the *Egyptian* general, who reduced

^{2144.} ^{204.} ^W See vol. ix. p. 402.

but disputed by others, and was once received in the same apostolic canon with the other two; but the *Vulgate* version has never admitted it, though the greatest part of the *Septuagint* copies now extant have it, particularly our *Alexandrian* one; but this last not being in use in the western church at the time of the reformation, but the *Latin* only, that is the reason why our *English* bibles have it not, though it may much better deserve a place there than some other apocryphal pieces that are in it.

There is still another book of the same name, commonly known by the name of the fourth book of *Maccabees*. We have often quoted it in the sequel of this chapter, though the author sometimes clashes with *Josephus*, and other historians. Archbishop *Usher* quotes likewise sometimes an *Arabic* version of it, which has been printed in Mr. *Le Tay's* polyglot; the book itself is very much unknown to the *Latin* fathers; and the *Greek* ones, by whom it is mentioned, differed much about its author. The reader may see all that is worth

knowing concerning it in *Calmet's* preface to it, and we shall here own, once for all, that it is to him we owe all the following quotations out of that book.

(T) The second year of this young monarch's reign being, according to the *Jewish* chronology, the three thousandth five hundredth and sixtieth year of the world; those authors tell us, that *Joshua* the son of *Barachiah* was chosen *nassi*, or president, and *Nathan* the *Arbelite*, *ab-beidin*, or vice-president of the sanhedrin, and of the divinity-school at *Jerusalem*. They add, that when *Alexander the Asmonean* king of *Judea* put the *Jewish* doctors to death, for having dared to rebuke him for taking upon him the high-priesthood, as well as the regal dignity, *Joshua* fled into *Egypt*; and that *Jesus of Nazareth* followed him thither, and became his disciple (9). This we chiefly hint at here, to shew what wretched chronologists the *Jews* are, since that *Jewish* year of the world was many years before that *Asmonean* king, and above two hundred years before the birth of Christ (1).

(9) *Abra. Zaccut, in Juchasin. David Gantz, in Zemakh. Dav. Shafsheb. Hac-cabal.*
 (1) *Vid. Prid. ubi supra, an. 202. Scalig. de emend. temp. Usser. &c. al.*

the *Jews* to their former obedience. This advantage, however, proved but short-lived, and the *Syrian* king soon recovered it Antiochus from him ; and in this second expedition the *Jews* did chus's ^{to} him such signal services, that he resolved to spare no favour to *neroſity* to fix them to his interest ; for when *Scophas* had only ^{the} *citadel* ^{the} *Jews*, of *Jerusalem* left, into which he had thrown a strong garison, they received the *Syrian* troops and elephants into that city, and assisted them with all their power to drive the *Egyptians* out of it, which was soon accomplished by their united strength (U).

Antiochus therefore, willing to gratify the *Jewish* nation for their so freely engaging in his interest against the *Egyptians*, sent a letter to *Ptolemy*, his then general, which has been preserved at large by *Josephus*¹ ; and in which, having related the great services which that people had done him, he acquaints him, that he designed to restore their metropolis to its antient splendor, liberty, and privileges, and to recall all those *Jews* ^{grants to} ^{the city} ^{and temple} who had been driven out of it : that, out of his singular respect to the temple of their God, he granted unto them twenty thousand pieces of silver, towards the charges of victims, frankincense, wine, and oil ; one thousand four hundred measures of fine wheat, and three hundred seventy-five measures of salt, towards their usual oblations : that the temple should be thoroughly repaired at his own cost : that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; restore the public service of the temple, and the priests, levites, singers, &c. to

¹ *Antiq. lib. xii. c. 3.*

(U) Our author does not tell us the reason of this defection ; but it is likely, that *Epiphanes*'s minority had encouraged his governors in those provinces to load them with heavy taxes, and such-like oppressions, especially *Scophas*, who was of such a rapacious temper, that he stuck at no rapine or cruelty to enrich himself.

On the other hand, *Antiochus* had shewed himself a great friend to the *Jews* that were in the province of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, and had granted them such great privileges, as might easily induce

those of *Judea* to prefer his government to that of the *Egyptians*, by which they were now so much oppressed. *Josephus* tells us further, that the *Babylonian* *Jews* had shewed such an attachment to that prince, and done him such signal services, that he confided the guard of his strongest and most considerable garisons to them, and sent them into several provinces to quell¹ his other seditious subjects : all which, being to many arguments of the great trust he put in them, could not but be highly pleasing to those of *Palaestina* (2).

(2) *Ast. l. xii. c. 4.*

their

*and other
privileges* their usual functions : that no stranger, or *Jew*, that was unpurified, should enter within the scpt (*W*) of that sacred place : and that no flesh of unclean beasts should be brought into *Jerusalem*, not even their skins ; all these under the penalty of paying three thousand pieces of silver into the treasury of the temple. He further granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the dispersed *Jews* that should come within a limited time to repeople that metropolis : and that all that had been sold for slaves, within his dominion, should be immediately set free. By all these extraordinary favours, *Antiochus* so fastened the *Jews* to his interest, that not only *Judea*, but all the other neighbouring provinces, readily submitted to him ; and that monarch, having in the space of one campaign subdued and quieted them, returned to his capital, and passed the winter there.

About three years after this died the high-priest *Simon II.* Chias III. and was succeeded by his son *Onias III.* a person of great piety, Year of clemency^m, and worthy to have lived in better times than the flood those of his pontificate proved, and of a better end than he
2140. met with, as the sequel will shew. This is the pontiff, to Bef. Chr. whom our learned Usher supposes *Araeus* king of *Lacedæmon*
203. sent a letter, of which an account has been given in a former

Seleucus succeeds Antiochus. tent a letter, of which an account has been given in a former volumeⁿ; but we have there shewn the impossibility of his being the person, and that it could be no other than *Onias* the first of that name. In the eighth year of *Onias III.* the *Jews* lost their great friend and protector *Antiochus*, who was murdered by the people of *Elymais*, as has been related in the former volume^m, but found as kind an one in his son *Seleucus* for some time. The *Jews* were then in such high esteem, that sovereign princes courted their friendship, and made magnificent presents to the temple; and *Seleucus* furnished out of his own treasury all the expences of it. *Judea* enjoyed a profound peace, and their laws were observed with great strictness under their worthy high-priest^p, until a misunderstanding which happened between him and *Simon a Benjaminite*, brought a series of evils on the *Jewish* state.

Onias had then enjoyed the sacerdotal dignity about sixteen years ; and *Simon* had been made governor of the temple ^{4.}

^m Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, & 5. Eus-
ⁿ Vol. vii. p. 130, & seq. (S).
^o Vol. ix. p. 230, & seq.
^p 2 MACCAB. iii. & seq.
^q Ibid. ver. 4, & seq.

(W) This inclosure, which the Hebrew calls *c'ei*, was that which separated the circumcised from the uncircumcised, within which therefore it was unlawful for the latter to enter (2).

(a) *P. J. M. et al., Lightfoot*

Digitized by Google

Perhaps

Perhaps that place was devolved to him from *Joseph*, the generous son of *Tobias* lately mentioned, whose son he is supposed to have been ; when an uproar happening in the city, between O-causec this fatal breach betwixt those two great persons in the eleventh year of *Seleucus*. The author doth not tell us upon what account this tumult was raised, and the conjectures of modern authors about it are scarce worth mentioning. But this contest, whatever it was, grew to such an height, that *Simon*, finding he could not get the better of the strenuous pontiff, went away to *Apollonius* the son of *Thrasiv*, who was then governor of *Cæleſyria* and *Paleſtine*, the only two provinces the Romans had left untaken from *Seleucus*^s, and acquainted *Simon's* him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple *treachery* of *Jerusalem*, which might at his pleasure be seized upon for the king's use. The governor sent to inform *Seleucus* (X) of it, who dispatched immediately *Heliodorus* to fetch it away to *Antioch*.

Heliodorus,

³ Liv. 1. xxxv. & seq. APPIAN. in Syriac. & al. ² MACCAB. iii per tot.

(X) It is plain from this whole story, which is taken from the second book of the *Maccabees* (4), and confirmed by *Josephus* (5), that *Seleucus* had enjoyed *Paleſtine*, *Cæleſyria*, and *Phœnicia*, some time before his death ; and how his father got these provinces from the king of *Egypt*, we have already seen ; but how they reverted to that monarch, after they had been restored to *Ptolemy* upon his marriage with *Cleopatra*, we can no-where find.

It is true, *Polybius* seems to intimate, that this restitution was never made to *Ptolemy* (6) ; but that both *Antiochus* and his son still kept those provinces in their hands after the marriage : and elsewhere he introduces *Antiochus Epiphanes* denying, that his grandfather had ever promised to surrender them to *Ptolemy* the king

of *Egypt* (7). Hence some have concluded, that they had never returned to the latter, but had been constantly kept by the three former.

But all this seems clearly contradicted by what *Josephus* affirms of *Hyrcanus*'s being sent to *Egypt* to congratulate *Ptolemy* on the birth of a son by his queen *Cleopatra*. Shall we then say, that *Joseph* sent this compliment to him, not as to his king, but as to his quondam benefactor ? But our Jewish historian adds, that all the nobility of *Cæleſyria* flock-ed thither on the same errand ; which plainly intimates, that he was in possession of those provinces.

We must therefore suppose, either that these compliments were paid to *Ptolemy* by the Jews and *Cæleſyrians*, as to the

(4) Cap. iii. & iv.
(5) Idem, lxxx.

(6) Lib. de Maccab.

(7) Legat. lxxii.

Heliodorus, the better to conceal the purport of his commis-
rus sent to him, pretended that he was ordered to go and view all the
Jerusalem cities of *Cœle-syria* and *Phœnicia*, and only to take *Jerusalem*
His grand in his way ; but when he came thither, where he was received
reception. by the Jews with singular honours, he acquainted *Onias* with
the orders he had received from the king, and made a more
particular inquiry after those treasures. The high-priest told
him, that there was indeed such a treasure in the temple, tho'
nothing so large as he had been informed ; that, besides those
things that had been consecrated to God, the rest had been
deposited there by or for the widows and orphans, for their
security, whose property therefore they were ; that a con-
siderable sum had been likewise laid up there by *Hyrcan* the
son of *Joseph*, a man of great dignity ; and that he, being the
guardian of this wealth, could never give his consent, that it
should be alienated from the right owners, to the disgrace of
his dignity, and of that sacred place, which was reverenced
by all the world : but all this not being sufficient to outweigh
the positive orders which *Heliodorus* had received from the
king, he marched directly towards the temple ; the high-
priest and the rest of the ministers of the place in vain en-
deavouring to obstruct his passage. Whilst the whole city was
in the utmost confusion, the gates of the place were ordered
to be broken down, and the *Syrians* were just going to enter,
Is punished when God smote them with such a panic terror, that they
by God. fell down half-dead (Y).

WHEN

son-in-law of *Antiochus*, to whom
those provinces were shortly to
devolve in virtue of the mar-
riage ; or else, that if they had
been really surrendered to him,
Seleucus took afterwards the ad-
vantage of his son *Philopator*'s
minority to divest him of them ;
since it is plain, by the history of
Simon's applying to *Apollonius*, of
Seleucus sending *Heliodorus*, and
of *Onias* applying himself, not
to *Ptolemy*, but to *Seleucus*, for
redress, that this last had posses-
sed them some time before his
death.

(Y) *Heliodorus* among the rest,
who saw a vision of a man on
horseback sumptuously dressed,

who flew upon him with the ut-
most speed and fury, and crushed
him under his horse's feet, was
forthwith carried out almost dead
by his men, and continued some
days in that condition. At length
Onias, fearing lest this wonderful
accident should bring the Jews
under the suspicion of having
made some unlawful attempt
against the Syrian minister, went
to the temple, and offered some
sacrifices for his recovery ; which
being obtained, he immediately
left *Jerusalem*, and went to ac-
quaint the king with what had
happened to him. *Seleucus* how-
ever, whether he suspected the
truth of his relation, or was re-
solved

WHEN the traitor *Simon* found, that he had missed his aim, he endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the good high-priest, pretending that he was the person who had called *Heliodorus* to *Jerusalem*; and drew such a party against him, that several persons were killed on both sides. At length *Onias*, *Onias goes fearing the consequences of such an intestine faction; especially to complain seeing his rival in high favour with Apollonius the then governor, went to complain to the king at Antioch.* He was well received, and *Simon* was thereupon banished; but *Simon bar-leucus*, dying soon after, was succeeded by his son *Antiochus*, nished. Surnamed *Epiphanes*, whose brutish character we have seen in a former chapter¹, and who soon made his subjects repent of the joy they had expressed at his first coming to the crown. The *Jews*, of all others, were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury, more through the ambition of some, and the factions and feuds which reigned then in that unhappy state, than the cruel temper of this new monarch.

HE was scarce settled on his throne, before *Jason* (Z), the brother of *Onias* the then high-priest, taking advantage of the king's penury, his treasury being quite exhausted by the large tribute his predecessors had paid to the *Romans*, went to *Onias*. *Antioch*, and procured from him the high-priesthood at the price of three hundred and fifty talents, and obtained an order, that his brother should be sent to, and confined to dwell at that metropolis (A).

¹ *Euseb.* in chronic.

Vol. ix. p. 276, & seq.

Ref. Chr.

175.

solved at any price to get the Jewish treasure, asked him further, whether he knew any man that was fit to be sent upon that expedition? *Heliodorus* answered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but send him to rifle that sacred place, and he would see him come back in such a condition, as would convince him, that it was under the protection of some divine and irresistible power (8).

(Z) This wretch was called *Iasua* or *Iesus*; but as he was going to purchase the favour of the king and court at the expence of every thing that ought to have

been valuable to an honest Jew, he began with changing his name into that of *Jason*, which he thought more conformable and pleasing to the Greeks, whose customs he was then going to introduce into his nation.

(A) Without this last, there would indeed have been little likelihood of his enjoying his ill-gotten dignity with any satisfaction, since the very presence of the deposed pontiff, so highly admired for his singular piety, must of course have revived the resentment and hatred of the people against him, and have proved a constant check to his authority (9).

(8) 2 *Maccab.* iii. 24, & seq.

(9) 2 *Maccab.* iv. 7, & seq.

Jason, finding how welcome this money was to the young monarch, and being desirous to lessen, as much as possible, the antipathy which other nations had against that of the Jews, offered him another sum of one hundred and fifty talents, for the liberty of erecting at *Jerusalem* a gymnasium or *Builds a place of public exercises*, such as were practised in *Greece*; *gymnasium* an academy for training up the youth after the *Grecian manner*, at *Jerusalem* and for the liberty of making such Jews as he thought fit, free of the city of *Antioch*; all which were readily granted to him.

Gains a strong party there. He then set out for *Jerusalem*, and with these powers formed so strong a party in *Judea*, as he thought would easily overbear that of his rival *Onias*, which was still very strong, especially in *Jerusalem*. Among those that joined themselves to this intruder, were the malcontent sons of *Joseph* lately mentioned, and a number of others, who, through a wanton inconstancy, were become excessively fond of the *Grecian customs*, and as weary of their own^w. The freedom of the city of *Antioch*, a very valuable privilege, was another bait, which drew still

Causes a general apostasy from the Jewish religion overspread the greatest part of the nation; the academies were erected by the usurping high-priest, both for their youth and for men grown; and as some of these exercises were to be performed naked, these vile apostates found means to efface the seat of circumcision, to prevent their being distinguished from other people. The priests, as well as the laity, from thenceforward neglected the service of the temple, to assist at these new heathenish exercises; and the laws, which the Jewish nation had obtained for the free exercise of their religion and rights, became of none effect, through the baseness of one single renegado, who sacrificed his religion and country to his ungovernable ambition.

Sends presents to Antiochus. As he stuck at nothing that could ingratiate himself to *Antiochus*, he sent the next year a number of his partizans, on sacrifice to whom he had bestowed the freedom of *Antioch*, to assist at the Hercules *Olympic games*, with a considerable sum (B) to be spent in

* Vide i MACCAB. i. 12, & seq. JOSEPH. ant. l. xii. c. 6.

(B) This sum, the common Greek copies say, was only three hundred drachms; but, as the learned Usher observes (1), this was too incon siderable a sum upon such an occasion, it amounting to but a little above eleven pounds sterling; and therefore

preserves the *Arundelian* manuscript, which calls it three thousand three hundred, which was a more likely present, considering the person who sent it, who was a man wholly devoted to that monarch's pleasure.

(1) See A. M. 3830.

sacrifices to the Tyrian Hercules, in whose honour those games were celebrated; but these men, whether out of conscience or fear, chose rather to make a present of it to the Tyrians; ^{His reception} towards the repairing of their fleet. *Antiochus* by this time ^{tion of An-} understanding that the young king of Egypt, now of age, *tiochus*. designed to attempt the recovery of *Palæstine*, *Phœnix* and *Cœle-syria*, made a tour into these provinces, and took *Jerusalem* in his way, where *Jason* received him with a magnificence suitable to the value he put upon that monarch's favour and friendship.

He did not however enjoy his ill-gotten dignity long, before *Supplant-* he was thrust out of it by his brother *Menelaus* (C), whom he *ed by his* had sent to *Antiochus* with the usual tribute. *Menelaus*, in- *brother*. instead of consulting the king about those matters which his brother had charged him with, took that opportunity to insinuate himself to him by the most flagrant flatteries; to *Menelaus* which having added the sum of three hundred talents more *buys the* than *Jason* had paid for the high-priesthood, he easily obtain- *high-* ed it, and returned with his new commission to *Jerusalem* in *priest-* the third year of *Jason*'s pontificate. He soon got himself a *bud*. strong party, at the head of which were the sons of *Tobias*, who were then very powerful in *Judea*; but *Jason* was not Year of without his powerful friends, who, detesting *Menelaus*'s trea- the flood chery, soon forced him to retire, with the heads of his fac- 2176. tion, into *Antioch*. Thither, the better to gain their point Bef. Chr. against *Jason*, they went, and acquainted *Antiochus*, that ^{172.} they were fudly resolved to forsake their old religion, and ^{~~~} wholly to conform to that of his country; wh^{ch} so pleased ^{Aposla-} that proud monarch, that he sent them back with a force ^{tizes.}

(C) This apostate's right name was *Onias*, which he changed for that of *Menelaus*, in imitation of his brother, and in complaisance to the Greeks. The book of the *Maccabees* (3) makes him the son of *Tobias*, and brother of the treacherous *Simon* above-mentioned; but if he had been of that family, he could not have entered into the sacerdotal office, without such a manifest violation of the *Mosaic* law, as would have set the whole Jewish nation against him; for tho' they proved

but too complying to the *Grecian* customs lately introduced, yet they seem to have had an invincible attachment to the *Aaronic* family.

Josephus therefore is most generally followed, who expressly tells us (3), that he was the brother of the deposed *Onias*, and of *Jason*; and that he did but re- quite the latter for having sup- planted the former, in which case the high-priesthood was still re- tained in the right line.

(3) *2 Maccab.* iv. 23.

(4) *Antiq. I. xii. c. 6.*

sufficient to drive Jason out of *Judea* into the land of the *Ammonites*. Being thus rid of his rival, and seated in his new dignity, his next care was to perform his promise to the king, and to outdo his brother in his apostasy ^x.

BUT whilst he was endeavouring, by all wicked means, to ingratiate himself with *Antiochus* and his court, he neglected one main article, the paying of the money he had promised to him, though *Sotratus*, then governor of the citadel of *Jerusalem*, and receiver of the king's customs in *Palaestina*, was continually pressing him to it. At length *Antiochus*, suspecting some private intelligence between them, ordered them both to come to *Antioch*, *Menelaus* leaving his brother *Lysimachus* his vicegerent at *Jerusalem*. At their arrival at *Antioch*, they found that the king had been forced to go and quell a sedition in *Cilicia* ^y, and had left the government of *Antioch* to *Andronicus*, one of the prime nobles of his court. *Menelaus* having exhausted his coffers, and finding that nothing but the payment of the king's money could recover his favour, sent private instructions to his brother at *Jerusalem*, to convey to him as many of the golden vessels as he could conveniently strip the temple of; which having received soon after, and caused to be sold at *Tyre*, and in the neighbouring cities, raised him a sufficient sum, not only to satisfy the king, but also to bribe his courtiers in his favour. All this however could not be transacted so secretly, but his brother *Onias*, who had been, ever since his deposition, confined to that capital, had intelligence of his sacrilege. He made such bitter complaints against *Menelaus*, as were like to have raised all the *Antiochian* *Jews* against him. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to *Andronicus*, whom he had already bribed by his presents; and for a fresh sum of money engaged him to cut off the good old high-priest, who being by this time apprised of his intrigues, had taken sanctuary at *Daphne*, an asylum near the city of *Antioch*. *Andronicus* went to him, and, under some pretence or other, accompanied with the most solemn vows and protestations for his safety, had no sooner got him out of the place, than he put him to death ^z, without regard either to his oaths, the sacredness of the place, or the laws of hospitality (D).

*Onias
murdered.*

THIS

^x *Maccab.* ubi supra, & *Joseph.* ubi supra. ^y See before, vol. ix. p. 279. ^z *Vid. sup. ib. Joseph.* ubi supra.

(D) This worthy person, whose character is excellently well drawn by the author of the second book of *Maccabees* (4), is supposed to have been murdered in the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate. There is indeed some difference between *Josephus* and *Eusebius*,

(4) ² *Maccab.* iii. 1, 2, 3.

THIS treacherous murder of a person so venerable for his age and exemplary piety, and so respected in that metropolis, both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, drew the bitterest complaints against the sacrilegious assassin, as soon as the king was returned to *Antioch*; and that prince, bad as he was, could not forbear shedding of tears at the news of it. As soon therefore as he had taken full cognizance of the fact, he caused the murderer to be stripped of his purple, and to be conducted with infamy to the place where the crime had been committed, and there to be put to death. As for *Menelaus*, tho' the most guilty of the Andronitwo, he found means to avoid the present storm, and to main-*cus put to tain his credit some time longer*; but this obliged him to draw *death*. such large sums from *Jerusalem*, that *Lysimachus* was forced to raise them by the most unheard-of violences and sacrileges, which ended in an universal mutiny, in which the *Jews* fell upon him, and the three thousand men he had got to defend him, with such desperate fury, that they killed a great number of them, and put the rest to flight. *Lysimachus*, no longer *Lysimachus*, and to accuse *Menelaus* as the author and cause of all sent from the troubles that had happened both in *Judea* and *Antioch*, *the sanbe*. The three deputies pleaded their cause so well before the king, *drin to Antiochus*, not knowing which way to clear himself, and *Antiochus*, avoid the impending punishment, had recourse to his old se- Year of cret of bribery. He applied himself to a favourite of *Antiochus*, the flood named *Ptolemy Macron*, the son of *Dorymenes*, and promised 2178. him so large a sum, that that courtier, who knew the incon- Bef. Chr. stancy of that monarch's temper, easily prevailed upon him 170. not only to absolve the apostate high-priest, but also to con- demn the three *Jewish* deputies to death. This sentence, unjust as it was, was forthwith put in execution, and those venerable *put to men were hurried to death*, who, as the author of the *Mac-* death. *cabees* expresses it, would have gained their cause, had they

and the *Alexandrian* chronicile, concerning the length of time between his accession to that dignity, and his being murdered at *Antioch*; but as the last-quoted

author assigns expressly twenty-four years to it, he has been preferred before the other two. The reader may see the reasons for it in our learned *Prideaux* (6).

(6) *Connec. sub an. 171.*

pleaded it before even the *Scythians*; and indeed this piece of cruelty and injustice was so shocking to the *Tyrians*, that tho' they dared not openly proclaim against it, yet they ventured to shew their respect to those deputies, by bestowing an honourable burial upon them^a.

Menelaus's tyranny and impiety. THIS unjust sentence gave the traitor *Menelaus* such a complete victory over all his opposers, that from thenceforth he gave himself up to all manner of tyranny and wickedness: *Jerusalem* became destitute of protectors; the *sanhedrin*, if there were any zealous men left among them, were so terrified by this last cruelty on their deputies, that they no longer dared to oppose him, though they saw, that every step he took was with design to enslave the nation still more, and to overturn the small remains of their religion and liberties (E).

THIS fatal change was occasioned by an accident, which seemed at first of no great consequence, but proved in a little time the cause of all their miseries. *Antiochus* was then taken up with the conquest of *Egypt*, when a false rumour was by some means spread, that he had been killed before *Alexandria*.

Jason forces into Jerusalem. *Jason*, who had been forced to retire into the land of *Ammon*, after his deposition, heard of it, and thought it was a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of his dignity; and that his nation, tired with the *Syrian* government, and especially with the tyranny of *Menelaus*, would readily receive him again with open arms. To this end he got him a band of about one thousand resolute men, at the head of whom he

^a 2 *Maccab.* iv. 44, & seq.

(E) These were the sad prognostics of those evils which soon after overtook that rebellious nation, and in which God chose to punish them for their apostasy, by means of that very monarch, whose favour they had bought at the expence of their religion and laws; and, to convince them, that these grievous calamities were the effects of his anger, they were presignified to them by the most terrifying apparitions in the air, for the space of forty days, during which time there were seen multitudes of warriors, both foot

and horse, magnificently armed and apparelled, charging and fighting against each other in battle-array, whilst their ears were dinned with the clashing of swords, lances, and shields; all which dreadful omens threw the whole city into the deepest consternation, whilst they all looked upon them as the dire forerunners of some sad calamity, which they in vain endeavoured, when it was too late, to avert, by their prayers, from that unhappy land (7).

(7) 2 *Maccab.* c. v. 2, & seq.

quickly

quickly appeared before the walls of *Jerusalem*, which, by the help of a party which he had within that metropolis, he easily entered, and forced his brother to retire into the citadel; after which, minding nothing but his resentment, he committed the most horrid butcheries against such of the ^{Commits} ^{horrid} ^{butcheries} ^{there.} *Jews* as he suspected to have been of the contrary party. He was, however, soon after forced to leave both the city and country, at the news of *Antiochus* coming with a powerful army against him (F); for that prince, highly provoked at this rebellion, and especially at the news, that the *Jewish* nation had made some rejoicings at the report of his death, was actually coming with a great army against *Jerusalem*. The *Jews*, apprised of his design against them, seem to have made a stout resistance, and to have given him no small trouble in making his way into their metropolis (G); but the gates being at length forced open to him, perhaps by some of his friends from within, he spared no cruelty against its unhappy inhabitants, ^{His cruelty.} *infomuch* that within three days they reckoned no less than forty thousand killed, and as many taken captives, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations.^{Year of the flood 2178.}

^B *Maccab.* c. v. ver. 11 & 14. See before, vol. ix. p. 288.

Bef. Chr. 170.

(F) Our historian says, that he retired at first to the *Ammohites* king, where, becoming soon after suspected by that prince, he was forced to withdraw, and to wander from city to city, being detested by all that knew him, as a betrayer of his country, and a monster of mankind (8).

He came at length into *Egypt*, and, finding no safety there, he hoped he might at least find it among the *Lacedamouians*, in virtue of the pretended kindred between their nation and his own: but here he also missed of his aim, at least it seems as if he had not met with any favourable reception, since our author adds, that, at his death, his carcass was left to rot above-ground, being denied even the common

sepulcre that was allowed to other strangers (9).

(G) So says the book of the *Maccabees* (1), with whom agree *Diodorus Siculus* (2), and even *Josephus*, in his wars of the *Jews* (3), where he expressly says, that he laid siege to that city, and represents him as enraged at the trouble it gave him; but in his antiquities he tells us, that he entered it without force; and that those of his party within opened the gates to him (4). The former is indeed the most probable, and *Josephus* might easily forget himself through the distance of time in which he wrote those two books; and this may in some measure atone for such-like inconsistencies, which are to be met with in him.

(8) *a Maccab.* v. 5, 6, & seq.
xi.

(2) *Lib. xxxiv.*

(9) *Ibid. ver. 19.*
(3) *Lib. i. c. 2.*

(4) *Lib. xii. c. 7.*

*Profanes
and plun-
ders the
temple.*

His fury did not stop here : he caused the traitor *Menelaus*, who, by this time, had by some means recovered his good graces, to lead him to the temple, which he entered, even to its most sacred recesses, laying his impious hands on all the vessels that were in it ; and caused the golden altar of incense, the golden table of the shewbread, the golden candlestick, the censers, bowls, and other utensils belonging to that holy place, to be seized, together with the golden shields, crowns, and other ornaments, which had been dedicated to it... He caused also the gold plating that covered the gates, and other architecture of the temple, the veil that divided the holy from the most holy place, and, in a word, all that was valuable, either for its metal or workmanship, to be carried off, besides one thousand eight hundred talents of gold and silver, which he forced out of the treasury. Having thus glutted his revenge and avarice, he returned in such a kind of triumph to *Antioch*, as if he had had it now in his power, to use our author's words, to make the land navigable, and the sea passable on foot^c. As a further mark of his spleen against

Leaves that unhappy nation, he put it under the government of one *Judea un- Philip*, a most barbarous *Pbyrgian*, and *Samaria* under that *d.r. brutifb* *governors* of *Andronicus*, a person of the same brutish disposition ; and left the apostate *Menelaus*, the most hateful of all the three, in possession of the high-priesthood^d.

The Jews *WHAT* the Jewish nation suffered under those governors, *horridly* or rather butchers, is more easily imagined than described ; but their miseries were not to end there. Some time after, *Antiochus* having received the mortifying letter from the Roman senate we have elsewhere taken notice of^e, he chose them above all other people to wreck his resentment against, and with as much cruelty, as if they had been the cause of his Year of disgrace. To this end he dispatched from his army, as he the flood was marching through *Palæstine*, *Apollonius*, at the head of 2180. twenty-two thousand men, with orders to plunder all the Bef. Chr. cities of *Judea*, to murder all the men, and to save only the 168. women and children for sale. *Apollonius* came accordingly with his army (H), and, to outward appearance, with a peaceable

^c 2 *Maccab.* cap. v. ver. 21. ^d *Ibid.* ver. 24. See also *Jossephus* cont. Ap. l. ii. & antiq. l. xlii. c. 16. p. 286, & seq.

^e Vol. ix.

(H) *Josephus* seems to have confounded this slaughter with that which was made by *Antio-*

bus two years before, by making him present at this also (5) ; but it appears from the author of the

(5) *Joseph.* ant. l. xii. c. 7.

peaceable intention, which was not suspected by the Jews, because he was superintendent of the tribute in Palestine. He kept himself inactive till the next sabbath, when they were all in a profound quiet, when on a sudden he commanded his men to arms; some of whom he sent to cut all the pieces that were gone to the temple, and to the other synagogues, whilst the rest, going through the streets of the city, massacred all that came in their way, which they did without the least resistance from those unhappy wretches, who suffered themselves to be butchered in that merciless manner, rather than break their sabbath, by standing on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered, and set on fire, pulled down all their stately fabrics, caused the walls to be demolished, and carried away captive about ten thousand of those that had been saved from the slaughter^e. From that time, the service of the temple was quite abandoned, that place having been every-where polluted, both with the blood of the slain, and with many other defilements. From the ruins of the city, the officers of Antiochus built a large fortress, on an eminence in the city of David^f, fortified it with a strong wall, stately towers, and placed a garrison in it to command the temple, over-against which it was built; so that the soldiers could easily see and sally upon all those that ventured to come to that sacred place, so many of whom were continually plundered and murdered by them, that the rest, not daring to stay longer in Jerusalem, went and dwelt in the neighbouring cities of the *Gentiles*. In this polluted and forsaken condition did this metropolis, and its temple, continue three full years and an half; that is, till Judas Maccabeus, having wrested both out of their hands, purified and restored them to their antient splendor and use, as we shall see in due time^g (I).

THE

^e 1 MACCAB. i. 30, & seq. 2 MACCAB. v. 24, & seq. JOSEPH antiq. l. xii. c. 7. ^f See the draught. ^g Vide 1 MACCAB. iv. pass. 2 MACCAB. x. JOSEPH. ubi supra, & prefat. in bell. Judaic. & histor. de bell. l. i. c. i. l. vi. c. ii.

Maccabees, who rightly distinguishes these two persecutions, that the one was executed in the presence of that monach, and the other by his vicegerent Apollonius.

(I) In the time of this persecution under Antiochus, is generally supposed to have lived Jesus

the son of Sirach, author of the apocryphal book of *Ecclesiasticus*. Some place him indeed in the time of Onias II. (6); but, by some passages scattered here and there in this work, he seems rather to have lived about the time of Onias III. and when his nation suffered some grievous

(6) Vide Prid. connect. sub ann. 132.

persecution.

Jews per-
secuted
every-
where.

THE Jews of Palestine were not the only ones who felt the fury of this persecution. Antiochus, resolved either totally to abolish their religion, or to destroy their whole race, as far at least as he could reach them, caused a decree to be issued out the following year, that all nations within his dominions should forsake their old religion and gods, and worship those of the king, under the severest penalties. To make his orders more effectual, he sent overseers into every province to see them strictly put in execution ; and as the Jews were the only people, who he knew would disobey them, especial directions were given to have them treated with the utmost severity. Many therefore of them, either to avoid the effects of his rage, or to ingratiate themselves with him, not only complied with great readiness, but, having once apostatized, became the bitterest enemies of those who had the courage to refuse ; all which did but increase the already too general defection, as it did on the other hand the sufferings of those who stood firm to their religion. It fared far otherwise with the Samaritans, whose zeal, either for the Jewish nation, or the Mosaic law, a much less danger would have cooled (K).

But

b JOSEPH. ubi supra. 1 MACCAB. vi. 21; & seq.

persecution (7). He praises the high-priest Simon II. as a person long since dead (8). His grandson afterwards translated this book into Greek, under the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (9), about the year 132, that is, about thirty-six years after this time we suppose him to have written it.

Who this author was, is neither agreed, nor easily guessed. Some make him of the sacerdotal line, as descended from Joshua the son of Josedek (1). Some Greek copies give him for grandfather Eleazar, the father of Sirach of Jerusalem ; but we find nothing like this pretended priesthood or descent, in those places of the book where he speaks more

particularly of himself (2). Only it appears, that his great thirst after wisdom (3) made him pray fervently, study hard, travel much, and undergo many great dangers for it (4); that he had been unjustly traduced to the king (5); whence he is supposed to have retired into Egypt, and there composed his book. Lastly, he tells us, that he was the last writer of the Jewish nation who treated of moral subjects (6). This is all that we know of the author.

(K) These, to convince the king that they did not design to die martyrs to either, sent a deputation to him, setting forth, that though they had hitherto

(7) Vide Eccl. xxxiv. 17, & seq. & xxiv. pass.

(8) Ibid. cap. i. 1, & seq.

(9) See his preface at the head of the book, which is the second in our bibles. (1) Vide Grotius. in chronic. &c. al.

(2) Vide int. al. Eccl. c. i. 29. & 27, & seq. li. pass. & alib.

(3) Ibid. xxxiv. 10, & seq. li. pass.

(4) xxxiv. 12. li. pass.

(5) Ibid. & seq.

(6) xxxiii. ib. & seq.

BUT whilst they were peacefully enjoying the fruits of their *A cruel treacherous complaisance*, *Athenaeas*, an old minister, well versed in all the heathenish rites, as well as in cruelty, in Judaea. made those of *Judaea* undergo the most severe punishments for their zeal and firmness to their law. He began with dedicating the temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, and causing his statue Jupiter's to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings (L), with an *statue set up in the other temple.*

conformed to many of the Jewish superstitions, in imitation of their forefathers, who had been persuaded to it for their own safety, yet they were now ready to forsake them all, and to embrace the king's religion. They added, that they had a temple on mount *Garizzim*, which was dedicated to a God without a name; but begged, it might thenceforth be dedicated to the Grecian *Jupiter*, as *Josephus* has it, or rather, as the author of the *Maccabees* calls him (7), the hospitaller, or, the receiver or protector of strangers, intimating thereby, that they were not originally natives of that country, but strangers settled there in times past. They concluded with a petition, that as they were not of *Jews*, but *Sidonian* race, and were ready to conform in every thing to the king's will, they might not be involved in the same calamities with their wicked rivals. *Aniaschus* readily granted their request, and dispatched a letter to *Nicanor*, his subgovernor there, with orders, that they should be distinguished from the Jews, and that their temple should be dedicated according to their petition; all which was punctually observed.

(L) This idol was set up in the temple on the fifteenth of the month *Cislu*, which answers to part of our November and De-

cember; but they did not begin to offer sacrifices to it till the twenty-fifth of that month, which was the king's birth-day; so that from thenceforth they continued sacrificing to it every twenty-fifth day of the month, till the Jewish religion and state were restored by *Juda Maccabæus*.

The profanation of the temple, and the setting up this idol in it, had been long before foretold by the prophet *Daniel* (8), under the name of *abomination of desolation*; but there are in that chapter many other strokes, which plainly delineate this persecution, and the tyrant that caused it. We shall content ourselves with subjoining some of the plainest of them.

This expedition begins at the 29th verse of that chapter thus; *He shall return at the time appointed, and come towards the south (Egypt); but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter; for the ships of Chittim (the Romans) shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return with indignation (or turn his indignation) against the holy covenant (the Jewish religion). Thus shall he do: he shall get intelligence of those that forsake the covenant. Arms shall stand on his side, and he shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice; and they shall place the abomination (or abominable*

(7) 2 *Maccab.* vi. 1, 2. *V. de & Joseph., antiqu.* l. xii. c. 7.

(8) *Chap. xi. 31.*
third

other lesser altar before it, whereon they sacrificed to that false deity. All those therefore, that refused to come and worship it, were either massacred out of hand, or put to some lingering torments, till they either complied, or died under the hand of their butchers. At the same time there were altars, groves, and statues, set up in every city and town of Judea, to which the inhabitants were compelled to come and sacrifice, under the same severe penalties; insomuch that the whole land was but a scene, either of the most abominable idolatries and debaucheries, or of the most horrid execrable butcheries; and, when the feast of Bacchus was come, they butcheries were either forced to assist at it, and to go about the streets committed with their heads crowned with ivy, in honour of that beastly in the city deity, or expose themselves to some cruel death; all this, and country.

while it was made immediate death to be caught observing either the sabbath, the rite of circumcision, or any other branch of the Mosaic law; insomuch that two women, having been found to have circumcised the children of which they had been lately delivered, were both led, with the infants hung about their necks, through several streets of Jerusalem, and cast headlong down from the highest walls of the city; and all that had assisted at the ceremony were put to death¹.

Jews retire into caverns; THESE unheard-of barbarities having obliged many of the Jews to leave their habitations, and to go and hide themselves among the cragged rocks in holes and caverns, and to live upon wild roots and herbs, to avoid either death or apostasy, some of them ventured to assemble themselves in a cavern near Jerusalem, to celebrate the sabbath; but Philip, their barbarous Phrygian governor, having been informed of it,

¹ MACCAB. & JOSEPH. ubi supra.

tlying) that maketh desolate; and such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries. But the people that know their God shall behave valiantly; and such as have understanding, and resist not the people (divert them from apostatizing), shall fall by the sword, by flame, by captivity, by spoil. — And the king shall do according to his will, and shall exalt and magnify himself above every god. He shall speak wonderful things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indigne-

tion be accomplished; for that which is determined shall be done, &c. The same prophet points him out there by his scattering the prey, spoil, and riches among his followers; and it is well known, that his extravagant largesses had not only emptied his coffers, but gained him the title of magnanimous and munificent; all which evidently prove, that he was the person designed by God to punish the Jews for their impieties.

came against them with a sufficient force ; and, after having offered them a general amnesty, if they would forsake their religion, and conform to that of the king, he waited, without any other hostilities, till the next sabbath ; on which day, entering the cave without resistance, he caused them all, men, women, and children, to be massacred, to the number of a thousand^k (M). 168.
and massacred.

As soon therefore as *Antiochus* heard that there were such numbers who remained inflexible, he resolved to come in person to *Jerusalem*, and to see either his orders more punctually obeyed, or the recusants punished with the most exquisite cruelties. One of the first that fell a victim to his fury, was the venerable *Eleazar*, a man of ninety years of age, respected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whose example had preserved a great number of *Jews* from falling into apostasy. Him they brought upon the butchering stage, and endeavoured to force to eat swine's flesh ; and, when they could not prevail upon him by any means to comply, they desired him, that at least he would, out of regard to his extreme old age, consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, that they might make the king believe, that he had obeyed. The good old man answered, with a becoming courage, that the most dreadful death was preferable to such a base dissimulation, so unworthy his old age and fidelity. His singular coming courage, that the most dreadful death was preferable to his old age and fidelity.

character, and so dangerous in its consequence, since it might be a means of inducing many of his nation to follow his example. As soon as he had ended this speech, which was interpreted as the effect of his pride, rather than of his zeal, he was haled to execution ; and when he was ready to expire under the strokes of his butchers, he cried out, with a loud

k 2 MACCAB. vi. 10, & seq.

(M) As to the sacred *Jew*ish books, *Philip*, and his officers, had taken care to burn and destroy all that they could lay hands on, whether in the temple, in their synagogues, or even in their private houses ; after which, if a *Jew* was found to conceal any of them, he was dragged to immediate death (8). They had several other ways of trying those who retained still a due regard to the law of *Moses* ; and, in or-

der to make as many as they could comply with the king's command, they spared neither flatteries nor caresses to encourage, nor threats and tortures to deter them ; so that, though vast numbers were seduced by these means, yet there were still great multitudes, especially in and about *Jerusalem*, who continued proof against them, to vex the tyrant for not being universally obeyed.

(8) 2 Maccab. i. 56, & seq.

voice, O LORD, thou knowest what pains I suffer in my body, from which I might have freed myself; but my soul feels a real joy, because I suffer them for the sake of thy law: and fetching a deep groan, gave up the ghost. After him, the seven brethren, whose martyrdom is related in the same book^m, suffered, one after another, the most exquisite torments, with invincible courage and constancy, whilst their heroic mother, divested of all the weakness of her sex, stood by, encouraging and strengthening them, in the Hebrew tongue, with the assurance of a glorious recompence in the next life, for which she was full of all; sacrificed to the tyrant's fury, and died with the same cheerfulness and intrepidity, which she had inspired into her seven sons (N).

Mattathias's eminent zeal and bravery.

IT was about this time that *Mattathias*, an eminent priest of the family of *Joarib* (O), began to signalize himself by his brave zeal for his religion. He had been some time before forced to retire to *Modin*, his native place, to shun the sight

^{1 2} MACCAB. vi. 18, & seq.

Cap. vii.

(N) *Josephus* has likewise given us the history at large of those heroic martyrs, in a book by itself, which was intituled, *Of the empire of reason*. It is now better known to us, by that of the book of the *Maccabees*; but, as neither he, nor the author of the second book of that name, do expressly mention the place where this dreadful scene was acted, *Rufinus* has taken it into his head, that it was done at *Antioch* (9), because they shewed their tomb in that city in St. *Jerom*'s time, and had there built and dedicated a church to them (1). But as *Josephus* seems to believe, that it was done at *Jerusalem* (2), and is followed by many learned men, and *Rufinus* gives no better reason than that of his tradition, we see no occasion for following him, as some authors have

done (3); it being more likely, that *Jerusalem* should be the place, where, above all others, the Jews shewed the greatest firmness for their religion, and, consequently, where such severe examples were thought most necessary by that exasperated prince.

(O) We have already spoken of this family, which was the first of the twenty-four classes appointed by *David* to officiate at the temple, though not one of the four that returned from the captivity (4). *Mattathias* was the son of *John*, the son of *Simon*, the son of *Arimeneus*, from whom descended the *Arimeneans* (5). From this *Mattathias* descended the *Maccabees*, so famed in history for their zeal and bravery, and of whom we shall speak in the following section.

(9) *Parapbr. in lib. de imper. ratione.*
Molin, & Augusti form. de Maccab. i.
imper. ratione.

(3) *N. de Lyra, Strbr. Calmet.*

also vol. iii. p. 5, & seq. and above, p. 181, & (G).

(1) *Vide Hieron. loc. Hier. sub voce Antig. l. xii. n. 7, & lib. de imper. ratione.*

(4) *I. Cibn. xxiv. 7.* See also vol. iii. p. 5, & seq. and above, p. 181, & (G).

(5) *Joseph. antig. l. xii. c. 8.*

of those scenes of cruelty and profaneness, which were acted at *Jerusalem* by *Apollonius*, and the apostate *Jews*. During his recess there, *Apelles*, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to execute his commands^a. Having got the people together, with *Mattathias*, and his five sons (P), he addressed himself to him on account of his dignity, and the great esteem he was in, hoping, that if he could persuade him to comply, his example would soon draw all the rest. He made him in vain the amplest promises, that the king's favour and protection, both of him and his sons, would be the immediate reward of his compliance. *Mattathias* answered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by *Apelles* to all the assembly, that though the whole Jewish nation, and *Apelles*, the whole world, were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his sons would continue faithful to their God to the last minute of their lives; and that no consideration should prevail on them to forsake the religion of their fore-fathers. In the mean time, some of the king's officers had prevailed on some cowardly *Jews* to take another way; and one of them was just then offering himself to sacrifice to an idol, when the good old priest, calling to mind what the law of *Moses* ordains against such transgressors, that they should be put to immediate death^b, fell upon the man, and killed him upon the spot. His sons, at the same time, being fired with the same zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, Jews and Syrians. They overthrew the altar and idol, and, running about the city, cried out, that those who were zealous for the law of God, should follow them: by which means they saw themselves at the head of a numerous troop, with whom they soon after withdrew into some of the deserts of *Judaea*. These were *Leads them* presently followed by great numbers of others, who, to avoid persecution, flocked to them from other parts of the country^c; so that the deserts of *Judaea* were filled every-where with them.

As soon as *Mattathias* and his men were come into a place of safety, they set themselves on consulting the best means for standing on their own defence. Here the remembrance of those of their brethren, who had suffered themselves to be

^a JOSEPH. ant. l. xii. c. 8. ^b MACCAB. ii. 1, & seq. ^c DEUT. XIII. 6, & seq. ^d JOSEPH. I MACCAB. ubi supra.

(P) These were *Jobanan*, surnamed *Kaddis*, *Simon*, surnamed *Eleazar*, surnamed *Avarani*, and *Tbassis*, *Judas*, called *Maccabeus*, and the most famous of all the rest, *Jonatban*, surnamed *Apphus* (6).

(6) I Maccab. ii. 15, & 28.

butchered

butchered by their enemies on the sabbath, soon made them sensible of their danger, unless they steered a different course; for, as long as they continued in that scrupulous notion of nonresistance, for fear of breaking the sabbath, they would be still liable to the same stratagems, and by that means, in a little time, be totally extirpated. Having therefore maturely weighed the matter, and consulted other learned priests and rulers that were come over to him, it was resolved, that for the future, it should be lawful, nay, obligatory upon them, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked, on the sabbath as well as on any other day⁹. This decree having been privately communicated to the Jews, in and out of *Palaestina*, together with their reasons for passing it, it was universally received by all; and from that time they made no difficulty to defend their lives and properties at all times, and upon all occasions (Q.).

Mattathias restores the worship of God. Year of the flood he took, 2181. Ref. Chr. selfes from his resentment. Having once injected an

Mattathias having, by this time, strengthened his little army with these and other stout and religious men who daily resorted to him, began to come down with them into the plains, and to try his force, not only against their persecutors, but also against his apostate brethren. As many of these as

167. he forced to fly into foreign countries, to secure themselves from his resentment. Having once injected an

Mattathias turned the idolatrous altars, opened the Jewish synagogues which had, till then, been either shut up, or appropriated to other uses; made a diligent search after all the sacred books which had escaped the fury of their enemies, and ordered fresh copies to be written of them; caused the reading and expounding of the Scriptures, prayers, and other parts of divine worship, to be resumed, and all the males born since the persecution to be circumcised¹. In all these God blessed

⁹ JOSEPH. i MACCAB. ubi supra. ¹ i MACCAB. ii. 42, & seq

(Q.) Among those who resorted to, and did not a little strengthen, the little flying army of *Mattathias*, were the *Affideans*, or rather *Hesideans*, a brave and strenuous sect, formed among the Jews soon after their return from the captivity. We have already given some account of them in a former volume (2).

(2, Vol. iii. p. 235, (P).)

These being known to be the most strict observers of the Jewish laws and traditions (8), their example very much influenced the rest in the late decision, and encouraged them to set aside their scruples about the sabbath, whenever the safety of their lives came in competition with the observance of it.

(8) i Macab. ii. 42. him

him with such success, that he had extended this reformation through a considerable part of *Judea*, within the short space of one year; and had, in all likelihood, gone through with it, even to *Jerusalem*, where the strongest *Syrian* garrison was kept, had he not been prevented with death. But what he left unfinished, was soon after perfected by his worthy sons, especially by *Judas Maccabeus*, of whom we shall speak more fully in the next section.

In this same time *Mattathias*, finding himself quite worn *His last* out by age and sickness, called his sons together, and spoke *speech* to them to this effect: hitherto pride and oppression have *his sons* been suffered to prosper over us, for a punishment of our sins; but now be ye valiant and zealous for God's laws, and fear not to expose your lives in defence of God's covenant with your forefathers, if you expect the reward promised to it. Call to your remembrance the obedience of *Abraham*, the faithfulness of *Joseph*, the zeal of *Phinehas*, *Caleb*'s courage, *David*'s constancy, *Elijah*'s zeal, and the intrepidity of *Daniel*, and his faithful companions. Let their miraculous deliverances inspire you with a sure trust in the Almighty's protection. Be not discouraged by the threats and weak efforts of the greatest men, who, though they seem to triumph now, will shortly be cut off, and become the food of vultures; but arm yourselves with courage, in defence of our laws, liberties, and religion; and you will not fail of success. *Simon*, your eldest brother, has always shewed himself a man of consummate wisdom; let him supply the office of a father and a counsellor, and do nothing without his advice. *Judas* is well known to you all for his valour and conduct; let him be your general, and lead you against your enemies. And may heaven crown his and your valour with glory and success! Having thus said, he expired in a good *His death*. old age, and was buried at *Modin* with his ancestors, greatly Year of lamented by all the faithful in *Israel*: (R). He was, accord- the flood

ing 2182
Bef Chr.
166

• 1 MACCAB. ii. 49. ad fin.

(R) The first book of *Maccabees* barely tells us, that he died in the one hundredth and forty-sixth year, without mentioning whether of his life, or of the era of the *Selucide*. Some therefore have taken it in the former sense; but the far greater

part in the latter; for the one hundredth and forty-sixth year of the kingdom of the Greeks, falls exactly with the Julian year 166. before Christ, which is the year in which he died (g).

His deciding the point, about the necessity of the taking arms

(g) *Vide Ufer, & Prid. sub ann.*

ing to his desire, succeeded by his brave son *Judas*, in the command of the army; and by him the Jewish religion and state were soon after restored to their antient splendor, as we shall see in the next section.

on the sabbath has made several learned men, both *Jews* and *Christians*, fancy that he had been high-priest of the *Jews* (1); but it is plain he did not determine the case by his own authority, but by the advice of such learned men as were with him: neither do the book of *Macca-*

bees, or *Josephus*, say any thing of this imaginary dignity. It appears on the contrary, that *Menelaus* was still alive, and in credit at the court of *Antiochus*, and was succeeded by his brother *Alcimus*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

(1) *Joseph. Ben Gorion, Aben Ezra, &c al Serrar. Fuller, Genebr. &c al.*

S E C T. III.

The Sequel of the Jewish History, from Judas Maccabeus, to the Conquest of Judæa by the Romans.

Judas
Maccabeus
suc-
ceeds his
father.

JUDAS, surnamed *Maccabeus*, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the name of *Maccabees* (A); did not suffer his troops to continue longer idle than till they had ended

(A) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of this word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only because nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but because the book of the *Maccabees* being only extant in *Greek*, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the word; so that some have taken the middle letter to have been a *r*, others a *s*, others the *i*, according to which the sense of the verb will vary exceedingly.

It might, indeed, appear at first sight, that the *Maccabees* were so called, from the Hebrew מְכַבֵּה, *macchabeh*, or *mechubeh*, hid, as a term of contempt, because they hid themselves in holes and caverns; and that having afterwards wiped off the reproach of it by their bravery, they retained

still that appellative in memory of their former concealment; or from the word *makkebab*, which signifies a cavern; and so they might be called *caverners*, or *lurkers in caverns*.

Others derive it from the verbs *macab* to wound, from *nakab* to perforate, from *bukab* to supplant; all which they, by some seeming analogy, apply either to those Jewish heroes who fought, or to those who suffered martyrdom for their religion, whether in *Judæa*, or out of it.

The most general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters of the 11th verse of the 15th of *Exodus*, *Mi camora baclim Jebova*, Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? which four letters are supposed to have been embroidered upon their standards and shields,

ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more than six thousand men^a; but what they

* 2 MACCAB. viii. 1.

shields, in the manner of the *Romans* & *P. Q. R.* That the *Jews* were afterward fond of these abbreviations, appears from those of the treble or quadruple names of their learned *rabbies*, such is that of *RAMBAM*, for *Rabbi Mosis Ben Maimon*; *RALBAG* for *Rabbi Levis Ben Gershom*, and many more⁽¹⁾; but whether these kind of abbreviations were so antient as the *Maccabees*, or not, it seems plain from the text, that *Judas* had that surname long before he displayed his standards against his enemies⁽²⁾.

However that be, *Judas*, the Jewish chief, seems to have borne it by way of eminence; and from him it passed to his brethren and successors, and thence to all who took up arms, or died, for the Jewish cause; and lastly, it was given to the books which contain the history of those wars and persecutions, and of which it will be therefore necessary to give our readers a short account, before we close this note.

The first book of the *Maccabees* was written originally, either in Hebrew, or in the *Chaldee*, which became the current language of the *Jew*, after the captivity. Its stile and phrase come nearest that of the sacred historians of any of the *Apocrypha*, and its chronological computation is purely Hebrew, and begins always at the month *Nisan*, answer-

ing to our *March* and *April*; whereas the *Syrians*, &c. began their year six months later. St. *Jerom* affirms, that he had seen it in the former⁽³⁾; and *Origen* tells us, that it was intituled, *Sbarbit Sas Bene El*; or, *The sceptre of the prince of the sons of God*⁽⁴⁾; or, according to others (who read *Sarbene* in one word, and with the *samech* instead of the *shin*), *the sceptre of the rebels against the Lord*, intimating, that the *Maccabees* had maintained the divine sceptre or power, against those who had rebelled against it; but the original has been long since lost, and the *Greek version* is now reckoned the most authentic.

It contains a clear and succinct history of what happened to the *Jews*, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to the death of the high-priest *Simon*⁽⁵⁾, that is, of about forty years. It was partly compiled from the memoirs which *Judas Maccabeus* had caused to be collected⁽⁶⁾, and partly from those of the high-priest *Hyrcanus*, the son of *Simon*, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by some supposed to be the author of it, tho' he be barely quoted in it, as having furnished him the materials out of his chronicle⁽⁷⁾.

Theodotion is generally supposed to have translated this book into *Greek*; but it being quoted by

(1) *De bis* vide *Wolf*, *biblioth.* *rabbini*. *Et Bartsch. tract. de abbreviatur.*
 (2) *Vide* 2 *Maccab.* i. 4. (3) *Proleg. galat.* (4) *Apud Euseb.*
bis ecclis l. vi. c. ult. Et comme in *Psalms*. vni. n. *edit. Hectian.* (5) *Vide*
2 Maccab sup. ult. ver. 21, Et seq. (6) 2 *Maccab.* i. 14. (7) 2 *Maccab.*
xvi. ver. ult.

His bra they wanted in number, they made up in zeal and bravery ; *very and* and God gave them such success, that they quickly got into success. some of the strongest fortresses of *Judea*, falling upon their Year of enemies so suddenly, and with such courage, that they drove the flood them out of their cities, villages, and advantageous posts ;

2182. Bef. Chr. insomuch that *Judas's* name began to become terrible to the *Syrians, Samaritans*, and apostate *Jews*, whilst those who had 166.

s forsaken their country, to avoid persecution, were encouraged to resort daily to him from their retreats ; whereby his troops increased to such a degree as to make *Apollonius*, the then governor of *Judea* and *Samaria*, think it high time to suppress their rising power, before it was grown to a greater height. He hastened therefore to raise a considerable army, which chiefly consisted of *Samaritans, Jewish renegadoes*, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he marched against the

Defeats *Maccabean chief.* *Judas*, on the other hand, no-ways *the Sy-* terrified with the superiority of the enemy, came out against *rians.* him with his handful of men, and gave him a total defeat.

Apollo- *Apollonius* was killed on the spot, with a great number of his *ninian stain.* men. The rest were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind them. Among the rest of the spoil, *Judas* took the slain governor's sword, and used it ever after, in those wars which he waged against the enemies of the *Jewish nation*.

b i MACCAB. iii. 10, & seq. JOSEPH. lib. xii. c. 10.

some fathers as ancient as that writer, seems to argue this version to be of older date. It is however from this that our English version was made.

The second book of the *Maccabees* is, as we have observed in another section, an epitome of a larger history written by one *Jason*, but long since lost. Both the author and abridger seem to have been *Hellenists*, by their manner of computation and style ; or rather it looks like a collection of some valuable pieces, relating to the *Jewish history*, from the attempt of *Heliodorus* upon the treasury of the temple, to the signal victory which *Judas Maccabrus* gained over *Nicanor* fifteen years after.

It begins with two letters from

the sanhedrin at *Jerusalem*, one to the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, the other to those in *Egypt*, to notify to them the purification of the temple, and dedication of the altar, instead of that which had been polluted with the idol of *Jupiter*, and to exhort them to join in the celebration of the festival of it on the twenty-fifth of the month *Cislev*. But both these letters are esteemed even more apocryphal than the rest of the history.

We have already spoken of the third book of the *Maccabees*, as previous in time to these two, and in authority to the latter of them. We shall likewise refer the reader to what we subjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name *.

* See before, p. 251, & seq. sub. not. (3).

THIS defeat so enraged *Antiochus*, that, upon his hearing Antiochus the first news of it, he again denounced the total extirpation of chus's the *Jews*; and happy was it for them that his treasury was then *exhausted*, by his extravagant largesses, that he was forced *to suppress his resentment*, till he could raise a sufficient supply of money to renew the war against them; but before he could accomplish this, another of his generals received likewise a signal overthrow. This was *Seron*, deputy-governor *Seron de of Gallesyria*^c, under *Ptolemy Macron*, who took it into his *seated heart* to come against *Judaea*, in hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his, before the king sent more forces thither, he should gain no small glory by it. He advanced therefore with his troops as far as *Bethoron*, where *Judas* met him with an handful of his men. These, seeing the superiority of the enemy, expressed a great reluctance to engage, fatigued as they were, with marching and fasting (B): but *Judas* soon dispelled their fears, by reminding them, that they fought the cause of *GOD*, who was not wont to *five* by strength or number, and whose glory, now concerned in their success, would display itself the more, by the disproportion there was between their two armies. Having thus put new life into them, they fell upon the *Syrians* with such vigour, that *Seron* was overthrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the spot. Some of the rest fled as far as *Bethoron*, and the greatest part saved themselves by running into the land of the *Philistines*^d. These continued successes of the new Jewish general made *Philip*, governor of *Judaea*, think it high time to acquaint *Antiochus* with the danger that province was in of being lost, if not speedily relieved. *Antiochus* had been obliged to leave the government to *Lysias*, whilst himself was gone beyond the *Euphrates*, as we have seen elsewhere^e. *Lysias*, who had orders to invade

^c *i Maccab.* iii. 13.

^d *Ibid. ver. 14,* & seq.

^e See before, vol. ix., p. 298, & seq.

(B) It was, it seems, this *Hiero* general's method to keep a fast before they engaged the enemy⁽⁸⁾; and here their march, fast, and onset, so closely followed, that his men began to despise the superiority of *Seron*'s army to theirs.

⁽⁸⁾ *i Maccab.* iii. 17, & seq. *i. xx. c. 4,* & *bell. Judae.* i. 4, c. 1.

As for *Bethoron*, it was, according to *St. Jerome* and *Eusebius*, about twelve thousand paces from *Jerusalem*⁽⁹⁾; but, according to *Josephus*, one hundred stades⁽¹⁾. It was situate northward of *Jerusalem*, and between that metropolis and *Shechem*⁽²⁾.

⁽⁹⁾ *Loc. Hebr.* ⁽¹⁾ *Conf. artiq.*
⁽²⁾ *Hieron. ubi sup. a.*

Nicanor and Geor-
gias sent a thousand foot, with orders to see the king's commands gainst Ju- punctually obeyed against the Jewish nation. These came and das. encamped on the plains of Emmaus, not far from Jerusalem, about twenty miles from Lydda, where they were reinforced with seven thousand horse (C).

Judas's speech to his troops. Judas immediately gathered his little army together, consisting only of six thousand men; and reminded them not only of his late signal victories, but of those which had been formerly gained in a more miraculous manner against Sennacherib, and other powerful enemies of the Jews; and particularly of a recent one, which six thousand of their nation had gained over an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Gauls and Macedonians^f. However, concluded he, remember, that, let the success be what it will, it is still more glorious to die sword in hand, in defence of our religion, lives, and liberties, than to fall into the hands of an enemy fully determined to our utter destruction. After this exhortation, he was obliged, by the Mosaic law, to make a proclamation, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, &c. or whose hearts failed, should depart^g; and this carried off near one half of his men, whilst the rest, who remained intrepid, were scarcely furnished with weapons fit for so bold Leads them and unequal an enterprize^h. However, he led his three to Mizpah. thousand men to Mizpah (D), there to implore the divine assistance,

^f 2 MACCAB. viii. 19, & seq.

^g Vide DEUT. xx. 5.

^h 1 MACCAB. iv. 6..

(C) Nicanor, who had resolved to raise, if possible, the sum of two thousand talents, which the king his master owed to the Romans, caused a proclamation to be made, in all the cities and seaports round about, that he would sell his Jewish captives at the rate of ninety for a talent; and this brought a great concourse of merchants, who came with large sums of money to purchase those captives. Our author reckons no less than a thousand of them, be-

sides a great number of servants, who brought chains and other materials to convey them away (3).

(D) This place, which is famous in the Old Testament, upon many accounts, and where the Jews used to assemble themselves to worship before the temple was built (4), was now made choice of upon this occasion, the temple being then polluted, and kept by a Syrian garrison.

Here they fasted in sackcloth

(3) : Macab. iii. 41. 2 Mac. viii. 34. Joseph. b. xii. c. xi.
ibid. ch. 3 Sam. viii. 54 & seq.

(4) Vide

and

assistance, by prayer, fasting and sacrifices ; in confidence of which, he marched with them against the enemy, and encamped as near them as he safely coul^t, resolved to offer them battle early on the next morning, of which he gave his troops notice that very night¹. In the mean time news were brought to him, by some of his scouts, that *Georgias* was coming at the head of five thousand of his choicest men, and one thousand horse, to surprise him in his camp ; which gave him such an opportunity of countermining him, as gained him a complete and easy victory ; for, taking the advantage of *Georgias*'s absence, he, and his three thousand men, fell on a sudden on the *Syrian* army, killed three thousand of their men, and put the rest to flight, and into such confusion, that they could not be rallied again by any means ; but left their camp, and all their baggage and spoil, behind them, and fled. *Georgias*, having in vain sought for his enemy, whom he supposed to have again retired into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire ; which threw his men into such a panic, that, in spite of all he could do to prevent it, they threw down their arms, and ran after the rest. *Judas* did not leave off pursuing them, till he had killed six thousand more of their men, besides a great number of maimed and wounded ; after which he led his victorious troops to plunder the enemy's camp, where, among other rich spoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the Jewish captives with. This signal victory was gained on the *Friday* ; and the next day, being their sabbath, was celebrated with suitable returns to the Divine Providence for their miraculous deliverance^k.

THIS defeat proved doubly advantageous to the conqueror. It furnished him with quantities of arms and ammunition for *and good* his men ; and his fame drew daily fresh reinforcements from *supply of* all parts of *Judea*, whom his success encouraged to repair *airm*, &c.

¹ 1 MACCAB. iii. 57, & seq. ubi supra.

* Ibid. cap. iv. pass. JOSEPH.

2 MACCAB. viii. 24, & seq.

and ashes, whilst *Eleazar*, *Judas*'s brother, read and expounded to them some proper portions out of the Scriptures. The *Nazarites* likewise, who should have performed the conclusion of their vows at the temple (5), assembled themselves with the priests

in their robes ; and, at the close of their fast and prayers, the priestly trumpets gave the signal, as a sure omen of their future victory ; and the Maccabean chief gave for the watchword, *The help of God* (6).

(5) *In his wide vol. ii. p. 68. viii. 23, & seq.*

(6) 1 Maccab. iii. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab.

to him from all the places of their dispersion; so that he found himself soon after in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no less glorious and successful to him. *Timotheus*, governor of the country beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides*, another experienced officer of the *Syrian* army, had joined their forces, and were coming against him, with a design to retrieve their late defeat; but *Judas* was, by this time, so well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a few

Defeats Timotheus and Bacchides. battle, killed twenty thousand of their men, enriched himself with their spoil, got a new supply of provisions for his men, and took presently after several strong fortresses from the disheartened *Syrians*, which he garrisoned with some of his troops, and deposited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the distribution of all the spoil, *Judas*'s

Divides the spoil. generosity outwent what was even prescribed by the *Mosaic* law, which intitled none to share it with the combatants, but those who were left to take care of the baggage¹; but he caused a considerable part to be divided among his indigent brethren, so that the old, decrepit, the sick and lame, the widows and the fatherless, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of *Timotheus*'s chief officers, named *Philarbus*, who had been a bitter enemy to the *Jews*; and whilst they were making their rejoicings

Callisthenes burnt for their success, news were brought, that *Callisthenes*, the man who had first set fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himself in a little house not far from them; upon which *Judas* dispatched a detachment, who went and set it on fire, and burnt him in it, as a just retaliation for his sacrilege^m.

Nicanor's shameful flight. As for *Nicanor*, he saved indeed his life, but lost his honour, being forced to retreat to *Antioch*, in the disguise of a servant, and there excuse his late disgrace, by owning, that the *Jews*, when under the protection of their God, were invincibleⁿ.

WHEN *Lysias* heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had sent into *Judea*, he made all the haste he could to put himself at the head of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all of the choicest troops he could get; and, entering *Judea* with them, through the territories of *Idumea*, was met at *Bethzura* (E) by the *Maccabish* general, at the head

¹ Vide NUMB. xxxi. 25, & seq. ► SAM. xxx. 24. ^m 2 MACC. viii. 30, & seq. ⁿ Ibid. ver. 35, & seq. 1 MACCAB. & JOSEPH., antiqu. lib. xii. c. 11.

(E) This was a very important fortress about that time. It was formerly been fortified by king

(7) Vide JOSH. xv. 58.

Rebohoam,

head of only ten thousand men. The two armies engaged, Lysias *des-*
and *Judas*, tho' so much inferior to the *Syrians*, fell upon *smiting* them with such courage, that he immediately killed five *Judzaa*.
thousand of them on the spot, and routed the rest; and Year of
Lysias, observing that the *Jews* fought like men determined the flood
either to conquer or die, would not venture a second engage-^{2 83.}
ment with the remainder, of his scared army; but returned ^{Bef. Chr.} *165.*
to *Antioch*, with a design to bring a much greater force ^{165.} against them by the following year ^o (F).

But all this while the sanctuary continued polluted with
abominable idols, the temple garisoned by idolaters, and the
city a ruined heap. As soon therefore as the enemy was gone
out of the province, *Judas* marched with his army to the
metropolis, fully purposed to recover and purify it. And, *Judas*
upon their coming to mount *Sion*, and seeing the desolation ^{purifies the}
in which it lay, the houses, palaces, and gates of the ^{city and}
temple burnt down, the courts of the sanctuary over-run ^{temple.}
with shrubs and briers, the priestly apartments demolished, ^{Their}
the altar and holy places profaned, and stripped of all their ^{ruinous}
antient splendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads ^{condition.}
with dust, and filled the air with cries, and other tokens of the
liveliest

◦ i MACCAB. iv. 30, & seq.

Reheboam (8), it being one of
the keys of *Judea*, on the south
side of *Idumea* (9). The second
book of the *Maccabees* places it
at five furlongs distance from *Je-*
rusalem (1); but this must be a
mistake, either of the translator
or transcriber, it being, accord-
ing to *Eusebius*, full twenty miles
from it, on the road to *He-*
bron (2).

(F) This is one of the most
signal victories that ever *Judas*
yet gained against the *Syrians*,
and at the same time the most
difficult to be accounted for,
from the imperfect relation which
the Jewish authors give us of it.
That which he gained against
those two experienced generals,
Nicanor and *Georgias*, was owing
to a surprize, the Syrian army

being attacked in the night, and
in the absence of one of their
generals, whilst the other, depend-
ing on his stratagem, lay in pro-
found security. In that which
he gained over *Timotheus* and
Bacchides, he killed twenty thou-
sand of their men before they
gave ground; neither is it said
of either of these two actions,
whether *Judas* attacked the two
commanders jointly or separate-
ly; so that if we may guess from
his character, it is more likely
he fell upon them in both, before
they had joined their forces.

But in this, *Lysias* comes at the
head of sixty thousand choice
foot, and ten thousand horse, sets
down before *Derbe*, is attack-
ed by only ten thousand men,
and has scarcely five thousand of

(8) 2 Chron. ii. 7.
(1) Cyp. xl. 5.

(9) 1 Maccab. vi. 61. 2 Maccab. xii.
(-) Lo. II b s.e also vol. ii. p. 478, ub. not.

liveliest sorrow. As soon as *Judas* observed these first emotions a little asswaged, he posted some of his bravest troops to guard all the avenues of the city from surprize, and then appointed such of the priestly order as had best signalized themselves for their zeal and sanctity, to enter into the temple, and see it thoroughly rid of all its profane lumber, whilst the rest of the people were busy in clearing the streets and places of all their rubbish. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke to pieces, and carried them out of the city, and buried them at some common place, especially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been so notoriously profaned, that no part of it was fit for use; and which was therefore demolished, and carried off, and another of unhewn stones substituted to it (G). There were

*
P. I MACCAB. iv. ver. 43, & seq.

his own killed, a small number five thousand of their men, and out of seventy thousand, before he is routed, and so disheartened, as to leave the province, and retreat to *Antioch*. Our authors do not tell us in what order either side disposed their troops, but, from what we have formerly mentioned of the Jewish way of fighting (3), and even by what we can gather from that of the *Maccabæus*, who seem to have still followed the old way, the method was (whenever their army was too small to make a front equal to that of the enemy), to divide their troops into four or five bodies, of a considerable depth, and so fall on the enemy at proportionable distances.

Let us therefore suppose ever so great a superiority in the Jewish army, either in point of courage and experience, knowledge of the ground, advantage of situation, or the like; it will still appear next to a miracle, that seventy thousand choice men, of horse and foot, should be routed and broken, upon the death of

If, therefore, the Jewish authors have not exaggerated the number of their enemies, we may very well suppose they have their character; and by their defeat, and their general's suddenly retiring from *Judea*, it may be reasonably concluded, that his army, instead of consisting of such choice horse and foot, was only an undisciplined multitude, gathered up in haste, and easily scared at the sight of so brave and resolute an enemy. What confirms this conjecture is, that *Iudas* had much better success the next year, as we shall see in the sequel

(G) It seems there arose no small difficulty among the Jewish doctors, about disposing of the materials of this old altar. On the one hand, it had been dedicated to, and had a long time been used in the service of God; so that they thought it unlawful to apply them to any common

(3) Vol. iii. p. 184, &c. seq.

were still many things wanting before the divine service could *The altars,*
be resum'd; the altar of perfumes, the table of shewbread, *holy place,*
the seven-branch candlestick, censers, and other sacred uten- *and wor-*
ships, all of the purest gold, had been carried off, as well as *ship, re-*
stored. the rich veil, which covered the holy of holies: all *use there-*
fore the *Jewish* chief caused to be made anew out of the *Year of*
spoils of their enemies; and all being set up in their respective *the flood*
places, and the holy and most holy place repaired, they began 2183.
Bef. Chr.
165.
the divine worship with the dedication of the new altar, and
other holy utensils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month *Cisura,* *is being the very same day on which it had ceased by*
the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the
second year of Judas's government.

THIS ceremony, which was performed with all imaginable *The dedi-*
solemnity, was ushered in with the earliest dawn, by the cation per-
sound of the trumpets, by raising a fresh fire by the striking formed,
of two fire-stones; which was no sooner kindled, than they
began with offering the lamb for the daily sacrifice, lighting
the lamps, burning the usual portion of incense, and all other
parts of the divine service, according to the, *Mosaic* law;
from which time it was never discontinued, till the destruc-
tion of the temple by the *Romans.* This festival was *kept and festi-*
eight days with great devotion and joy, after which it was val kept.

uses. On the other hand, the heathens had polluted it in so many ways, by sacrificing unclean beasts upon it to their idols and false deities, that the retaining any part of it would have been deemed to defile all their future offerings. At length a middle expedient was agreed on, that they should be deposited into some convenient cavity of the mountain on which the temple stood, till some prophet arose that could direct them how to dispose better of them (4).

Among the sacred utensils which *Judas* caused to be made, instead of those which *Antiochus* had carried off, we do not read of an ark and mercy-seat to stand in the most holy place; nor is it said by *Ezra*, *Nebemias*, or even

Iosiphus, that ever they made a new one. *The Talmudists*, after the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, tell us indeed, that *Jeremias* caused the old one, which *Moses* had made, to be buried in so secret a place a little before the captivity, that it could never be found; and the former add, that it will never be brought forth, till God is reconciled to the people, and has gathered them all under the King Messiah. It is therefore reckoned one of the five things that were wanted in the second temple; but whether they made any thing like it after their return, is more than we dare affirm. We shall see in the sequel, that when the *Romans* plundered the sanctuary, they found it quite empty of all those utensils.

(4) *1 Maccab. iv. 44, & seq.*

*The feast
of lights.*

ordered to be solemnized every year in the same manner, by the whole nation, under the name of the feast of the dedication ⁴. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, escutcheons, and other ornaments of the best gold. Every house was likewise illuminated and adorned; and from thence it was also called the feast of lights ⁵ (H). The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* adds ⁶, that, in memory of their having kept the feast of the tabernacles, whilst they lurked in their dens, and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new festival, with palms and other curious branches in their

⁴ 1 MACCAB. iv. 58, & seq.
⁵ 2 MACCAB. x. 6, & seq.

⁶ JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xiiij. c. 11.

(H) It was accordingly continued to be celebrated by lighting of many candles, some at their doors, and some in their houses. Even to this time they light a certain number of large wax-tapers in their synagogues during this festival; that is, one on the first day, two on the second, and so on to eight on the last day of the feast; the occasion of which, the Jews tell us, was, that when they came to light the lamps on the great candlestick, they could find no holy oil to feed them with, till, after much looking, they found a little vessel sealed, which contained just as much as would serve one day; but, to their surprise, burnt eight whole days. On this day they likewise celebrated the death of *Holofernes* by *Judith*, tho' they are not all agreed, that it happened about this time (5).

It was lawful, however, to work during the festival, it being only observed by mirth, and going to the synagogue. The Jews call it *hanucab*, which signifies restoration, or renewing. One of the

evangelists calls it *encaenia* (6), which implies the same thing, and adds, that it fell in the winter, about the time of the solstice.

This circumstance is so much the more material, because Christ vouchsafing to assist at it, though appointed only by human authority, sufficiently proves the lawfulness of instituting festivals in memory of public blessings (7).

The Jews indeed celebrated two other dedications, to wit, that of *Solomon*, and that of *Zerubbabel*, which were properly founded on divine authority, because instituted by persons divinely inspired; but that this which our Saviour is observed to have been present at, could be neither of these, is plain, because that of *Solomon* was kept in the month *Tisbri*, which is about our autumn (8); and that of *Zerubbabel* in the month *Adar*, or the last month, which falls in the spring (9); whereas that of *Judas Maccabaeus* was in the winter, which agrees with what the evangelist says of it in the place above-quoted.

⁽⁵⁾ Vide Leo de Morden. ccrem. Jud. p. 22. c. 9.
⁽⁷⁾ Vide Grot. in *Tabernac.* ⁽⁸⁾ 1 Kings viii. 2. 2 Chron. vi. 3.
vi. 15, & seq.

⁽⁶⁾ John x. 22.
⁽⁹⁾ Ezra viii. 2.

hands, and celebrated their wonderful deliverance with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion.

AND now there remained but one obstacle more to be removed, namely, the garrison which *Apollonius* had placed in *Acra*, on the eminence over-against the temple *temple*, (I), to annoy those that went to and from it; for whilst that was still kept by heathens, and apostate *Jews*, it could not but obstruct their concourse to the place of worship. A siege would have taken up too much time, had *Judas* been furnished with men and warlike instruments for it, because the place was very strong, both by art and nature. and to have blockaded it, would have employed a greater number of men than he could spare. There was therefore but one way left, namely, to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall, and strong towers, round about, and to leave an stout garrison to defend it, and hinder that of *Acra* from disturbing those who resorted to *Jerusalem*. At the same time *and* Beth-Zur, *Judas* caused some additional fortifications to be made to *Bethzura*, it being, as was lately observed, an advantageous fortress, to obstruct the entrance from *Idumea* (K); for which reason it had been lately attempted by *Lysias* ^t.

By

i MACCAB. iv. 60, & seq.

(I) The word *ἀκρα*, *acra*, properly signifies an eminence, or fortress, built on some eminent land, which has the command of country round about; and as ~~the~~ of *Acra* stood higher than that of *Sion*, it gave that garrison the advantage of annoying all that passed to and from the temple, as was observed above.

(K) It will not be improper here to remind our readers, that this *Idumea* is not the *Idumea* antiently so called in the sacred books of the Old Testament, otherwise the land of *Fdom*, situate between the *Dead* and the *Red Sea*, and known since by the name of *Arabia Petrea*; concerning which the reader may see what has been said in a former volume (1).

But this we are now speaking

of, was a portion of the inheritance of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, taken in possession by some *Idumans*, during the time of the *Babylonian* captivity, who, being driven out of their land by the *Nabatheons*, came and settled here, and enlarged their territory from the south part of the lot of *Judah*, as far as *Hebron*, which they made their metropolis, as it had been that of the tribe of *Judah*. These therefore, and not the antient *Edomites*, are the *Idumeans* we shall have often occasion to mention in the sequel of this history.

Now *Bethzura*, lying on the road between *Hebron* and *Jerusalem*, at about twenty miles from the latter, as we have hinted in a former note, was an im-

(1) See before, vol. ii. p. 495, & seq.

Jews ~~mas-~~
sacred.

Antiochus's
death.

Year of
the flood
2184.
Bef Chr

164.

~~~~~

Judas falls  
on the Idu-  
his army together,

By this time all the neighbouring nations having heard what had been done at *Jerusalem*, were so exasperated against the *Jews*, that they resolved to join their forces, to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all those that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of *Antiochus* into *Judæa*, to assist them in the utter destruction of the *Jews*; but, happily for these, *Antiochus*'s death, which happened soon after, broke all their measures, and freed them from the bloody designs which that exasperated tyrant had sworn against them<sup>u</sup>. We have already given an account, both of his preparations, and extraordinary death, in a former chapter<sup>v</sup>.

THE minority of the young *Antiochus* caused some alterations in *Palæstine*, and gave the *Jews* a kind of respite, which proved however but short-lived. *Ptolemy Maçron*, governor of *Cœlesyria*, who had been an inveterate enemy to the *Jews*, and had made them suffer great hardships during the last reign, was now by some means become their friend<sup>s</sup>; but he was soon after accused for it to the king, and deprived of his government by *Lysias*, who succeeded him in it, and came presently after with a powerful army into *Judæa*. In the interim, *Georgias*, who commanded the *Syrian* forces there, having gathered a fresh body of strangers, was making continual incursions against the *Jews*, whilst the *Idumeans*, who had joined with him, held the most advantageous posts, and received in them all the renegado *Jews*, in hopes to tire the rest by prolonging the war. But *Judas*, having gathered their territories, which was called *Arabatene*, and killed no less than twenty thousand of them<sup>x</sup>. From thence he marched against the children of *Bean* (L), who had proved a sharp thorn in his sides, and drove them into two of their strongest towers; and when he understood that they were furnished with

<sup>u</sup> 1 MACCAB. v 1, & seq. 2 MACCAB. x. 1, & seq. JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xii. c. 14. EUSEB. chron. <sup>v</sup> Vol. ix. p 292, & seq. <sup>x</sup> Id. ib.

tant barrier against the incursions of the *Syrian* troops that were in *Idumea*, and well deserved all the care that *Judas* bestowed in the fortifying of it.

(L) Whether *Bean* was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but most probably

they were a tribe of *Idumeans*, of whom the text says, that they were a snare and decoy to the *Israhætes*, and lay in wait against them on the high-ways (2), as they passed to and from *Jerusalem*.

(2) 1 Maccab. v. 4, & seq. Cirj. cum Ger. xxxvi. 27. & Numb. xxxii. 3. & xxxii. 31, & seq.

every

every necessary thing to hold out a siege, he left his three brethren, *Simon*, *Joseph*, and *Zaccheus*, with a sufficient force to reduce them, whilst he led the rest upon a more important expedition. During the siege, some of *Simon's* head officers suffered themselves to be bribed with a sum of seventy thousand drachms, to let some of the besieged escape. *Judas*, being informed of it, ordered those traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which he took the two fortresses by assault, put both garrisons, which *Takes ten* consisted of about twenty thousand, to death, burnt the *strong for* towers to the ground, and passed over *Jordan* into the land of *tress's* the, *Ammonites*<sup>1</sup>. These he found likewise in a good posture *Marches* of defence, having *Timotheus* the *Syrian* general at their head, *over Jor-* who had gathered a great number of forces out of *Asia*, and *dan.* was coming to invade *Judaea*. He had several skirmishes with the *Ammonites*, before he could come at the *Syrian* com-*mander*, and defeated and killed great numbers; after which he took the city of *Jazar*, put a garrison into it, and marched back into *Judaea*<sup>2</sup>.

In the mean time *Timotheus* had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exasperated against the *Jews*, resolved, if possible, to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered *Judaea* with his new forces. *Judas* did not let him penetrate far, before he met, and totally defeated him, killed twenty thou- *Defeats* sand five hundred of his foot, and six hundred horse, and *Timo-* forced him to retreat into the city of *Gazara* (M), which was *theus.* commanded by his brother *Chereas*. Hither *Judas* pursued and invested him, and, having carried the place in five days, *Takes G-* slew him with his brother, and another *Syrian* general, named *Zara*. *Apollophanes*<sup>3</sup>. This defeat, though very advantageous to the *Jews*, proved the cause of great numbers of their nation being murdered by the heathens, who could not brook the continual success of the *Maccabish* general. A thousand of *Jews* *on* them were sacrificed to their fury in the land of *Tob*, and of *Judaea* their wives and children carried into captivity. the rest of their *murther* brethren must have undergone the same fate, had they not

<sup>1</sup> *1 Maccab.* v. 1, & seq.    <sup>2</sup> *Ib. ver. 8.*    <sup>3</sup> *2 Maccab.* x.  
3 i., & ad fin.

(M) Probably the same with *Gadara* and *Gaderon*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Diopolis* and *Nicopolis* (3). *Eusebius* places it about five miles northward of the latter (4).

(3) *1st. Steph. Byzant. sub Gadara, Rgland. Palest. I. iii.*    (4) *Ioc. Hebr. wisely*

## The History of the Jews.

which prevented it, by flying into *Dathema*, a town in the land of *Gilead*, and there timely provided themselves of victuals. From thence they sent letters to *Judas*, acquainting him of their condition; and that *Timotheus*, perhaps the son of him that was lately killed at *Gazara*, at the head of the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, *Ptolemaidans*, and others, was besieging them in it. *Judas* had scarcely done reading these letters when he received others from other brethren in *Gathara*, who were also in the same distress. The general immediately convened a sanhedrin, in which it was resolved, that *Judas* and his brother *Jonathan* should go to help the *Gileadites*, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thousand ; that *Simon*, another of his brothers, should go with another part, to succour those of *Galilee* ; and that *Joseph* and *Aarias*, his other brothers, should stay to defend *Jerusalem* with the residue of their troops. To these latter, *Judas* gave strict charge in no case to act offensively, but to stand in their own defence, till his or his brother *Simon's* return.

*Judas*  
marches to  
their re-  
lief.

Defeats  
*Timo-*  
*theus.*

Takes *Bos-*  
*ora*, &c.

*Simon's*  
success in  
*Galilee.*

UPON *Judas's* passing the *Jordan*, he was informed by the *Nababeans*, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the *Jews* of *Dathema*, but likewise those of *Bosora*, *Caphor*, *Maked*, *Alema*, *Carnaim*, and other considerable cities of the land of *Gilead*, were likewise closely shut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were designed to be all destroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be lost, *Judas* immediately fell on *Bosora*, took it, and destroyed all the males ; and, having freed his brethren, set fire to the city, and marched directly to *Dathema*. Upon his arrival thither early the next morning, he found *Timotheus* ready to storm the place ; and fell upon him so unexpectedly, and with such force, that he put all to the rout ; for they no sooner heard the sound of the trumpets, and understood that *Judas* was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmost confusion, and betook themselves to flight. *Judas* pursued them some time, and killed about eight thousand of them ; but, remembraing the condition of his other brethren in the *Gileaditish* cities, he marched against, and took them one after another, made them undergo the same fate as he had that of *Bosora*, loaded himself with the richest plunder, and returned with his victorious army, and delivered brethren, to *Jerusalem*.

On the other hand, *Simon*, his brother, though inferior in strength, having but three thousand men, was no less suc-

*ACEAR.* v. 1, &c seq.      *Ibid.* ver. 13, & seq.      *Ibid.* v. 23, &c seq.

cessful in *Galilee*; he defeated his enemies in several encounters, killed about three thousand of them, and pursued them as far as *Ptolemais*, enriched himself with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thraldom; but finding it impossible with his handful of men to secure their longer abode there, by the total reduction of their oppressors, he chose rather to bring them with their families and valuable things to *Jerusalem*; whence *Judas* soon after sent them to new-peopled the desolate cities of *Judea*, where they might dwell in more safety. Whilst things went on thus successfully in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, the two brothers, that were left at *Jerusalem*, unluckily took it into their heads to signalize themselves also by some brave exploit on their heathen neighbours, though contrary to *Judas's* express commands. *Jammia* ap- Joseph's peared to them a fair sea-port town (N), and worth their unlucky conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. *attempt on Thither therefore they led their little army, but were unhap-* *Jammia*. *pily defeated by Georgias, who commanded the place, and who sallied out against them, killed about two thousand of their men, and forced the rest to return with shame and loss to Jerusalem*. *Judas* in the mean time had fallen again upon the *Idumeans*, who, as we have seen, had joined with *Judas's* the *Syrians*; and though in some measure humbled by him, *against the* were still stirring against him. He led his forces into the south Idume-parts of *Idumea*, laid siege to *Hebron* their famous metropolis, ans. took and demolished it, with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off a considerable plunder<sup>1</sup>. From thence he entered the territories of the *Philistines* and *Samaritans*, inflicting terror where-ever he passed, and discouraging those nations at least from acting offensively against him (O); and returned not

<sup>1</sup> *Maccab.* v. 55, & seq.      <sup>2</sup> Ver. 64, & seq.

(N) It was situate on the *Mediterranean*, between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, or *Ayedod*, about two hundred and forty furlongs distant from *Jerusalem* (5). Its name is not to be found in the *Hebrew*, but the *S. Ptolemy* gives places it after the city of *Ekrus*, mentioned in *Jobu* (6). It is supposed to be the same with *Zabrib*, which *Uzziah* king of *Judah* is said (7) to have taken from the *Philistines*. See it described in

a former volume (8).

(O) In this expedition, some indiscreet priests, that were in his army, endeavouring to signalize their valour by some exploit against the enemy, fell a sacrifice to their untimely ambition; being all slain in the attempt, and by their death convinced both him, and his army, how dangerous it was to go one step beyond the orders of such an experienced general (9).

(5) *2 Maccab.* xi. 7.

(6) *Cyp.* xx

(7) *2 Chron.* xxvi. 6

(8) *Vid. n. I. ad 4.*

into *Judea* till he had taken a tour through the land of the *Philistines*, and destroyed, with their fortresses, all their altars, groves, and other instruments of idolatry <sup>5</sup>.

ALL these repeated successes raised such a jealousy and shame in the lately defeated *Syrian* governor, that he assembled an army of eighty thousand foot, together with all the horse and elephants he could get, and marched with them into *Judea*, not doubting speedily to reduce that unhappy

*Lysias invades Judea.* Year of kingdom into as miserable a condition as *Antiochus* had formerly done. After which his design was to extirpate the

2185. whole *Jewish* nation, to repeople their land with heathens, Bef. Chr. and to glut his master and himself, both with the richest

163. plunder of the land, and with the file of the high-priesthood, and other dignities.Flushed with these great hopes, he marched through the southern territories of *Judah*, probably because the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry; and laid siege to the fortress of *Bethzura*. *Judas*, who was then at *Jerusalem*, having first implored the divine blessing on his arms, set out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a man on horseback in rich shining armour, and seemingly brandishing his spear against their enemies. This sight, whatever it was, gave his men such a flush of courage, that they fell like lions on the *Syrian* camp, killed eleven thousand foot, and put the rest to flight.

*Lysias, now more than ever convinced, how impossible it would be to carry on the war against such an enemy, with either honour or advantage, sent *Judas* some overtures of peace <sup>6</sup>,*

peace. with a promise, that it should be ratified by the king his master, and that the young prince should make him all the concessions he should with justice demand, and conclude an alliance with him. *Judas* accepted the proposal, and sent soon after *John* and *Abdulom*, two of his captains,

*Judas's conditions.* with the conditions upon which he would agree to a peace, to *Lysias*, who caused them to be forthwith conveyed to *Antiochus*. They contained upon the whole a general amnesty

for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict against the *Jews*, and safe passports for commissioners to pass from *Jerusalem* to *Lycia*, or, if need required, to

*Agreed to by the Syrians.* *Antioch*. These conditions, advantageous as they were to the hated *Jews*, were readily granted by the king; and two letters were sent, the one to the governor, and the other to the *Jewish* senate. *Lysias* likewise wrote to them, as did also *Q. Menenius*, and *T. Manlius*, two *Roman* ambassadors to the *Syrian* court. All these four letters the reader may

<sup>5</sup> 1 Maccab. 6, 68.      <sup>6</sup> 2 Maccab. 1, 1, ad 13.

find in the chapter last quoted<sup>1</sup>; by which it appears, how ready both the governor and his master were to agree to a peace with the victorious Jews, and how friendly those two Romans had interposed their good offices on their behalf (P). It appears also by the king's letter, that Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, who in all likelihood was then at the Syrian court, had also laboured to promote this peace, and was desirous to be included in it; since he was sent back to Jerusalem <sup>The apostate Menelaus promotes the peace.</sup>

<sup>i</sup> 2 Macc. xi. 16, to the end.

(P) Lysias's letter being dated from the month *Dioscorinthius*, or, as the Latin version abridges it, *Dioscorus*, has very much puzzled the chronologists, because there is no such month to be found in the Syro-Macedonian calendar, or indeed in any other of those times. Those who suppose it to have been an intercalary one, placed between those of *Dythus* and *Xanthicus* (1), answering in part to our *March* and *April*, have not given us any proof, that either *Syrinus*, *Maeandrus*, or even *Chaldaea*, had any such intercalary month; and the main reason on which they build their supposition, to wit, that the ratification of the peace is dated from the month *Xanthicus*, immediately following, makes rather manifestly against it.

For Antioch and Jerusalem being at least four hundred miles asunder, it is hardly credible, that these articles of peace could have been sent for, transmitted, and ratified, in so short a space as a month. We must therefore either suppose some mistake in the text, occasioned by the inadvertency of the transcribers, or that the king was not then at *Antioch*, but either in *Phoenicia*, or some other place nearer Jerusalem; and this latter seems indeed the most probable, if we

consider, that according to the living letter (2), those Jews, who were to transact this peace, and to go from Jerusalem to Lysias's camp, or as we observed above, to the Syrian court, had but fifteen days allowed them, to wit, from the fifteenth to the thirtieth day of *Xanthicus*, which would have been too short a space to have gone to and from the king, and makes it reasonable to suppose he was nearer Judea.

In this case *Dioscorinthius* and *Dioscorus* may be probably enough either a corruption, or more likely, other name for *Dystrus*, immediately preceding *Xanthicus*, or, if the former be derived from *Dios exortator*, as who should say the month *Dios* of the *Corinthians*, because *Dios* among the *Bithynians* answered the *Dystrus* of the *Syro-Macedonians*, which is not improbable, then the *Dioscorus* of the *Latin* version will be only an abbreviation or corruption of the *Dioscorinthius* (3).

These letters bear moreover the date of the hundred and forty-eighth year, to wit, of the Seleucidae, which the learned author last quoted has proved to answer to the year before Christ 163. and the rest in proportion accordingly; to which we refer the reader.

(1) *Scal. de annis temp. l. ii. Uffser. sub A.M. 3841.*

(3) *Vid. Prid. sub an. 163.*

(2) 2 Macc. xi. 30.

*salem by Antiochus*, as his letter terms it, *to comfort or confirm the Jews*<sup>k</sup>.

THIS peace however, which seems to have been obtained from the young king by the sole interest of *Lysias*, unless we join with him the high priest above-mentioned, could not be brooked by the other *Syrian* generals; so that, as soon as *Lysias* was retired to *Antioch*, *Timotheus*, *Apollonius*, another of that name, and son of *Gennetus*, *Hieronymus*, *Demophon*, and *Nicanor* governor of *Cyprus*, began to renew their hostilities against the *Jews*. The neighbouring nations<sup>l</sup> were equally forward to infest them (Q). But *Judas* could stay no longer to revenge himself on those perfidious wretches, because *Timotheus*, who had by this time got a fresh army, was entered the land of *Gilead*; but marched directly to their assistance: he had scarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of *Arabian* nomades (R), in number about

<sup>k</sup> 2 Macc. xi. 32.

<sup>l</sup> 2 Macc. xii. 1, & seq. ad 9.

(Q) Some instances, of which the author give us in those of *Judas*, who treacherously invited, upon some pretence, a number of *Jews*, with their wives, and children, who lived in the place, on board some barges by the sea shore, rowed them further into the deep, and flung them overboard, to the number of about two hundred. This barbarous action was soon after heard of at *Jerusalem*; and *Judas*, justly provoked at it, marched against those murderers, came upon them in the dead of the night, set fire to their boats and port, and killed all those that had saved themselves from the flames. He would have done the same to the city itself, but they had timely

shut their gates upon him; and when he was resolving its utter destruction, hearing that those of *Jamnia* had hatched the same cruel mischief against those *Jews* that lived with them, he turned his arms thitherward, came suddenly upon them, and burnt their

ship, port, and magazines, insomuch that the flames were seen from *Jerusalem*; though, as we hinted before, at near two hundred and forty furlongs, or about thirty miles distance (4).

(R) These were a kind of wandering people, living in tents, and staying in a place no longer than it afforded them provision for themselves and cattle. They were the descendants of *Ishmael*, and, according to the angel's prediction of them (5), their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them; for they lived chiefly upon plunder, especially of the caravans, who therefore went well armed; and whenever they met, they seldom gave quarter to one another; and as those plunderers were stout, warlike, and well acquainted with the course of all those countries, it was no ill policy in the *Jewish* chief to secure their friendship, and future services.

(4) *De hoc vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 482, (B), & 2 Maccab. 12. 1, & seq.* (5) *Gen. vi. 12. See also vol. iii. p. 255, note. (M).*

five thousand foot, and five hundred horse. A fierce engagement immediately ensued, in which *Judas* having got *Judas* *de*-  
the better, forced those free-booters to sue for peace; and *seats the*  
granted it to them the more readily, that I march into *Arabians*.  
*Gilead* might not be stopt<sup>m</sup>. However, he obliged them to  
furnish him with a certain number of cattle and provisions,  
and extorted a promise, that they hould assist him in any  
thing he should require of them; after which he marched  
in all haste to the other side *Jordan*, to attack the *Syrian*  
general. Here he met with several other obstacles, and *Take se-*  
was forced to take some places in his way. The first of them *viral*  
was *Caspis*, or *Cosphim*, a cit, well fenced with high walls, *towns*.  
and so well provided within, that the inhabitants, trusting to *The people*  
their own strength, threw many scornful and blasphemous *of Caspis*  
sarcasms at the *Jewish* army; but *Judas* assaulted it with *put to the*  
such unexpected bravery, that he made himself master of it,  
and put all the inhabitants to the sword, insomuch that a  
neighbouring lake, about two furlongs broad, was seen run-  
ning with blood<sup>n</sup>.

FROM thence he marched into the land of *Tob*, where the  
*Jews*, called from thence *Inueni*, had shut themselves up  
in the fortress of *Characa*, and whence *Timotheus* having in  
yam tried to dislodge them, was gone, after having left a  
good garrison in a place strongly situate within its neighbour-  
hood to keep them in awe. As soon therefore as *Judas* found *Characa*  
him gone, he sent two of his generals with a detachment to *taken*;  
take that garrison, whilst he with the rest of his army, marched  
in search of the *Syrian* chieft. *Dositheus* and *Sipater*, the  
two *Hebrew* generals, soon after forced the garrison, and put  
it to the sword, to the number of ten thousand. By this  
time *Timotheus* had got an army of an hundred and twenty *and Ti-*  
thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and *motheus*  
when he heard that *Judas* was in still much against him, he *defeated*  
sent all the women, children, and other luggage, into *Garnim*, a strong city of *Gilead*, and very difficult of access,  
whilst he himself encamped his army in the neighbourhood of  
*Raphon*, upon the borders of the river *Jalib*. As soon as  
*Judas* was come near enough for his vanguard to be seen by  
the enemy, they seem to have been seized with a panic fear;  
for they made such haste to fly from him, that they wounded  
one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this  
running fight *Timotheus* lost thirty thousand of his men; and  
unable to rally the rest, betook himself to flight also. Those  
who escaped the slaughter, finding themselves closely pursued,  
fled into *Garnim*, and a great number of them went and

<sup>m</sup> 2 Macc. xii. 9—12.<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 12—16.

Carnion took refuge in the temple of *Atargatis*. *Judas*, who came taken and close after them, burnt the temple, and them in it; then burnt. setting fire to the rest of the city, they all perished likewise, either by the flame, or by his sword, to the number of twenty-five thousand (S).

**Ephron** In his way to *Judea*, he was of necessity to pass through taken, *Ephron*, that city being so advantageously situate, that he burnt, and could neither turn to the right nor the left hand of it. It was rasid. moreover well fortified, and peopled by strangers of all nations. He therefore sent in a peaceable manner, to demand a passage through it; but they, instead of opening their gates to him, shut, and even walled them up, and prepared themselves for a siege. *Judas* therefore caused it to be proclaimed through his camp, that every man should scale the walls in the place that chanced to be convenient to him. On the other hand, the city, which had been well garrisoned by *Lysias*, had placed their choicest men on the battlements of it. The assault was fierce, and lasted the whole day, at length *Judas* carried it, and took the city, put all the males, about twenty-five thousand, to the sword, took their wives and daughters captive, seized all the richest plunder, and burnt and quite razed the place. From *Ephron*, crossing the *Jordan*, he spread his army along the plains of *Bethshan*, then called *Scythopolis*, a considerable city, about an hundred furlongs from *Jerusalem*<sup>o</sup>. Here he inquired of the *Judeans*, how they friendship to the Scythopolitans. had been treated by the *Syrians*, and, they answering much to the commendation of that people, *Judas* returned them thanks for their kindness to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendship with them, and assured them of his own <sup>p</sup>, and then continued his journey towards *Jerusalem*. During

<sup>o</sup> De hac vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 461, (A); vol. vi. p. 89, & alib.  
<sup>p</sup> 2 Macc. ubi sup.a, v. 30, & 31.

(S) As for *Timonius*, he fell in his flight into the hands of *Dositheus* and *Syphax*, who were hastening from the land of *Tob* to join their commander. These two captains, however, were persuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon protest that he would do the same to a great number of *Judeans*, whom he held prisoners: many of whom were nearly related, either to some of those officers, or to some of their

troop, there present (6). This victory quite completed the reduction of the land of *Gilad*, and put it out of his enemies power to undertake any thing against him there. However, as the cities of *Judea* were still in great measure unpeopled, he chose rather to follow his brother *Simon's* example, and bring the *Syrian Giladitis* to inhabit and fortify them (7).

(v) 2 Macc. xii. 24.

(~) I. I. 20. 24, 25.

their

their march, *Judas* kept still in the rear of his army, en-*Returns to couraging those that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of pentecost. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for their quick and wonderful success (1), and it is evident that they were all returned safe and victorious without the loss of one man.*

*Judas* had still a powerful enemy left. *Georgias*, governor of *Idumea*, was at the head of that nation, and had harassed the Jews for some time. He therefore made no longer stay at *Jerusalem* than the evening before Pentecost, immediately after *Mazde*, which he marched at the head of only three thousand foot, *against* and four hundred horse. The two armies met, and the onset *Georgias* was so fierce on both sides, that *Judas*, till then so victorious, had the mortification to see some of his men killed on the spot. *Dositheus* his cousin, a brave captain of his, whom we have hitherto mentioned upon another occasion, having seized the *Idumean* general alive, held him arm'd off close to the shoulder by a *sabre* in his hand, and was forced to quit his prisoner, he took the opportunity to fly into *Aman*, a fortress near *Tiberias*. An hour put off his troop, commanded by *Iustus*, had sufficient slack to let them, that they were quite exhausted. At length *Judas* having *him* revived his men by fresh prayer, and a unlike canticle, the *enemy* took flight infested, which gave him an opportunity of rallying his scattered forces to *Olympos*, a town near the field of battle, where they purged themselves for the sabbath then ensuing. From thence *Judas* falling upon the southern *Tribes* He parts of *Idumea*, took *Hennon*, and other fortresses, after which he took *Adora* from the *Phelefim*, pulled down *ofor* all their images and houses ever he passed, and returned to *Jerusalem*, loaden with rich rewards and plunder.

1 Macc v. 46, & seq. 2 Macc viii. 30 & seq. 2 Macc viii. 39 & fin.

(1) Quick and wondrous success! if we consider, that the peace could not be broken soon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth day of *Av* this year, answering to the beginning of our *April*, and that the feast of pentecost fell either on the latter end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, so that in less than two months time they burnt the two havens and fleets of *Joppa*.

and *Tiberias*, beat the *Arabians* nomads, took the city of *Capha* defeated *Thamud* and his numerous army burnt and destroyed *Cosmon* and *Ipion*, besides several other strong fortresses, received a vast number of their prisoners, and were returned to *Jerusalem* loaden with spoils, and a vast multitude of female captives, and all this without any loss on their side.

*Besiges  
Acra.*

*Some ren-  
gardo Jews  
carry the  
news to  
Antio-  
chus:*

*who sends  
a vast ar-  
my against  
him.*

*Defeated  
by Judas.*

ALL this while the fortress of *Acra* was in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the *Jews* from resorting to the temple, but annoyed those that did, especially in *Judas's* absence. Upon his coming therefore from *Odol-lam*, he resolved to form the siege of it; and to that end gathered together his whole army, furnishing himself with engines for throwing of large stones, and with other instruments for the siege. The place being very strong, and the garrison numerous, and well furnished with arms and provisions, made it likely to hold out a considerable time. But

the renegado *Jews*, a great number of whom were then in the place, and knew the valour and stoutness of *Judas*, and his troops, finding that they should be forced at length to surrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, advised the commanders to make a vigorous sally, in order to give an opportunity to some of their brethren to go to *Antioch*, and inform the young king of their distress. Their advice was taken, and the sally so well managed, that a number of those renegadoes, with some officers, found an opportunity to divide from the rest, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival, they informed the king of all that *Judas* had done. They added, that he persecuted with the most merciless hatred all that dared shew any fidelity to the *Syrians*; that he plundered, sacked, and put to fire and sword all that came in his way; and lastly, that to shake wholly off the *Syrian* yoke, he had besieged the garrison of *Acra*, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe; and that it must undergo the fate of *Bethsura*, and other of his cities and fortresses, if not speedily relieved. This news failed not to alarm the *Syrian* monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to assemble his troops; and if they were not thought sufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with the utmost dispatch into *Judea*. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vast army was drawn together, consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, thirty-two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. These, having the young king, and his uncle *Lysias*, at their head, marched to the borders of *Idumea*, where

they laid siege to the fortress of *Bethsura*, a strong place, situate between *Jerusalem* and *Idumea*. Here *Judas*, with a small number of resolute men, fell on the king's army in the night; and, having killed four thousand of them,

\* 1 Macc. vi. 18, & seq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & seq.

and thrown the whole camp into the utmost confusion, retired by break of day without the loss of one single man in so hazardous an attempt<sup>w</sup>.

THOUGH the *Syrians* were well apprised of the extraordinary valour of the *Jews*, yet they did not doubt but they should overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants; and therefore leaving *Bethsura*, resolved to venture a general engagement, which *Judas* did not decline; nay, he at the head of his small army began the onset, and killed about six hundred *Syrians*. But finding, th<sup>t</sup>, notwithstanding all his efforts, he must at length be borne down, *Jerusalem* and perhaps hemmed in, by so numerous an army, he chose to withdraw in time, and retire in good order to *Jerusalem*. Upon his retreat the king returned to the siege of *Bethsura*, *Bethsura* which, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged to surrender, for want of provisions<sup>x</sup>. They however yielded not, to *Antiochus* till they had obtained very honourable conditions from the chus. besiegers; but that treacherous monarch, *Josephus* tells us<sup>y</sup>, kept his word no farther with them, than the bare saving of their lives, turned them all naked out of the town, and put a garrison of *Syrians* in it.

FROM thence he marched to *Jerusalem*, laid close siege to the temple, and met with a long and stout defence from the Jewish garrison and general, who stud<sup>d</sup> all his machines and attempts by his counterworks. Their only misfortune was, the want of provisions; for having already spent the last year's store, and this happening to be the seventh year, when by the *Mosaic* law they could neither plow nor sow<sup>z</sup>, great numbers of the *Jews* found themselves obliged to slip out of the town for want of food, insomuch that there were hardly hands enough to defend the place. They were in this desperate state, and just ready to surrender, when Providence was pleased to relieve them, by an unforeseen accident; for, in the height of the besiegers hopes of a speedy surrender, word was brought to *Antiochus* and *Lysias*, that *Philip*, who had usurped the government, was marching full speed against them at the head of an army out of *Peraea*; so that they were forced to abandon the siege, and try to give him battle. Their resolution was kept secret, both from the *Jews* and *Syrians*, till they had made a peace with the former; in which he offered them such honourable and advantageous terms, that they readily accepted them. As soon as they were agreed and sworn to by both sides, *Antiochus* was

<sup>w</sup> *Macc.* l. i. c. 5. v. 65, 68, &c. & l. iii. c. 13. v. 15-17, &c.

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.* l. i. c. 6. v. 49, 50. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 18. 22. <sup>y</sup> *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 14. <sup>z</sup> See before, vol. iii. p. 35, & seq.

admitted within the fortifications of the temple ; and finding them, as he pretended, too strong to intrust the *Jews* with them, he immediately ordered them to be pulled down, and demolished, contrary to the articles he had so lately sworn to ; and returned into *Syria*<sup>a</sup>.

*Menelaus*, the apostate high-priest, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being restored to his ill-gotten dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of *Judaea*, left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself to the young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion ; but his wicked policy failed him ; and *Lysias*, tired with so dear and dishonourable a war, and fearful, lest, if that priest was left at *Jerusalem*, and invested with any power, he should stir up a new revolt, either to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, or to maintain his own authority against a people who he foresaw would never brook it ; thought it more adviseable to find out some expedient to rid himself of so dangerous a wretch. He easily compassed his end ; and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accused him as the author and cause of all the late mischiefs, soon prevailed upon him to condemn him to such a death as his treason, if not to *Antiochus*, yet to his God and nation, had deserved. He was accordingly sent under a strong guard to *Birra*, and there mud<sup>b</sup> to undergo the cruel punishment of the ashes<sup>c</sup>, a death we have already described in a former volume<sup>d</sup>.

*Onias de-  
prived of  
the high-  
priesthood.*

*Gets a  
new one  
in Egypt,*

THE *Jews*, tho' glad at the death of that monster, did not however gain much by the change. *Lysias* found means to persuade the young monarch, that there was a necessity of bestowing the high-priesthood on one that was not of the pontifical family ; so that that dignity, which of right belonged to *Onias*, the son of that worthy high-priest who had been murdered at *Antioch*, was bestowed on *Arimus*, or *Justinus*, as he is called by *Josephus*, who was of another family, though of the *Aaronic* race, and a person no less wicked than his predecessor. As for *Onias*, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he resented the wrong to such a degree, that he retired into *Egypt*, in hopes by some other way to recompense himself for his loss. Accordingly, when he came to that court, he found means to ingratiate himself so well to *Ptolemy Philo* *ctor*, and to his queen *Cho-  
patia*, that they granted him, some time after, the liberty of building a temple at *Alexandria* like that of *Jerusalem*, of which he secured the priesthood to himself and descendants, as shall be seen in the sequel<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPHUS, ub. sup. vid. & 1 MACCAB. vi. 48, & seq. <sup>b</sup> 2 MACCAB. xiii. 23. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xiii. 3, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Vol. v. p. 261, & 1 O. <sup>e</sup> 2 MACCAB. xiv. 9, &c. JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xii. c. 15. l. xx. c. 8

WE have elsewhere seen how *Demetrius*, the lawful heir Demetrio of the Syrian crown, had found means to escape from *Rome*, trius re-where he had long been kept an hostage ; and being arrived at *covers* *Antioch*, had put to death both *Antiochus Eupator*, and *Lysias*, Syria. and had made himself master of that capital, and soon after of the whole kingdom <sup>e</sup>. In the mean time *Alcimus*, whom the Year of *Jews* had refused to admit into the high priesthood, because he the flood had obtained and sullied that dignity by open apostasy, and 2185. conforming to the religion and customs of the *Greci*, came Bef. Chr. to complain of it to the new monarch. he brought with him 163. a number of other Jewish renegadoes, whom *Judas* had caused ~~to be banished~~ *Judaea* for the same crime. At the head of *Alcimus* these miscreants he applied himself to the king, accused *Judas*, goes to and the rest of the *Maccabean* or *Afmonian* race, of having accuse destroyed those that stood firm to their allegiance to him, *Judas*. of banishing others for not joining with his revolted party, and of other such crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their present distress was owing to their readiness in obeying the edicts of the late king his uncle ; and, in the end, *Alcimus* forgot not to beg the high-priesthood to be confirmed to him by *Demetrius*. This accusation, carried on with such seeming zeal for the Returns king, so exasperated him against the *Jews*, that he sent with full back the apostate, and with him *Bacchides*, governor of power *Mesopotamia*, at the head of a considerable army, and with *against* orders both to reinstate *Alcimus* in his dignity, and to carry him on the war against the *Maccabees*. These two were joined in the same commission, and *Alcimus*, impatient to see himself restored to his dignity, hastened the *Syrian* general, who was wholly devoted to him, to march forthwith into *Judaæa* <sup>f</sup>.

UPON their arrival, the two colleagues, who knew what an *His* *ata-* enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at first to decoy *gems de-* him by some treacherous stratagem ; and to this end send de-feated. puties to the Jewish chief, to invite him to a conference, in order to end their dispute in an amicable way. They spared neither promises nor vows, that he should come and go with the utmost safety. *Judas* easily suspected their design, and rightly judged, that such a powerful army was intended rather to surprise him, than to decide the title of an intiating priest, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Instead therefore of accepting this invitation, he set himself about preparing for a vigorous defence (X). Some few indeed of his men, being terrified

<sup>e</sup> Vol. ix. p. 302.

<sup>f</sup> 1 MACCAB. vii. 8, & seq.

(X) His behaviour, however, was disapproved by several do- flors and scribes, and particular-  
ly by some of the *Affideans*, whose

*Bacchides leaves him.*

*Commits several cruelties in his return.*

*Renega does flee to Alcimus.*

*Severely p. sed by Judas.*

terrified either at the news of *Alcimus's* perfidy, or at the sight of so great an army, left *Jerusalem*, and retired into the country ; but there stayed with him a sufficient number to suppress the power of the treacherous pontiff, in spite of his daily reinforcements from the renegado *Jews*, who resorted to him, especially after *Bacchides's* departure. For that general, whether stung with the reproaches which his perfidious action lately mentioned had brought upon him, or with shame for not having been able to subdue an enemy by treachery whom he dared not attack openly, left *Judaea*, and returned to *Antioch*, leaving *Alcimus* what he thought a sufficient number of troops to maintain himself in his new dignity. However, whilst he was in his way to the *Syrian* court, he could not forbear committing some cruelties against those *Jews* that came in his way : particularly at *Beseth*, or *Bethsetha*, he caused a considerable number of them to be seized and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well.

*Alcimus*, on the other hand, spared neither pains nor cost, to flatteries nor cruelties, to strengthen himself. Those that were of greatest service to him were the *Jewish* renegadoes and malcontents, whom his carelessness and generosity drew daily to his side. For with these, supported by the *Syrian* troops, he was making continual excursions into some part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and destroying all that refused to acknowledge him. *Judas*, on his side, was no less watchful of all opportunities to oppose and suppress him : he defeated him in several encounters, and took such a severe

§ 1 MACCAB. vii. 19.

whose feet we have spoken of in a former volume\*. These, pretending to a greater degree of sanctity than the rest, insisted that an amicable way was preferable to an hostile one ; and that *Alcimus*, being of the race of *Aaron*, ought not to be lightly suspected of treachery against them. But, finding *Judas* unmoveable, they took it into their heads to try how far their mediation would work towards the desired peace ; and, having obtained an oath of safety from the treacherous high-priest, they came to him, accompanied

with some of their doctors and scribes. *Alcimus* gave them at first a friendly reception ; but as soon as he had got them into his power, he caused sixty of them to be seized, and put to death (6). This action proved of singular service to *Judas*, and his council, and sufficiently justified his refusal ; and his whole army, being now fully convinced, that nothing but the blackest perfidy was to be expected from that base pontiff, and his colleague, resolved to stand up for their general, their religion and liberty.

\* See vol. iii. p. 235, (P)

(6) 1 Maccab. vii. 12, & seq.

vengeance

vengeance on as many of the revolted *Jews* as fell into his hands, that the rest dared no longer act against him. *Alcimus* being by this time convinced of the impossibility of mastering, <sup>returns to</sup> his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the sacred Antioch. altar, unless he procured a much greater army to force the *Jews* into a compliance, returned to the *Syrian* court; renewed his former accusations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the *Jews* that were then at *Anti-*  
Year of  
the flood  
2186.  
Bef. Chr.  
*och*; and, having presented *Demetrius* with a rich crown of gold, and other valuable presents, obtained of that incensed monarch a fresh army, the command of which was given to *Nicanor*, one of the bitterest enemies the *Jewish* nation had, with express orders to cut off *Judas* and his party, disperse his army, and settle *Alcimus* in his power and dignity beyond the possibility of any future opposition <sup>b</sup>. But *Nicanor*, who had lately been so feebly convinced of the strength and bravery <sup>a</sup> of the *Jewish* host, and justly reckoned, that one defeat more gainst the would complete his disgrace, entered *Judea* with a numerous army indeed, but with a full resolution, if possible, to bring *Judas* to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him.

HOWEVER, upon his first coming into that province, all the apostate *Jew*, and the heathen, whom *Judas* had driven out of *Judea*, came in shoals to lift under him, in hopes to be soon resettled in their former habitations; so that his army *His army* was increased exceedingly, before he reached the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, the *Jews* being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine assistance by fasting and prayers, and then prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. *Nicanor* advanced as far as the fortress of *Pelusium*, where *Simon*, *Judas*'s brother, having attempted to come out against him, was so terrified at the sight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to *Jerusalem*<sup>c</sup>. All this, however, could not induce the *Syrian* general to begin any hostilities against the valiant *Judeas*; on the <sup>d</sup> *overtures* contrary, he sent three of his head officers, *Festulus*, *Theophilus*, and *Matthus*, to make overtures of peace to him. *Judas*, who had so lately observed the propensity of his men to peace, acquainted them with the proposals made by *Nicanor*; which were so well approved by them, that a day, and a place, for an interview, was agreed on by those two generals, to give it the finishing stroke. *Judas*, however, <sup>e</sup>, justly suspecting the sincerity of the *Syrians*, caused a certain number of his stoutest men to be so advantageously posted, that they might come to his relief, in case any violence were offered

<sup>b</sup> 1 MACCAB. viii. 21, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> 2 MACCAB. xiv. 12, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> to

**Nicanor  
disbands  
his army.**

**Year of  
the flood  
2187.  
Bef. Chr.  
161.**

**Aleimus  
accuses  
him to the  
king.**

**He is or-  
dered to  
renew the**

to him. But his precaution at this time was needless, and *Nicanor* was so bent upon concluding a peace with him, that their conference was carried on to the satisfaction of both parties : the articles were agreed on, after which *Nicanor* went and stayed some time in *Jerusalem*, without giving the *Jews* the least cause of complaint ; so far from it, that, to avoid giving them any umbrage, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and lived in perfect friendship with the *Jewish* nation <sup>k</sup> (Y).

THIS harmony was however interrupted soon after by the perfidious high priest, who, thinking the peace not sufficiently advantageous to him, went a third time to *Antioch*, to complain against *Nicanor*, as a betrayer of his master's interest, and a friend to his mortal enemies ; in testimony of which, he urged the peace lately concluded between them. *Demetrius*, though justly surprised, that his general should venture to take such a step, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not however recall him ; but contented himself with refusing to ratify the articles, and sending him fresh orders to renew the war against the *Jewish* chief,

2 MACCAB. xiv. 16, & seq. Vid. & antiqu. I.

14.

(Y) In this year some chronologers (7) place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period of eighty-four years, in order to settle the return of their new-moons, and festivals depending on them. We have shewn, in a former volume (8), what a wretched method they had used before the captivity for discovering those new appearances without the help of astronomical tables. The inconveniency they found in it after their dispersion, obliged them to fall upon some surer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, observe them, and the other festivals, on the same day.

This method was the period of eighty-four years, which, in all probability, was only the period of *Calippus*, which that learned astronomer had published

about an hundred and seventy years before, and consisted of seventy-six Julian years, and to which they added the *octoeteris*, either thinking it answered their purpose better, or, which is more likely, as dean *Prideaux* conjectures (9), to make it look like a discovery of their own.

One thing is certain, and worth observing, that this period of eighty-four years was peculiar to the *Jews*, and has been used from thence downward to the time of the famous *Hillel*, who corrected their calendar about the year of Christ 260. It was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the Christian church, in the settling of their *Easter*, till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced, which are foreign to our present subject.

(7) *Vid. Boeber. de antiqu. prof. Israh. cyclo. ap. Pind. correc. sub an. 162.*  
(8) *Vid. iii. p. 33, (II).* (9) *Ubi suprad.*

and

and not to sheath the sword till he had killed him, and wholly suppressed his party. Upon receiving this unexpected order, *Nicanor* was extremely displeased; on the one hand, he was loth to violate the peace, which had been so strictly kept by the *Jews*; on the other, he feared the resentment of the king, if he disobeyed such an express command. This last motive having at length determined him, his main study was now to find out some plausible pretence for laying hold on the *Jewish* chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and, instead of their former intimacy, to treat him with coldness, and an air of superiority. This soon gave *Judas* to understand, that it was high time to look to himself; which he accordingly did, with such speed and secrecy, that he had quite disappeared before they had the least suspicion of it. *Nicanor*, surprised to find him gone out of his reach, endeavoured, as well as he could, to conceal his resentment: he found himself now obliged to raise a new army, and to act against him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and unwilling to do it. At length, having gathered a sufficient number of forces, and come towards *Jerusalem*, he resolved once more to try to surprise him by some foul stratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this attempt he sent some deputies to acquaint him, that he was not to *suppose* come to make war against him, but to treat of peace with *Judas* him, and to invite him to a new interview. *Judas* came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their first greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but having discovered his treacherous intent, he withdrew, and from that time refused to meet him any more. *Nicanor* then ordered his troops to advance toward *Capharsalama*, not far from *Jerusalem*, where being met by the *Jewish* army, a battle was fought, in which he lost five thousand men. But the *Jews*, finding themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of *David*, and some into the temple<sup>1</sup>. *Nicanor* then led his army straight to *Jerusalem*, and, getting upon the eminence of mount *Sion*, was addressed by some of the priests, and heads of the people, who came in a submissive manner to him, and shewed him from that place the sacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the prosperity of king *Demetrius*. But the *Threatens exasperated general*, having cast many insolent and blasphemous reflections on what he called their base superstition, swore the utter destruction of them, and their temple, unless *Judas* was immediately delivered up to him. But *Judas* had *Judas* happily put it out of their power, having betimes withdrawn with-

<sup>1</sup> *I Maccab vii. 27, & seq.*

himself

*draws  
into Sa-  
maria.*

himself into the land of *Samaria* with some of his faithful troops. However, it was in vain for the priests to urge this, or any thing else, in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his resentment, for having misled his blow. The poor priests, seeing an exasperated enemy at the head of a powerful army at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other recourse but to Nicanor's their prayers and tears ; whilst *Nicanor*, still bent rather upon *bellijs* stratagem than open war, bethought himself of an hellish expedient to oblige the *Jews* to apostatize both from their *God*, *Strata-* and their brave deliverer<sup>m</sup>. The reader may see it in the *gem.* note (Z).

*Nicanor* WHILE these things were doing at *Jerusalem*, *Nicanor*, marches to having heard that *Yudas* was in the land of *Samaria*, marched attack the against him with an army of thirty-five thousand men ; and *Jews*. as he still trusted more to his political stratagems, than to his

<sup>m</sup> 1 MACCAB. vii. 32, & seq. 2 MACCAB. xiv. 37, & seq. See also JOSEPH. antiqu. l. xii. c. 14.

(Z) They had at that time an aged member of their sunhe-drin, named *Razis*, a man high- ly esteemed by the nation for his strict piety and virtue, and whose inviolable fidelity to his religion and nation, had gained him the title of father of the *Jews*. *Nicanor* having heard so good a character of him, and that his example had preserved numbers of his people from apostatizing, conceived a design, either to force him to it by fair or foul means, or to do a despight to the nation, by putting him to some cruel de 'h To this end he dis-patched five hundred of his sol- diers to take and bring him to him. These, finding his castle strongly guarded, were endeavouring to break open the doors, or to force him out by letting it on fire, when the old man, after a long and stout defence, finding himself on the brink of being

either taken or burnt, rushed on the point of his sword, and pierced himself through. How-ever, the wound not proving mortal, he, seeing the soldiers rushing into the house, ran to the top of one of the turrets, and flung himself headlong down. This fall not having put an end to his life, he raised himself up, ran through the midst of them to a neighbouring steep rock, leaving a rivulet of blood behind, which issued out of his wounds ; and, having gained the top of it, he opened his wound with his hands, tore out his bowels, and threw them at his aghasted ene-mies (1). Thus died the brave old man, with an intrepidity rather to be admired than imitated. The *Jews*, however, have made no scruple to canonize him for a martyr, though his death was rather that of a madman, or a desperado.

(1) 2 Macca. xii. 37--46.

strength,

strength, he resolved to attack him on the sabbath, not doubting but they would, as they had formerly done, choose to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day (A). His impious design, as well as blasphemous threatenings against the temple, did not go long unpunished ; for whilst he was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Bethoron*, *Judas* marched *Judas* immediately against him with his three thousand men, and en-marched camped near *Adasa*, a place about thirty furlongs distant <sup>against</sup> <sub>him</sub> from the enemy. The first thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the sacred books, and, to assure them further of the divine assistance, he acquainted them with a comfortable vision, which he had lately had, in which he saw *Omas*, the late worthy high priest, and after him the prophet *Jeremiah*, interceding for the *ewish* people ; and that the latter had presented him with a splendid sword, and given him at the same time an assurance of a complete victory. This speech had the desired effect, and his men were on a sudden fired with such courage, that they routed *D* <sub>feat</sub> the enemy on the very first onset. *Nicanor* being killed one <sup>and</sup> <sub>of</sub> the first, his men were seized with a panic, threw down <sub>him</sub> their arms, and sought in vain for shelter. *Judas* pursued them ; and the *Jews* of the neighbouring cities hearing of his victory, stopping their flight, killed them all to a man, insomuch that there was not a single person left to carry the news to *Antioch* (B).

## THE

(A) He was, however, assured of the contrary by some of that nation, who were in his army, and who begged, that he would pay a regard to that sacred day, which the God of heaven had consecrated to his service. *Nicanor* asked them, with a scornful taunt, Whether there was indeed a mighty God in heaven, who had ordered the sanctification of the sabbath and, being answered in the affirmative, he replied, And I, who am powerful upon earth, do command you to fight for the king your master, and to obey his orders

(B) This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month *Adar*, answering to our *February*, and on the next day, the

body of *Nicanor* being found among the slain, *Judas* ordered his head, and right hand, which he had so lately lifted up with threatening oaths against the temple, to be cut off, and carried in triumph to *Jerusalem*, where being arrived with his army, he caused them to be exposed to the view of *Jesus* and *Gentiles*, remanding them at the same time, that those were the head and hand of the profane *Nicanor*, who had sworn the total destruction of their sacred temple. His tongue he likewise ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung up on some of the highest towers of that city. After the usual rejoicings for the victory, a public anniversary was instituted

*The Jews make alliance with Rome.*

THIS victory gave the Jewish nation some peaceful intermission ; and their enemies, being justly terrified at the continual successes of their leader, suffered him to return, and take quiet possession of the city ; which his successors were however forced to quit soon after to the then superior power of the Syrian general, and apostate *Alcimus*, who held it but a short while, and for the last time, as the sequel will presently shew. During this peaceful interval, *Judas*, always intent on the interest of his religion and nation, observing how powerful the Romans were now grown, and how faithfully they then protected and assisted their friends, resolved to procure an alliance with them, which might prove a bulwark against the oppressive power of the Syrians. *Eupolemus* the son of *John*, and *Jason* the son of *Eleazar*, who had been already sent with success to *Seleucus Philopator*, were likewise chosen for this embassy. Their proposals were readily accepted by the Roman senate, and a decree was accordingly made, and engraven on copper, in order to be sent to *Jerusalem*, importing, that the Jews were thenceforth acknowledg'd as the friends and allies of the Romans ; that both nations should be ready to succour each other, and the allies of either, with all their power, and in no case should assist their enemies : and forasmuch as *Demetrius Soter* had been complained against to the senate, as an oppressor of the Jewish nation, they sent a letter to him, injoining him for the future to forbear all hostilities against them, and threatening him with an invasion of his country by sea and land, in case he did not comply with the purport of their decree<sup>(2)</sup>. This alliance was made in a lucky time ; for whilst it was transacting at *Rome*, *Demetrius*, having received the news of *Nicanor's* defeat and death, was sending the right wing, that is to say, the flower of his army (C), into *Judaea*, with *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* at their head.

\* 2 MACCAB. ub. sup. JOSEPH. ub. sup.

stituted by the sanhedrin, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of *Adar*, by the name of the day of *Nicanor* (2) ; which has been kept ever since.

(C) It was usual in those days for the kings to command the right wing of their army, so that the best of their troops were generally placed there.

With relation to the alliance

above-mentioned, *Josephus* observes (3), that it was the very first that ever the Jews made with *Rome* ; which is very probable also from the manner in which the author of the first book of *Maccabees* prefaches his account of it (4) ; for it appears from it, that the Jews, till then, knew but little of the *Roman* state.

(2) 1 Macc. vii. 45. & seq. 2 Macc. vii. 1, & seq. Vid. & Joseph. antiqu. l. xii. (3) Antiq. i. xii. 1. (4) Cap. viii. 1, & seq.

It consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; chides *sent* and with these *Bacchides* entered *Galilee*, and took the city *against*<sup>(4)</sup> of *Maseloth* or *Maffadoth*, in the territories of *Arbela*, where *Judas*. he killed a great number of *Jews*. From thence they marched towards *Jerusalem*; but, being told that *Judas* was retired into the neighbourhood of *Eleasa*, they went to attack him there. *Judas* had then but three thousand men; and when these beheld the superiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them so far, that only eight hundred of them staid with him, and the rest conveyed themselves away, to the great *Judas* regret of their valiant chief, who was now so sorely pressed, *abandoned* that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but must by his men, either fight, or be cut in pieces. However, trusting in that Year of superior assistance which had accompanied him hitherto, he the flood encouraged his men the best he could: a dreadful fight ensued, 2187. which lasted from morning till evening; and *Judas* observing Bef. Chr. that the enemy's right wing, commanded by *Bacchides*, was 161. the strongest, made a stout push at it, broke and pursued it as far as mount *Azotus*; but, in the mean time, the left having quite surrounded him and his men, he was at length over-borne by their numbers, and slain, after a long and vigorous *and slain*. defence; so that he fell down on an heap of his enemies, which he had killed round about him (D).

THE report of his death was no sooner spread through *Ju- The Jews da*, than it gave new life to all the enemies of the *Jews*; greatly so that the greatest part of these found themselves obliged, *distressed*.

(D) As soon as the news of his death had reached *Jerusalem*, the whole city was filled with the most pungent sorrow. An universal mourning was made for him for some time; and, in imitation of that which *David* made for *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they sung these lines of his, *How is the mighty fallen! How is the preserver of Israel slain!* However, his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy; for whether the *Syrians*, after this victory, which redounded less to their honour than a defeat, left the field of battle, or whether a truce was made for the burying of the dead, the author tells us, that it

was taken and carried off by his two brothers, *Jonathan* and *Si-mon*, and buried in the sepulcre of his father at *Modin* (5). Thus died the brave Jewish general, six years after his father *Mattatias*, and was succeeded by his brother *Jonathan*. The Maccabish historian adds, that the rest of his victorious wars were omitted, because they were too numerous; and *Josephus* (6), that he not departed from the precepts of his father, who enjoined him never to shun any labours or hazards for the service of his country; and that he died in the third year of his executing the office of high-priest.

(4) 1 *Maccab.* ix. 1, & seq. ad 22. *Joseph.* *arrig.* 1 x i c. 1. h.

*ad fin.*

(6) *Id.*

partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge Bacchides their governor, and to submit themselves to him. Whilst therefore this general was taking all proper measures to secure his own government, some of the principal officers that served under him were ordered to make a diligent search after the principal friends and adherents of the *Maccabees*, and to put them to the most torturing deaths; insomuch that this persecution seemed to exceed all that they had suffered since their return from *Babylon*, and caused as general a defection. Under these dismal circumstances, those few, who still retained a love for their religion and country, had recourse to *Jonathan*, surnamed *Apphus*, and desired him to take upon him the command of the Jewish forces, and to endeavour to stop the cruel progress of the Syrian general. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon, and was gathering what forces he could get: but Bacchides, being informed of it, and coming against him with a design to surprise and put him to death, forced him and his followers to retire into the deserts of *Tekoah*, where they encamped near the lake *Azphar*, being fenced by a large morass on the one side, by woods on the other, and the *Jordan* before him<sup>o</sup>. This situation, which he thought very advantageous to his handful of men, because there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverse, when they came to engage the enemy, as we shall soon see.

In the mean time, hearing that Bacchides was in full march against him, his first care was to secure the goods and equipage of his followers (which were very numerous) till better times. The *Nabathaeans*, as we observed before, were then at peace with them. *John* therefore, the brother of *Jonathan*, was sent at the head of a convoy, to deposit those moveables with them. But in his way he was surprised by the *Jambrarians* (E), who, issuing out of their city, fell upon him, slew him and his men, and carried away all their baggage. This injury did not go long unrequited. *Jonathan* being informed soon after, that a great wedding was to be celebrated at *Medaba*, between one of the *Jamorian* chiefs, and a daughter of a Canaanitish prince (or perhaps rather of the *Arabians*, them.

<sup>o</sup> *I Maccab.* ix. 23, ad 45. *JOSEPH.* antiqu. l. xiii. c. 1.

(L) These were a tribe of the plundering *Arabs*, who lived then at *Medaba*, formerly one of the cities which the *Moabites* took from the tribe of *Reuben* (7), and afterwards the *Arabs* from them.

(-)  
(-) *Cof.* *Yoh.* xiii. 16. *Israh xv. 2.* & *Joseph.* antiqu. l. xiii. 1.

now settled there), and having got notice of the day on which the bride was to be conducted to her new home, he and his men laid in ambush behind an hill; and as soon as the company, which was very numerous, and of both sexes, was come nigh enough, they fell upon them, killed them to the number of four hundred, and carried away the plunder to their camp.

As soon as *Bacchides* heard of this retaliation upon the *Bacchides Jambrians*, he hastened his army, with a resolution to attack <sup>comes</sup> the Jewish general on the Sabbath, at which Jonathan found <sup>a</sup> *against* himself in no small distress. On the one hand, he was hemmed <sup>the Jews</sup> in on all sides; and, on the other, his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to stand in their own defence, partly at the sight of their superior enemies, and partly out of respect to the day, whether they had forgot the resolution and example of their late chiefs to the contrary, or whether they suspected the validity of it. At length, *sorely* in finding himself pressed by the enemy on the one side, and on the other by the reluctance of his men to encounter them, he addressed himself to the latter in the following short, but pathetic speech “ Come on, and let us fight for our lives, for it is not now with us, as it was in time past, for you see plainly, that the battle is both before and behind us, and the *front* on this, and the morass and the wood on that side. Nor here is there a place left for us to turn aside to. Wherefore now cry ye unto heaven, that we may be delivered out of the hand of your enemy.” As soon as he had done speaking, his men, partly through his encouragement, partly through despair, made a bold push at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the first onset. *Bacchides* all the while seemed to aim solely at *southern*, which being perceived by him, *Bacchides* attempted to make an effectual blow at him, but was prevented by his addicts. The Jews, finding themselves at last unable to cope with such an army, cast themselves <sup>all</sup> to one and all into the river, and swam to the other side, after having killed about a thousand, or, according to *Josephus*, two thousand of the enemy.

*Bacchides*, now convinced that they would fight on the Sabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to pursue <sup>retro</sup> them any farther, but returned with his army to *Jerusalem*, and there gave orders for the fortifying and garrisoning such places as were most likely to keep the Jews in awe, and to oblige the *Maccabees* party either to submit, or at least to forbear all future attempts against him. Among those were *Bethoron*, *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethel*, *Timnathaea*, *Bethfutura*,

and some others, especially the fortress of *Acre*, into which, besides a new supply of men, arms, and provisions, he sent the children of some of the principal *Jews* to be kept as hostages there, to prevent their parents and relations going over to *Jonathan* and his party. At the same time, the apostate *Alcimus*, finding himself master of *Jerusalem*, gave orders for demolishing the wall of the temple, which inclosed the court of the priests from that of the people (F), and which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zachary*. But he had scarce begun the work before he was struck with a dead palsey, which took his speech from him, so that he died without being able to utter a word, or to take any care of his house. After his death, *Bacchides*, having by that time brought all *Judaea* into subjection, thought he had no further business there, but returned to *Antioch*, and left the *Jews* and heathens to live in peace there, which they did for about two years <sup>a</sup> (G).

*Jonathan*, and his party, made the best of this short interval to secure themselves; so that they lived quietly, and without mistrust, during that time. This gave his enemies an opportunity to make a fresh attempt upon him, by inviting *Bacchides* to surprise and destroy the whole party, which they sent him word might be done in one night. *Demetrius*, who had been by this time acknowledged king of *Syria* by the *Romans*, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that side, was easily persuaded to send *Bacchides* with a powerful army into *Judaea*. As soon there-

<sup>a</sup> *I Maccab.* *ibid.* *Joseph* *antiq.* lib. xiii c 2.

(F) Or more probably that which divided the court of the circumcised from that of the uncircumcised. For as his apostasy had made him incur the hatred of all sincere  *Jews*, it is not unlikely, that he caused this partition wall to be pulled down, to mortify them, and to ingratiate himself with the heathen, and the renegados of his nation. However, the book of *Maccabees* calls it the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary (8), and *Josephus* (9) the wall of the old sanctuary; and adds to it the works of the prophets.

(G) It may be also likely enough, that he was privately recalled by *Demetrius*; for that prince at this time stood in great need of the friendship of the *Romans* (1), and had probably received their letter, which ordered him to cease all hostilities against the *Jewish* nation; so that he was forced to recall him, yet privately, that the *Jews* should not be too elated by it; and this may be the reason why neither *Josephus*, nor the book of *Maccabees*, mention it.

(8) *I Maccab.* ix. 54. (9) *Antiq.* I. xii. c. 17. (1) *Vid. Polyb.* *legat.* cxx. fore

fore as this general arrived there, he sent letters to those of *against* his party, with orders to seize *Jonathan* and his men, and to *the Jews*, bring them to him, as had been agreed before. This plot, *His plot* however, had not been carried on with such secrecy, but that *against* *Jonathan*, vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to disappoint it, and to punish those traitors that had hatched it; for he came suddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conspirators, *disfrat* and put them all to death (H), after which the rest were soon dispersed, and the whole design discomfited<sup>1</sup>.

AFTER this signal escape, *Jonathan*, being informed of *Bacchides's* coming against him, and finding himself by far too weak to withstand so great a force, retired to *Bethbasi*, or, as *Josephus* calls it, *Bethlagan*, a place strongly situate in the desert of *Jericho*, which he and his brother *Simon* fortified, and filled with all necessary provision for a siege. *Bacchides* came according to his expectation, and laid close *Jonathan* siege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increased with all his adherents in *Judea*, whom he summoned *Bacchide* to repair to him thither. As the siege was like to last long, *Jonathan*, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a small brigade went out to reinforce his army; and, crossing the country, defeated *Odon* *narches*, and his brethren, and the sons of *Phasmon* in their tents. These, we suppose, were part of the besieging host. From thence he went on, attacked and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced *Bacchides* to come to their assistance; which, being perceived by *Simon* from within, he made a vigorous sally, burnt their engines; then, falling upon his army, discomfited it on one side, whilst his brother did the same on the other. *Bacchides*, vexed at the heart to meet *him* with such a defeat, where he expected an easy victory, vented his rage on those who had invited him out of *Syria*, and put many of them to death, resolving to raise the siege, and to return to *Antioch*. The only difficulty was how to do it, if not with honour, at least with as little disgrace as might be, which as soon as *Jonathan* understood, he sent him some *Mole* messengers with proposals for a peace; which were gladly accepted,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MACCAB. ix. 57, ad 61. JOSPH. ant 1 VIII c. 1.

(II) *Josephus*, in the place above quoted, says, that *Bacchides* put those fifty *Jews* to death out of spite at his disappointment; but, according to the book of the *Macabees* there cited, it was the *Jewish* chief that punished them for their treachery, as we have related above (2)

cepted, and soon after ratified by both parties. By these articles, all prisoners were to be released on both sides, which was accordingly done; and *Bacchides*, having sworn never more to act offensively against *Jonathan*, departed into *Syria*, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived<sup>s</sup>. It seem likewise by these articles, that *Jonathan* was left, if not governor, at least deputy-governor, of *Judea*; for, as soon as *Bacchides* was gone, he went and settled in *Michmash*,

*Judge where he judged Israel*, pretty near like the antient judges. Jews.

He began with making a severe example of all the apostate *Jews*, who were the cause of all the wars and persecutions that fell upon their nation, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, downwards to that time. After this, he set about reforming the *Jewish* church and state. So that from this time *Judea* began to enjoy a perfect peace, and free exercise of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety<sup>t</sup>.

SOON after this, the troubles that happened in *Syria*, and of which we have already spoken in the last volume<sup>u</sup>, gave the *Jews* a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and not only of raising themselves into a state of independency either on that kingdom, or that of *Egypt*, but of being lightly courted by both. But, above all, *Demetrius*, who so feelingly knew their strength and bravery, had most cause to use all possible means to prevent their declaring for his competitor *Alexander Balas*. To effect which, he wrote *him* a letter to *Jonathan*, full of expressions of the sincerest friend-  
ship and confidence, and in which he gave him full power to levy what forces he should think fit, and to cause new arms the fiod to be fabricated; and declared him his new friend and ally.

In the end, he added an order for setting at liberty all the <sup>2195.</sup> *Chr.* hostages which had been sent by *Bacchides* into the fortress of *Aia*, and had been detained there ever since, notwithstanding the late peace concluded with him. As soon as *Jonathan* had received the letter, he brought it to *Jerusalem*, caused it to be read before that garison, and demanded the hostages to be delivered unto him according to the tenor of it. The people, seeing how great a power he was now invested with, durst not hesitate about the matter, but immediately complied with his demand; after which *Jonathan* found his army increase exceedingly, there being now no check nor danger in joining him. On the other hand, those garisons which *Bacchides* had left in several strong places of *Judea* above-

<sup>s</sup> Id. ibid. & seq.      <sup>u</sup> Macc. ubi sup vers. 62. ad fin. Antiq.  
    Vol. ix. p. 307, & seq.

mentioned,

mentioned, finding themselves too weak to withstand him, forsook them, and fled (I).

WHEN Alexander understood what a powerful friend *Jonathan* was like to prove to the side he should declare himself for, and the favours which *Demetrius* had <sup>already</sup> bribed him with, he resolved to outbid him, and to draw him to his interest<sup>w</sup>. He sent him a most obliging letter (K), in which Alexander bestowed the high-priesthood on him, and accompanied it <sup>decreet litter</sup> with rich presents, and among them a purple robe, and a <sup>golden</sup> crown<sup>x</sup>. *Jonathan* readily accepted of them, putting *Jonathan* on the priestly vestments, on the feast of tabernacles<sup>y</sup>, in the <sup>ninth</sup> year of his government (L), and in the seventh month <sup>per fest.</sup>

ot

<sup>w</sup> *I Maccab.* x. 10, & seq. *Antiq.* I. xiii c. 3, & 4. <sup>y</sup> *I Macc.* ibid ver. 17, & seq. *Ant ubi supra*, c. 5. <sup>x</sup> *Iud ibid.*

(I) Those only of *Bethsura* and *Acia*, which were mostly filled with apostate *Jews*, not daring to follow their example, lest they should be pursued, and meet with their just deserts, resolved to stand it out to the last, and either surrender upon late terms, or to die sword in hand. *Jonathan*, however, did not think fit to besiege them immediately, but went to *Jerusalem*, where his presence was more required, and there caused the repairs, both of the city and temple, to be forthwith set about, fixing his abode in that city, to see the work more effectually finished (3).

(K) The purport of it was to this effect. "King *Alexander* to

" his brother *Jonathan*, &c.

Being informed of your power and valour, and that you are worthy of our friendship, we constitute you high-priest of your nation; and it is our pleasure, that you be inrolled in the number of the king's friends. To this end we have sent you a purple robe, and a

" golden crown, not doubting " a suitable return from you for " our affection and friendship (4).

(L) *Josephus* (5) says, in the fourth year after the decease of his brother *Judas*; but it will not be difficult to shew his mistake in making this last outlive and succeed *Alexander*, the contrary of which, appears from the book of the *Maccabees* (6), which expressly mentions the installation of *Jonathan* to have been on the hundred and sixteenth year of the *Grecian* kingdom, which answers to the three thousandth eight hundredth and fifty-second year of the world, and one hundredth and fifty-third before Christ (7)

We have likewise shewed, at the close of the last section, that *Mattathias*, the father of the *Maccabees*, was descended from the priestly family of *Jaddua*, though not from that of *Jaddua* or *Judas*, the high priest, whose lineal heir and successor was that *Omas*, whom we lately mention ed to have retired into *Aia*.

(3) *I Maccab.* x. 10. *Joseph. antiq.* I. xiii. c. 4. (4) *Joseph. antiq.* I. xiii. c. 4. (5) *Ibid.* (6) *Conf. I Macc.* x. 21. & ix. 3. 28, & 54. (7) *Ibid. Upl.* in ann. & the marg. of the *Macc.* in loc.

Year of that year. However, as he would not seem wholly to the flood receive that dignity from a prince, whose right to the *Syrian*  
 2196. crown was so justly suspected, he got himself chosen to it  
 Bef. Chr. by the suffrages of the Jewish nation ; and, indeed, notwithstanding  
 152. a specious right to it ; for being, as we hinted in the last  
~~Hist~~ note, of the family of *Zoarib*, and consequently of the first  
 it. class of the *Aaronic* race, that was sufficient to intitle him  
 to it upon the failure of that of *Josedek*, which had enjoyed  
 it ever since their return from *Babylon* ; and we do not read  
 of any survivor of it, except *Onias*, who was then in *Egypt*,  
 and had there, if not apostatized, at least made a considerable  
 schism, by setting up a new temple, altar, and priesthood.

As soon therefore as *Jonathan* was invested with his new dignity, his first care was to raise new forces, and to cause a great number of arms to be made, resolving to side with *Alexander*. When *Demetrius* found, that his competitor was likely to deprive him of so important an ally, he spared neither Demetrius's second letter to him. favour nor promises to prevent it : he sent him a long letter, couched in the most obliging terms, and wherein he artfully disguised his resentment for his defection, under the greatest professions of confidence in his friendship and loyalty : in acknowledgement of which, and to bind him still faster to his interest, he promised him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, imposts, or taxes, a free exercise of the Jewish religion, with many other concessions, and privileges, vastly exceeding those which *Alexander* had made to him, and too great indeed to be really designed by that monarch. At least the memory of the many mischiefs and persecutions which they had so lately suffered under him, made him suspect the sincerity of them ; and indeed such was the character of that prince, and the present situation of his affairs, that they might well extort such exorbitant promises from him, without any real intention to perform them. However, whether through relentment or diffidence, *Jonathan* chose rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and disengaged all future friendship with a man who had given them so many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation : so that from this time they stuck close to *Alexander's* interest ;

\* Ibid. ibid.

*Abio*, and there built a temple for the use of the Egyptian Jews.

*Jonathan*, if not his brother *Judas*, was therefore the first of the family who enjoyed the pontifical dignity, which continued

in it through a number of successors till *Herod's* time, who, from hereditary, made it venal and arbitrary, as we shall shew in the sequel.

and

and it was lucky for them that they did so, since *Demetrius* was soon after defeated and killed by him, as we have seen in the former volume <sup>a</sup>.

THE new monarch having, by that decisive battle, made himself master of the *Syrian* crown, forgot not to express his gratitude to the *Jewish* chief; he invited him soon after to his nuptials, to which *Jonathan* went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendship and esteem. During his stay at *Ptolemais*, where they were celebrated, some disaffected *Jews* came to exhibit some accusations against him; but the king, resolving not to hear any thing against his friend, caused a proclamation to be made through the city, expressly forbidding any such complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he caused him to sit by him cloathed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, made him generalissimo of *Ptolemais*, and gave him some other titles and government in his kingdom; all which cast such a damp upon his accusers, that they secretly departed for fear of further mischief. *Jonathan*, on the other hand, having made some considerable presents to the king and queen, and to their court, returned into *Judea*<sup>b</sup>, highly satisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of such an ally. From this time the *Jewish* nation became more and more considerable, not only in *Judea*, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil, but in other countries also, and particularly in *Egypt*, where *Ptolemy Philometor*, and his sister and wife *Cleopatra*, raised many of them to considerable posts, both at court and in the army, intrusted them with the keeping of their principal fortresses, and had given the command of their army to *Onias* and *Dositheus*. These two, if we may believe *Josephus*<sup>c</sup>, seem to have wholly ingrossed the king's favour during his whole reign (M).

Bef. Chr.  
150.

Jews in  
Egypt

highly  
esteemed.

By

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ix. p. 312.  
Antiq. ubi supra.  
I. ii.

<sup>b</sup> I MACCAB. ibid. ver. 59, ad 66.  
Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. cont. Apion.

(M) The misfortune was, that *Onias* could not be satisfied with it, whilst he saw himself deprived of the dignity of the *Jewish* high-priesthood, and of the pleasure of performing the functions of that supreme dignity, which his birth intitled him to. Since therefore there were no hopes, that *Jonathan* would ever yield

to him that of *Jerusalem*, he had no other way to make himself amends for it, but by setting up a new one in *Egypt*; and his great credit with the king and queen easily procured him the liberty of doing it.

This edifice, which was built after the model of that of *Jerusalem*, but neither so large, nor so

Year of By this time Alexander having, partly by his negligence and the flood debaucheries, and partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his  
 2200. favourite Ammonius, as it were, invited young Demetrius out  
 Bef. Chr. of his retirement in *Cnidos*, to come and recover the crown  
 148. from him<sup>d</sup>; Apollonius, then governor of *Cælesyria* and *Pales-*  
*line*, revolted to him, whilst Jonathan, rememb'ring his  
 alliance and obligations, stuck close to Alexander's interest.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. ix. p. 312, & seq.

so sumptuous, the reader may see described in *Josiphus* (8). It was surrounded with a very strong stone wall, and had the altar of incense and burnt offerings, &c. like that in *Judea*; only, instead of the seven branch candlestick, Onias contented himself with a stately golden lamp, which hung from the root by a chain of the same metal.

The place he pitched upon was the ruins of an ancient Egyptian temple, within the noine of *Heliopolis*; which being therefore polluted, gave no small scandal to the Jews there, who were moreover very strenuous against the setting up any temple against that of *Jerusalem*, as being expressly contrary to the *Mosaic* law. To remove these two scruples, Onias trumped up a prophecy out of *Isaiah* (9), imputing, that an altar shold be set up unto the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, alluding to the times of the gospel, but which he applied to this new edifice he was about to build; and whereas one of the Egyptian cities there mentioned is called שִׁיר הַחֲרֵב, *bach. beres* in the text, which signifies the city of the sun, tho' the *keri* or margin reads it יְרֵב,

הָרֵב, *hair beres*, the city of destruction (1); Onias took it in the former sense, and so is supposed to have made choice of the territory of *Heliopolis*, as if it had been alluded to by the prophet (2): though the last-quoted author adds another reason; to wit, his being governor of that district, and having built a city in it, which he had peopled with Jews, and called by his name *Onion*.

When he had once removed these two difficulties, he did not want for priests and levites to officiate under him, so that the divine service wa, afterwards performed in this new temple in the same manner as it was at *Jerusalem*, till both were destroyed by the same Roman emperor (3).

However, those priests who had officiated in the Egyptian, were never suffered to do so in the Jewish, but were, if we may believe the talmudists (4), looked upon as guilty of the same schism with those who had sacrificed on the high places, and, as such, were only admitted to the very lowest services. They received their eleemosynary stipends out of the revenue of the temple, but were excluded from eating any of its holy things.

(8) *Antiq.* I. xiii. c. 6. I. xiv. l. 14. I. xviii. c. 2. *Bell. Jud.* xix. 19. (9) *Isaiah* P. id. curreq. sub in. 149. (1) *Vid. Munster. in loc.* (2) *Scaliger in chronol. Euseb.* (3) *Vid. Josiph. bell. Judiac. l. viii. c. 30.* (4) *Vid. Mijhr. tract. Ainschotb. c. 15.*

*Apollonius* therefore having got a considerable army together, marched against him as far as *Jamnia*; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous parts of *Judea*, for fear of losing the benefit of his cavalry, he sent him a daring message to come and fight him in the plain country. *Jonathan* Jonathan readily accepted the challenge, and marched from *Jerusalem*<sup>b</sup> to *Joppa*, at the head of ten thousand men, and in his way by *Apollo-nius*. was met by his brother *Simon* with a reinforcement. The town, being garrisoned by the troops of *Apollonius*, shut their gates against the Jewish general, and obliged him to take it by siege, which he quickly did, and almost in full sight of the enemy's army. As soon as *Apollonius* perceived it, he came against him with eight thousand foot, and three thousand horse, leaving a thousand more of these behind to surprise the Jews in the rear, whilst he attacked them in front, and so made a feint, as if he was marching with the former southward towards *Azotus*. *Jonathan* came out as he expected, and *Apollonius* facing about, fell upon him, not doubting but his stratagem would gain him a complete victory. But he soon found his project discomfited by the experienced Jewish general; for having drawn up his army in the figure of an oblong square, not unlike the Macedonian phalanx, his brave troops bore the brunt of the battle on both sides with unusual firmness till the evening, when *Jonathan*, observing the enemy's horse to be quite spent, rushed on a sudden upon the foot, which was now destitute of the cavalry, and totally routed *Defrats* them. The greatest part of them fled to *Azotus*, and sheltered themselves in the temple of *Dagon*, whither the Jewish army pursued them; and, having made themselves masters of the town, set it on fire, temple and all. The number of the slain, whether by the sword, or the flames, amounted to eight thousand. From *Azotus* *Jonathan* went and plundered some other neighbouring towns; only that of *Ascalon*, which met him with presents, and compliments of submission, was spared, after which they returned to *Jerusalem*, loaden with rich plunder. *Alexander*, soon after, hearing of *Jonathan's* faithfulness and victory, sent him a present of a rich deer's <sup>c</sup> *buckle* or clasp, such as those only of the royal family used to wear, and which fastened their purple mantle to the shoulder. <sup>d</sup> *him* he gave him moreover the city and territory of *Ekron*, and some other marks of his esteem.

ON *Philometer's* coming with his army into Palestine, on pretence to succour his son-in-law, but in reality to dispossess him of his kingdom, whether to seize it for himself, as the

<sup>c</sup> 1 Maccab ibid ver 74, ad fin.

<sup>d</sup> author

author of the *Maccabees* pretends <sup>f</sup>, or, which is more likely from the sequel, in favour of young *Demetrius*; some of the enemies of the *Maccabees* tried to render them odious to him, by shewing him the devastations they had lately made, particularly the ruins of *Azotus*, and of the temple of *Dagon*, and the carcases of those they had slain, and which were still <sup>Jews highly favourable to him</sup> stinking above-ground. But that prince, whatever his reasons were, could not be induced to shew any resentment against them for it. On the contrary, he laid all the blame of it upon *Apollonius*; and when *Jonathan* came to pay him a visit at *Joppa*, with a numerous retinue, he met with a kind reception from him, accompanied him to the river *Eleutherus*, and returned to *Jerusalem* <sup>g</sup>.

**Jonathan besieges Acre.** THE reader may remember how this prince, having given the kingdom of *Syria*, and his daughter *Cleopatra*, from *Alexander* to young *Demetrius*, surnamed *Nicanor*, died of the wounds he received in the last battle, before he could well settle him on his throne. *Jonathan* therefore took this opportunity, *Egypt* being then imbroiled in a civil war about the succession, and neither able nor inclined to assist the new *Syrian* king, to begin the siege of *Acre*, which was still garrisoned by *Syrian* troops, and was always ready to annoy the *Jews* going to and from *Jerusalem*. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the best manner; but in the height of the siege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it, to appear before him **Summoned by Demetrius,** at *Ptolemais*. However, he gave orders, that it should be carried on with the same vigour, as if no such summons had been sent to him; and, taking with him some of the most considerable priests and elders of his nation, came to the court, where he pleaded his cause so well before that prince, and backed it with such rich presents, that he was received <sup>and highly honoured by him.</sup> into his favour and friendship, and quite discomfited his accusers, who were sent away with disgrace. After this, *Nicanor* confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the highest place among his friends; and, for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, released, not only *Judea*, but also the three toparchies of *Lydda*, *Apharema*, and *Ramatha* (N), from all future taxes whatsoever <sup>h</sup>.

*Jonathan,*

<sup>f</sup> 1 MACCAB. c. xi. 1, & seq.      <sup>g</sup> 1 MACCAB. xi. 4, & seq. See also vol. ix. p. 314, & seq.      <sup>h</sup> 1 Macc. ibid. ver. 20, & seq. JOSEPH. ant. lib. xiii. c. 8. See also, vol. ix. p. 321, & seq.

(N) These three, with their territories, had been dismembered from *Samaria* some time before, and joined to *Judea*; and the late

*Jonathan*, upon his return to *Jerusalem*, doubled his Year of strength and vigour against the fortresses ; but finding that it the flood was like to hold out long, and to cost him dear, he bethought himself of procuring an order from the king, for the evacuation both of that and some other places, from which he complained to him the garrisons were still annoying the Jews. <sup>2203.</sup>

Bef. Chr.  
145.

He chose a lucky juncture for sending this request : for *Demetrius*, having a little before disbanded his troops, had given occasion to that revolt which *Tryphon* raised at *Antioch*, spoken of in the former volume i. He was therefore glad to grant it to him, upon condition he should assist him with some of his forces to quell the rebels ; and we have seen there, how effectually the three thousand men, which he sent him, did it, and at the same time retaliated to the *Antiochians* the many cruelties which those of their own nation had formerly suffered from the *Syrians*, both in *Judæa*, and out of it<sup>1</sup>.

*Demetrius* however, instead of performing his promise to *Jonathan*, broke even those which he had made to him at *Ptolemais*, and began to insist on his paying all the taxes and *treachery* customs which he had remitted to him at that interview. But <sup>to the Jews</sup> it was not long before a new insurrection, in which he was <sup>punished</sup> driven out of his kingdom by *Antiochus*, the son of *Alexander*, made him repent of his perfidy to the Jews, and of his tyranny to his own subjects.

The new king did not forget to secure the Jewish gene- *Antiochus* ral to his interest ; he confirmed all the former grants, and mounts the added some others to them ; and among them, he made his Syrian brother *Simon* general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea-coasts, from the *Ladder of Tyre* to the frontiers of *Egypt*, upon condition that those two brothers should declare <sup>2204</sup> for him. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon to forsake his old treacherous ally, and to accept of the offers of the new <sup>144</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See before, vol. ix. p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. xi. ver. 41, & seq.

late *Demetrius*, in his courting letter to *Jonathan*, confirmed to him the possession and immunities of them (5) ; and now the present king renewes the same grant, and allots the revenues of it towards the maintenance of the service of the temple, and of the priests on duty (6).

The reader may see the letter which he sent to *Lusitius* in fa-

vour of the Jews, in the place last quoted. He there styles that Cretan general his father, because he had assisted him in recovering and preserving his crown, and commands him to send a copy of his letter to the Jewish general, to be set up on some eminent place of the temple, to be perused by all comers.

(5) 1 Macc. x. 30.

(6) It. l. xi. 22. ad 30. Art. i. c. 8, ad

one : he sent him immediately an embassy of thanks, and to assure him of his best services. In pursuance of which, having obtained a commission for raising a good army, the two Jewish generals put themselves at the head of it, crossed the *Jordan*, and defeated Demetrius's troops, that were sent to make a diversion in *Galilee*. In this expedition, *Jonathan* was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy : he had encamped his army near the lake of *Gennezareth*, and was ad-

*Jonathan falls into an ambush.* vancing early one morning towards *Azor* : in his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambush, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to surprise him. As soon as he perceived his danger, he disposed his men the best he could for a brave defence ; but the greatest part of them, being seized with a panic, forsook him, and fled ; so that he was left with only fifty resolute fellows, and two of his com-

*His brave commanding officers, Mattathias and Judas.* With these he *defence and faced about*, and fought so desperately, that the enemy began *victory*.

to give way ; which being perceived at a distance by his runaways, they rallied again, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that they gained a complete victory, and pursued the *Demetrians* to their very camp at *Cadesb*. They killed of them about three thousand men<sup>1</sup> ; after this *Jonathan* sent his brother to besiege *Bethsura*, which had till then been garrisoned by heathens, and renegade Jews, whilst himself went and secured some of the principal cities of that province ; particularly that of *Aascalon*, which opened its gates to him ; that of *Gaza*, which he forced to surrender ; and, in a word, all the towns from thence to *Damascus*. *Simon*, on his side, having made himself master of *Bethsura*, freed the neighbourhood from the continual insults of that garrison, and returned to *Jerusalem*, whither his brother came also presently after.

*Gains several towns.* THESE successes of the two brothers abroad had cast such a damp on their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietness at their return. However, *Jonathan* did not think fit to trust to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done such signal services ; but set about means of preserving the peace and liberty of his nation, on the foot he had so happily established it. To this end he sent a new embassy to

*Alliance with Rome* to renew his alliance with the senate, which was done *Rome re-entered,* with great readiness on their part. In their return, his ambassadors were ordered to do the same with the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Grecian* states, with whom they were in friendship, which they did with the same ease and success.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. xi. ver. 67, & seq.

In their letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, the substance of which *and with* the reader will find in the note (O), they reminded them of Sparta, their letter formerly sent to their high-priest (*Omas III*) by *Arius* their king <sup>m</sup>, and inclosed a copy of it *with* their own. But whilst these alliances were transacting, news were brought to him, that the *Demetrian* generals, whom he had lately defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To prevent therefore their entering into *Judea*, he <sup>Invaded by</sup> marched out with the utmost expedition at the head of his forces, <sup>the Syri-</sup> resolving, if possible, to attack them in their own territories. <sup>ans.</sup>

He made such good speed, that he reached *Amathis*, a place on the frontiers of *Syria*, and encamped over-against them. Their design, it seems, <sup>v</sup> as to surprise his camp on the following night, but *Jonathan*, having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms all that night, ready to receive them; which being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp, where having lighted a good number <sup>They leave</sup> of fires, to conceal their flight, they forsook it, and <sup>their camp</sup>

<sup>m</sup> See vol vi p 150, (S)

(O) *Jonathan*, high priest, with  
the elders and priests of the *J*  
*yb* nation, unto the *ephori*, sc  
nati, and people of *Ie cætion*,  
their brethren, greeting  
“ Whence we have found,  
“ among our ecclesi, letter  
“ long since written by *Arius*,  
“ one of your kings, to *Omas*,  
“ formerly high priest of the  
“ *Jer*, wherein he expressed  
“ your friendship and affinity  
“ to our nation, which affinity  
“ we acknowledged with greatest  
“ honour, because we find it  
“ confirmed by our sacred books  
“ we have sent these our depu  
ties to you to renew the said  
“ alliance and brotherly union  
“ with you, lest we should be  
“ thought unmindful of it, by  
“ reason of the long interval  
“ which has elapsed since the  
“ receipt of it  
“ Be it therefore known unto  
“ you, that we have had you

“ alway in our minds, both in  
“ our solemn festival, and in  
“ our prayers and sacrifices, as  
“ our brethren and allies, re  
“ joicing at your successes, and  
“ beholding with pleasure the  
“ prosperity and splendor of your  
“ republic. As for us, though  
“ we thought ourselves honoured  
“ by your friendship and alli  
“ ance, ye have we hitherto for  
“ born to be chargeable or trou  
“ blesome to you, during all the  
“ gaiorous wars and persecutions  
“ which we have been exposed to  
“ to from our tyrannous neigh  
“ bours, but now, since heaven  
“ has blessed us with better times,  
“ we have thought fit to send to  
“ you *Name us* and *Antipater*,  
“ our late deputies to the Ru  
“ nament, with fresh offers  
“ of our best services to you,  
“ not doubting but they will be  
“ a bentily accepted by you,  
“ as hereinafter declared by us.”

Marched off unperceived. When the rising morning gave the Jews notice of their flight, Jonathan strove in vain to pursue them; they were already got far enough beyond the Eleutherus before he could reach that river. To make himself therefore some amends for his disappointment, he fell upon some Demetrian Arabs, whom he defeated, and carried off a considerable plunder; and from thence passing through Dara the Arabs, making still some excursions all the way, he arrived at Jerusalem.

*Simon's care of his leſt to take care of Judea and Galilee, kept a watchful eye over thoſe places he had lately ſecured to Antiochus in the laſt of thoſe provinces. He took a review of the garifons of Ajalon, and other fortifies in that neighbourhood; and being told, that the citizens of Joppa were inclined to receive a Demetrian governor, and ſome Syrian forces, he took it, and put a ſtrong garion of his own into it, and returned to join his brother at Jerusalem. Here they called a Jerusalem council, wherin it was resolved, that all the forts and ſconces of Judea ſhould be forthwith repaired; that new ones ſhould be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city ſhould be rebuilt; and a new one be raised between mount Sion, and the reſt of the city, of ſuch an height, as might effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end that the garion of Acre, being thereby deprived of all future ſupply, might be the ſooner either forced to ſurrender, or be starved in it (?)*

*Jonathan had governed the Jewish ſtate near  
treacherously decoyed into the perfidious Tryphon's power, and  
unwarily ſoon after murdered by him. That traitor knew but too  
well,*

*a 1 Macc xi. 62, ad fin. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.*

(P) All these wholſome reſolutions were immediately put in execution: for, he undertook to overſee the work within the city, and ſome that without. A ſtrong and high wall was accordingly buiſt in the former, which reached quite cloſe to the old one that was then repairing, and made up that place which was called Chrysopolis, towards the exit of the city, near the brook

*Cedron.* This ſo effectually incloſed that mount, that the garion were not long after forced to ſurrender. Simon, on his part, repaired all the old forts, and added to them that of Adiba, or Iuba, in the region of Sephalia, westward of Elathropolis. By all which Judea was now in a better condition for defence, than it had ever been ſince the return from captivity (8).

*(S) 1 Macc. xii. Antiq. ibid.*

*well,*

<sup>o</sup> See vol ix p 325, & seq.

as ready and willing as they, to undertake the defence of our nation and temple, of our wives, and of our children<sup>3</sup>. This speech was received with universal applause, and the people having in great measure recovered their drooping spirits, proclaimed him their commander and high-priest (Q), promising at the same time to follow him through all difficulties and dangers, in defence of their religion and country<sup>4</sup>.

As soon as he was installed in his new dignity, his first care was to finish the fortifications of the city with all speed, and to get together an army sufficient to make head against that of Tryphon, who was in full march against him. But when that traitor came to find the Jews in such a complete condition of defence, he contented himself with sending him word, that he had seized his brother for a debt of an hundred talents, which he owed him; and that, if he would send them to him, and his two sons as hostages, their father should be immediately released. Simon easily saw through this treacherous pretence, but dared not refuse his demand, for fear of bringing some unjust suspicion on himself, as if he was the cause of his brother's detention. In the mean time the Syrian garrison, being sorely pressed for want of provision, found means to send Tryphon word, and to beg his assistance; and he, having

Try-  
phon's  
treachery.

P. I Macc. xii. 39, & seq. Antiq. xiii. 10.  
pass. JOSLEPI. ubi supra, c. 11.

¶ I Macc. xiii.

(Q) It seems as if the assembly, however, had some scruple about the regularity of this election to the pontifical dignity; and therefore we find a kind of an apology made for it in the ensuing chapter (9); where having recapitulated all his glorious deeds, and his lineal descent from *Satorib*, they add, that they had chosen him their governor and high-priest, and intailed those dignities on his posterity, *until there should arise a faithful prophet* (1), who might set them to rights about it.

This apology was so much the more necessary, since, how highly soever those Asmonean heroes may be admired on other account, yet there can be nothing

said in their excuse, except the necessity and iniquity of the times they lived in, for acting in a two-fold opposition to their law; to wit, stripping the house of *Judah* of the royal power, by which that family became reduced to the lowest degree of poverty; and the transferring the high-priesthood from that of *Eleazar*, the elder branch of the family of *Aaron*, into their own. So that, upon the whole, those great men, tho' extolled by their own writers to the degree of saints and martyrs, must to an impartial reader appear to have been more solicitous to satisfy their own ambition, than to reform their church, according to the model of their divine lawgiver.

(3) 1 Macc. xii. 26, 27.

(1) Ver. 41.

increased the number of his forces, was coming to their relief, but was prevented by a deep snow, and forced to withdraw into winter-quarters; soon after which, he caused both *Antiochus* and *Jonathan*, with his two sons, to be murdered (R), as we have elsewhere related, and returned to *Syria*. As soon Jonathan as he was gone, *Simon* ordered their bones to be fetched from *Modin*, buried at that place, and to be deposited in the sepulcre of his fathers *Modin*, at *Modin*, with the solemnity suitable to his rank, and then Year of caused a stately monument to be reared over it<sup>1</sup> (S).

His next care was, to send an embassy to the *Roman* senate,<sup>2205.</sup>  
Bef. Chr.  
<sup>143.</sup> to notify to them the treacherous murder of his brother, with his succession to his office, and to renew his alliance with them. They were to do the like with the *Lacedæmonians*, and in both places they were received with great honour. Both nations shewed an uncommon resentment at *Tigris*'s treachery, and cheerfully renewed their friendship with *Simon*; to whom they sent back letters of congratulation on his accession to the Jewish high-priesthood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance, engraved on copper. All which being received, *Simon* caused them to be read before their great Rome and assembly; and then set about fortifying afresh both *Jerusalem*, Sparta, and other places of *Judea*, and raising new forces against my intended future invasion. Having thus far strengthened himself by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other necessary stores, he sent an embassy to *Demetrius*, whom *Tigris* had Embassy by this time stripped of almost his whole kingdom, and to Demetrius his letter to him, offered to acknowledge him king of *Syria*,

<sup>1</sup> *Macc.* xiii. 20, & seq. *Ant.* ubi suprad. <sup>2</sup> *Iid.* *ibid.*

(R) The text says, that it was at *Bosra* that he caused the three last to be put to death, and buried; but it is not easy to find the situation of that place; only one may conjecture, that it was in the land of *Gilead*, where he is said to have taken his winter-quarters. *Josephus* calls the place *Basca* (2).

(S) This noble piece of architecture stood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and, being itself raised to a vast height, was seen at a great distance at sea, and served for a land-mark.

It was made of white marble, curiously carved and polished. *Simon* caused also seven pyramids to be built round it; to wit, two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the last for himself. The whole was surrounded with a stately portico, whose arches were supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The top of it was adorned with shields, armour, ships, and other such embellishments curiously carved. All which were still to be seen, not only in *Josephus*, but in *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome's* time (3).

(2) *Ant.* l. xiii. c. 11.

(3) *Iid.* *Euseb.* & *Hier. loc. Hebr.*

**Demetrius's answer, and large grants.** and to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from the usurper, upon condition, that he confirmed him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities. He backed his offers with a rich crown of gold, and some other presents; and *Demetrius*, sincerely glad to accept the conditions, sent him a letter under the royal signature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amnesty and oblivion for all past hostilities, and constituted *Simon* sovereign prince of the Jewish nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time *Simon* took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-priest of the Jews; which dignities having been confirmed to him, and to his descendants, the next year, by an act of the sanhedrin, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward to be made in his name (T).

(T) In pursuance and by virtue of this grant, the Jews from that time ceased to date their contracts, and other instruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the kings, and dated them by the year of *Simon*, and his successor (1). This change was made by the general assembly of the Jews, both priests and elders, wherein the supreme government and high-priesthood were bestowed on *Simon*, upon account of his great exploits, and extraordinary merit, which are there enumerated (2); and with this farther addition, that those dignities should be intailed on his posterity, as we observed in a late note. Moreover a copy of the grant, which was inscribed, King *Ptolemais* unto *Simon* the high-priest, and friend of kings, and to the elders and nation of the Jews (6), was ordered to be engraved on tables of brass, and to be hung up in the sanctuary, and the original to be deposited among the archives of the nation.

This grant, which continued

some generations in his family, was dated on the eighteenth day of the month *Elul*, answering in part to our *August*, in the hundred and seventy-second year of the *Schacida*, and the third of *Simon's* pontificate. It is said to be given at the general assembly, held at *Saramael*, which the margin of our *English* version supposes, with *Vete'hul* and others, to mean *Jerusalem*, by transposition of the letters. The *Vulgate* reads it *Afar-mel*, which, if right, may be properly enough supposed to be put, according to the Greek way of writing *H·v·m* words and name, for *Chazar-mello*, or the court or porch of *Millo*. *Millo* was the deep valley between old *Jerusalem*, and the city of *David*; which that monarch, and after him *Solomon*, caused to be filled up at a vast labour and charge, and was therefore called by that name from the *Hebrew* root, which signifies to fill (7); but whether this conjecture be right, or what the meaning of *Saramael* or *Afar-mel* is, is hard to guess.

(2) *s. Macc.* xiv. 26, *&c seq.* (5) *Ibid.* ver. 4, *&c seq.* (6) *Ibid. cap.* xxi. 26. (7) See vol. ii. p. 468, *&c seq.* and the appendix to the history of the Jews, vol. iv. p. 195, *§3 seq.*

Simon's main business now was, to strengthen himself in his new dignity; to which end, he set about repairing and fortifying all his garrisons afresh; especially that of *Bethsura*, *Judea*, which, being on the confines of *Judea*, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the first places they would attempt. He therefore took care to secure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a garrison of the stoutest Jews. About the same time he sent *Jonathan* the son of *Azazelori*, with a good army, to besiege *Talis Joppa*, which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications, and, leaving the situation of it, built himself an house, and settled there (U). About the same time, Simon went with another army to reduce the city of *Gaza*, or, as and *Gaza*. Some more probably guess, that of *Gazara*<sup>1</sup>, which had revolted ever since *Sathan*'s death. He battered it some considerable time with his engines, and was just on the point of storming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls, men, women, and children, with their cloths rent, and implored his mercy with such doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to spare their lives, and to send them away to shift for themselves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments; put a strong garrison of Jews into it, and caused an house to be built for himself, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order <sup>u</sup>.

On the next year, the fortresses of *Aca*, which had been invested, as we hinted above, near two years, without any supply from without, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate, after it had been held by the Syrians about twenty-five years, to the great nuisance of the Jewish nation. *Simon*, who wanted to be rid of them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilst he and his troops entered

Year of  
the flood  
2206  
B.C.  
142.  
A.C. 110  
rendered.

<sup>1</sup> See PRID connect sub an 43 and the following page, not (W).  
<sup>u</sup> 1 Macc xiii & xv pass. JOSEPH ant 1 VIII c 9, & seq.

(U) The place from this time became the head sea port to *Jerusalem* and all *Judea*, being distant about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, and opening a trade to all the *Mediterranean* coasts and islands. *Strabo* (8) tells us, it was a port of the Jews in his time; and it has continued so

ever since, notwithstanding its being a dangerous one, by reason of the great rocks that lie before it (9); though, in other respects, very pleasantly being situate on a beautiful plain, and having *Jamnia* on the south, *Catalaia* on the north, and *Ramah* on the east (1).

(8) Cogr. l. xvi  
Rit., Palast. illust. & sup. vol. ii p. 243.

(9) J. sept. b. II. Jud. l. iii. c. 15.

(1) Vid. n. a. et

it with palms in their hands, at the sound of their trumpets, and other instruments, accompanied with songs, and other demonstrations of joy. At first he ordered it to be lustrated and cleansed, intending probably to put a *Jewish* garrison in it : but having thought better on it, he called a grand council, and proposed to them the demolishing both of it, and of the hill on which it stood w. This proposal met with a general approbation ; the work was immediately set about, and carried on with indefatigable assiduity, during the space of three years ; every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might never more be in a condition to annoy it (W). It was in this year, that the great sanhedrin, and the whole assembly of the *Jews*, confirmed to him all his dignities, and intailed them on his posterity, in consideration of the eminent services he had done to his country ; which are therefore recapitulated (X) in the

preamble

w Iid ibid. ad fin.

(W) This circumstance of demolishing the fortress, and the hill, which we have mentioned out of *Josephus*, and those who have followed him, is not only omitted, but seems even contradicted, by the first book of *Maccabees*, which affirms (2), that *Simon* fortified and garrisoned it with *Jews* ; and in the very next chapter, that *Antiochus* sent *Simon* a challenge to surrender it to him (3), which was three years after.

However, since that fortress was actually demolished, and the hill itself lowered to the level of the temple, it is likely, that *Josephus* has only antedated it by some years.

All this while, *Simon* employed another set of hands, in repairing and fortifying the outer wall, and other parts of the temple, building of new apartment, particularly a palace for himself, where he dwelt from thenceforth. In memory of the surrender of that fortress, *Simon* ordered a festival to be kept yearly ; and

that he might the more fully attend on the religious and civil affairs of the nation, appointed his son *John* general of all his forces, and ordered him to fix his residence at *Gazara* (4), as was lately observed.

(X) Among other things, that are there mentioned to his great honour, it was not a small one, that *Judea* enjoyed a perfect peace during the whole time of his government, whilst *Syria*, and other neighbouring kingdoms, were almost destroyed by the wars, which were there raised by competitors to their crowns, by traitors, and hostile depredations ; so that it is there observed, that the *Jews* lived quietly every man under his vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear the fruits of his labours, and beholding with pleasure the flourishing state of his country ; their trade increased by the reduction of *Joppa*, and other maritime places ; their territories enlarged ; and their religion and

(2) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 36, 37.

(3) C. xv. 28.

(4) C. xiii. 49, *ad fin.*

*liberties*

preamble to their decree, which we have had occasion to mention a little higher.

WE have seen in a former chapter x, how Demetrius, Year of driven from his dominions, had been taken, and kept prisoner, the flood by the Parthians, whilst Tryphon's tyranny caused a general defection from him to Cleopatra. This princess, despairing ever to recover her captive husband, sent to invite his brother Antiochus out of his retirement, to make a push for the Syrian crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the Jewish high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority; and to his nation all the freedom and immunities, which he had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in Iudea, *broad the* which that pontiff immediately made use of (Y). But when *privilege* *of coining.*

\* Vol. ix. p. 328, & seq.

liberties secured; their towns and other fortresses well garrisoned; their army under good discipline; the land free from heathen enemies, and Jewish apostates; their friendship courted by all the nations about them, and even by the Romans and Greeks; and themselves free from any foreign yoke, and from danger of invasion (5).

His panegyrist adds, that he was no less zealous for the service of God, in exterminating apostasy, superstition, idolatry, and every thing else that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true *Israelites*, and a friend to the poor; that he restored the service of the temple to its ancient splendor, and multiplied its sacred utensils; so that we need not wonder, if the Jewish sanhedrin thought no dignity or honour too great for a man of such uncommon merit.

The Jewish chronologers tell us moreover, that in his days, and about this time, flourished

those two great lights of their synagogue, Simon Ben Shieeb, and Judah Ben Ilai, directors of the divinity school at Jerusalem; and that the former was president, and the latter vice-president, of the sanhedrin (6).

(Y) Several pieces of this Jewish coin are still preserved by the curios: the inscription of some of them is, *The judeal or half-piecel of Israell*; in others, the first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of Israell, of Sion, of Jerusalem, &c. Others again are inscribed, *Simon prince of Israell*. What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new *Aramaic* character, adopted by Ezra, but in the old *Samaritan*; for which no other reason can be assigned, if they be authentic (7), except that Simon was willing to preserve the ancient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, figure, and weight.

(5) 1 Macc. xiv. 4, &c seq.

(6) *Uph. Talmud, Shalshelet, bakkabal. &c alib.*

(7) See what has been said, vol. iii. p. 21, &c seq. & not. (X.)

Accordingly,

Allie  
ren wied  
with  
Rome,  
etc.

Antio-  
chus's ill  
return to  
Simon.

Atheno-  
bius sent  
to Jerusa-  
lem.

that prince had established himself on his throne by the marriage of *Cleopatra*, and the death of *Tryphon*, *Simon*, whether he suspected the sincerity of his late promises, or was willing to make his friendship to him appear more considerable, sent a fresh embassy to *Rome*, to renew and strengthen his alliance with that nation (2).

THE tenite's letter to the king of *Syria* was indeed directed to *Demetrius*, it being written before that prince's falling into the hands of the *Parthians*; but had it been directed to *Antiochus*, it is likely, he would have had as little regard to it, as he did to that, which he had sent to the Jewish chief. For even whilst he was besieging of *Tryphon* in *Dora*, whither *Simon* sent him two thousand chosen men with warlike stores, engines, and other ammunition; instead of accepting of them, he sent them all back, together with a threatening message to *Simon*, insisting upon his surrender of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and the citadel of *Jerusalem*; which, he said, belonged to the crown of *Syria*, or else to pay him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the Jews had committed in his dominion. *Athenobius*, one of that monarch's favourites, was the person who was dispatched upon that errand: he came accordingly to *Jerusalem*, and beheld with wonder the richness and splendor of the high-priest's court, at the same time that he informed him of his master's demands.

<sup>1</sup> Vol ix. p. 331, & seq. <sup>2</sup> Conf. i Macc. xv. 28, & seq. &c. Ant. xiii. c. 12, & 13.

Accordingly, these, like the old ones, have on the one side a cup, or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the other a branch or budding rod of *Acacia*, or a palm branch; some a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-sheaf; some have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, supposed to be that of the temple.

Those we have left of him are all of silver: whether he coined any in gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

(2) Among other valuable presents which he sent, one was a shield of gold, which weighed

a thousand marks, amounting, according to the lowest value of the *Attic mark*, to sixty thousand pound of our money. His deputies were received with the usual honours, and procured letters from the senate to the kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia*, and other states, to notify their alliance with the Jews, and to threaten them with an immediate war, who should venture to commit any hostilities against them; and ordering them, if any Jewish criminals, apostates, or other Jewish outlaws, had sheltered themselves in their dominions, to send them bound to the Jewish high-priest, if demanded by him (3).

(3) i Maccab., ubi sup., Jof. ant., uis. sfp.

*Simon*, nothing terrified at this message, answered him coolly, Simon's that he was in possession of nothing but what wa<sup>s</sup>, the inheritance of his ancestors ; except indeed the fortresses of *Joppa* the Syrian and *Gazara*, which he had been forced to seize, to support, *kīg*.

the continual ravages and devastations they made in *Judea* : that for these therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents ; but, as to the fortresses of *Ara*, he could by no means think, that he had any right to demand it from him.

*Athenobius* did not stay to make any reply, but went off Athenobius abruptly, and returned to *Antiochus*, who was still carrying on his ex- the siege of *Dora*, and to whom he turned the answer which aspirates the Jewish pontiff had given him. He likewise related to him <sup>him a-</sup> the pomp and grandeur of his household, the great quantity <sup>gainst that</sup> of silver and gold vessels used at his table, and other such marks <sup>pontiff.</sup> of the Jewish wealth, which he knew would not fail to incense that monarch against him ; for, as *Josephus* observes, he was very covetous, and consequently ungrateful, and could not fail envying him so much riches and grandeur ; and just so it happened. *Antiochus*, forgetting at once his letter, and *Simon's* services, ordered *Cendebus*, one of his nobles, to invade *Judea* with a powerful army, whilst himself went with another in pursuit of the traitor *Tryphon* <sup>1</sup>.

*Cendebus*, having received the government of all the coasts <sup>vard by</sup> *Judea* in- of *Phœnicia* and *Palaestina*, and being at the head of a pow- Cende- erful army of horse and foot, began his expedition with for- beus. tifying the town of *Cedron*, or, as the *Vulgate* perhaps more Year of properly calls it, *Geder* <sup>b</sup>, a place advantageously situated ; and putting a strong garrison in it. In the mean time he him- self marched towards *Jamnia* and *Joppa* ; from whence he 2209. made many inroads into *Judea*, took a great number of pris- Bef. Chr. 139. oners, and laid waste all that part of the country <sup>c</sup>. The news of it soon reached *John*, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the Jewish forces, and kept his residence at *Gazara*. He went immediately to *Jerusalem*, to acquaint his father with it ; and *Simon*, being by this time too old to head the Jewish troops, called his two brave sons, to wit, this <sup>Simon</sup> <sup>sends his</sup> *John*, and his brother *Judas*, to whom he committed the <sup>two sons</sup> command of them ; charging them, on hi<sup>t</sup>, blessing, to imitate <sup>against</sup> <sup>him</sup> : the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties (A). On these two setting

<sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. xv. 38, & seq. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12, & 13. <sup>b</sup> De hac vid. Joshi. xv. 58. <sup>c</sup> 1 Macc. ibid. 40, & seq. JOSPH. ubi supra.

(A) Here again *Josephus* (9) *cabers*, and makes the good differs from the book of *Mac-* old priest forget his age, and

who engage and defeat him,

setting out at the head of twenty thousand choice foot, besides some horse, they encamped on the first night at *Modin*; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in sight of the enemy, and drew so near each other, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of *John* at first expressed some reluctance to cross it; but he, ashamed of their backwardness, flung himself first into it, and moved forward; which so animated his men, that they immediately followed him. As soon as they were got over, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obstinate onset immediately ensued, in which the enemy being seized with a sudden fright at the sound of the sacred trumpets, immediately gave way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the rest fled; some to the sconces, which they had in the plains of *Azotus*, where about two thousand of them perished in the flames; *John*, now surnamed *Hyrcan* (B), having caused them to be set on fire. The rest, with *Cendebeus*, fled as far as *Cedron*, the place lately fortified by him, and return and *John* pursued him all the way thither; after which he victorious faced about, and came and rejoined his brother *Judas*; who, having received some wounds in the action, had been forced to stay behind. The two brothers, having by this defeat cleared those parts from the *Syrian* troops, led their victorious army back to *Jerusalem*, without any considerable loss<sup>d</sup>. After this, *Judaea* continued quiet and free from invasion, till the

<sup>d</sup> 1 Macc. xvi. 1, & seq.

sally out at the head of his troops, with as much vigour and resolution, as if he had been in his prime: so fond is he to raise the character of his own ancestors.

(B) The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, of which we have given an account in a former note (1), tells us, that *John* received the surname of *Hyrcan*, on account of his defeating a famous general of that name, and killing him with his own hand; which some think may be the *Cendebeus*, whom he here defeated, who might be also surnamed *Hyrcanus*, either because he was

a native of *Hyrcania*, or on some other account (2).

*Josephus Ben Gorion* says, it passed from the eldest son of *Simon*, who was called *Hyrcan*, to his brother *John* (3); others think he had it given him on account of his beating the *Hyrcanians* (4); all without any certainty; since neither the first book of *Maccabees*, nor *Josephus*, give us any reason for it: besides, we have seen, that all the sons of *Mattathias* had their particular surnames; some of them more uncommon, and as little to be accounted for, as this of *Hyrcan*.

(1) *Sup.* p. 252, *in fin. not.* (S).  
(3) *L.* iv. c. 2.

(4) *Euseb.* *in chron.* S. *Sever.* *bif.* l. ii. & al.

murder

murder of their worthy high-priest, which happened about three years after, and brought *Antiochus* again with an army against that metropolis. The manner in which this perfidious act was perpetrated, was as follows.

*Simon* had then a son-in-law named *Ptolemy*, the son of *Abadus*, whom he had made governor of *Jericho*, and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but such was his ambition, that nothing less could satisfy him than his being master of all *Judea*. This wretch took the opportunity of *Simon's* making a progress about the country with his two sons *Judas* and *Matthias*, to invite them to his castle of *Dog*, where he had prepared a sumptuous enter-*Simon* tainment for them. The old pontiff, who suspected nothing treacherous than such an horrid design, was easily persuaded to accept *routinely* <sup>2213.</sup> *mur*-of the invitation; but, after they had feasted and drank pretty freely, some ruffians, whom he had privately posted, rushed *Ptolemy* upon the three guests, and murdered them. His design was to have cut off *Hyrcan* also, who was then at *Gazara*; to which the flood end he had dispatched some messengers to invite or bring him <sup>2213.</sup> *Bef. Chr.* to him: but, happily for him, one of his father's retinue, who had escaped the slaughter, had brought notice to him of what had passed; so that *Hyrcan* was beforehand with him, and caused his messengers to be taken, and put to death (C). <sup>135.</sup>

*Hyrcan,*

(C) Thus far goes the first book concludes its epocha of forty years with this escape of *Hyrcan*, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of chronicles (5) long since lost; so that we must now fill up the sequel of the Jewish history for the most part out of *Josephus*; in the following of whom care shall be taken to discover such errors of his, as are either accidental or otherwise, by comparing him with himself, or other historians, till we come to the sacred ones of the *New Testament*; so that whatever we find in him, that either bears not an authentic face, or clashes, or has been confuted by other authors, will be either thrown into the notes, or, if of small moment, quite set aside.

To begin then with some of the improbabilities with which he continues the history of this high-priest, he tells us (6), that as soon as ~~he~~ was installed in his new dignities, he put himself at the head of the Jewish army, and went and besieged *Ptolemy* in his castle of *Dog* or *Dagon*, where he still kept alive *Simon's* wife, and his two sons, contrary to the book of *Maccabees*, which says, that he assassinated the two latter with their old father, and mentions nothing of the wife.

He goes on, and tells us, that as *Hyrcan* went on with the siege, *Ptolemy* caused his mother and two brothers to be brought upon the walls of the castle, and there had them severely scourged, threatening at the same time to cast them headlong down, if he

(5) *Cap. ult. ver. ult.*

(6) *Antiq. l. xiii. c. 14, & 15. & bell Jud. l i. c. 2.*

*did*

*Hyrcan*, thinking himself now no longer safe there, made the best of his way to *Jerusalem*, whether *Ptolemy* arrived as soon as he. Both offered themselves at different gates, and demanded admittance; but *Hyrcan* was received out of respect to his worthier father, whilst his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulsed.

**Hyrcan succeeds Simon.** *Hyrcan* was immediately declared prince and high-priest in his father's stead, and put himself at the head of his army, fortified himself in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own safety, and for that of the city and country.

**Ptolemy is repulsed.** *Ptolemy*, seeing himself disappointed in his designs on *Hyrcan* and *Jerusalem*, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe some of the heads of the *Jews* over to his interest by sumptuous promises, was at length reduced to the necessity of writing to *Antiochus*, to acquaint him with what he had done, and to beg of him to come to his

**His letter to Antiochus.**

did not desist; and that the old lady, observing her son to relent at the sight of her danger and cruel usage, made signs for him to go on with the siege, and to take no thought of her safety or life; and that her son, being unable to see them so cruelly tortured, did as often slacken his hand.

At length, continues he, the sabbatic or seventh year being come, which was a year of rest as well as the seventh day, and *Hyrcan* upon that account oblig'd to raise the siege, th<sup>t</sup> s gave the murderer an opportunity to escape beyond *Jordan*; so that, having put to death his three prisoners, he returned to *Zeno*, surnamed *Cotylas*, who had usurped the government of the city of *Philadelphia*.

The fourth book of *Maccabees* tells us much the same story, and only differs in two circumstances from *Josephus*. The first is, that *Gaza*, and not *Jerusalem*, was the place where *Hyrcan* was received and preferred to the station; and the second, that

the feast of tabernacles, and not the sabbatic year, obliged that pontiff to repair to *Jerusalem* to perform the function of his office; during which solemnity *Ptolemy* found means to escape far enough out of his reach.

This account, did it not contradict the first book of *Maccabees*, which expressly says, that the father and the two sons were murdered at the same time (7), would be much more probable than that of *Josephus*, at least with regard to the suspension of the siege; since there is no law that obliged the *Jews* to abstain from war, especially a defensive one, during the sabbatic year: if there had, how could they have continued a nation without a miracle? And yet *Josephus* affirms it not only to have been the cause of *Hyrcan*'s raising the siege of *Dagon*, but of *Antiochus*'s taking the advantage of it to invade *Judea*, and besieging its metropolis. The siege of *Dagon* is therefore justly called in question by several learned men (8).

(7) C. p. ult. c. 16. (8) Vid. nt. al. Salut. annal. sub A. M. 3929.  
E. 39. 1. P. 16. & l. 1. sub A. M. 3869.

assistance ; promising him at the same time to reduce all *Judea* aunder him, provided he made him governor of it. *Antiochus*, whom the late defeat of *Cendebeus* had still more exasperated against the *Jews*, easily embraced his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his assistance ; <sup>He leaves</sup> the country but whether through fear, or for whatever other reason, <sup>try, and</sup> the rebel did not think fit to stay till his arrival, but fled to <sup>disappears.</sup> *Zeno*, tyrant of the city of *Philadelphia* <sup>c.</sup>. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds to what we observed in the last note, that, after he had killed the mother and two brothers of *Hyrcan*, he fled, and retired into some place where he could not be come at, whilst *Hyrcan* was detained at *Jerusalem* to perform the priestly function, it being then the feast of tabernacles. All we know is, that no further mention is made of him, either by *Josephus*, or the first book of the *Maccab.* <sup>c. 2213.</sup> *Bef. Chr.* since his flight into *Philadelphia*.

<sup>135.</sup>  
*Antiochus*, allured into *Judea*, partly at the news of the brave *Simon's* death, and of the riches of his successor, and *Judea* in-partly by the fair offers which the traitor *Ptolemy* had made to <sup>vadit.</sup> him, entered *Judea* on the same year with a powerful army, <sup>Jerusalem</sup> and went directly to besiege *Jerusalem*, driving *Hyrcan* all the way before him, till he had shut him up with his men in that metropolis (D).

As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or provisions, *Hyrcan* bethought himself at first of a way of ridding himself of all useless mouths, by putting them out of the city ; by which means they, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, must infallibly have been starved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raised the compassion of those within the wall, was the approaching feast of tabernacles, which was usually solemnized with great joy and feasting, and could not but have been very much disturbed by the cries of their perishing brethren without. *Hyrcan* then sent to *Antiochus* to desire a

<sup>c</sup> See vol. ix. p. 332, & seq.

(D) To inclose him the more effectually, *Josephus* tells us (6), that he caused two deep and spacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into seven camps ; so that all possibility of ingress or egress was intirely stopped. He reared likewise an hundred towers, the fourth book of *Maccabees* says an hundred and thirty, which were three stories high, upon which he placed his men to annoy those that defended the walls, whilst he was battering them from below. *Josephus* adds, that his army suffered some time for want of water, and was at length relieved with a good lasting rain. On the other hand, the besieged made a vigorous defence, and, by their frequent sallies greatly annoyed the besiegers.

truce

**Antiochus's peace.** truce of seven days, that they might quietly celebrate that festival; which was not only readily granted, but that prince being therby stirred up to some sense of religion, sent them a considerable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with several rich vessels of gold and silver filled with precious perfumes, and some money, and other necessaries, which were, by Hyrcan's orders, thankfully received by the priests at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple. This unexpected instance of the king's piety and liberality gave him some hopes, that a peace might probably be obtained from him with the same ease. He was not mistaken; for Antiochus, whether tired with the brave and constant defence of the besieged, or moved by some other reason, granted Antiochus it to him, upon the conditions which the reader may see in concludes a the note (E).

**peace with the Jews.** HOWEVER that was, the peace was signed on both sides, and the proper hostages sent to Antiochus, among whom was

<sup>f</sup> Ant. xiii. c. 16. Vide & PLUT. in apophtheg.

(E) That the Jews should deliver up their arms; that the city-wall should be demolished; and that John should pay a certain tribute for Joppa, and other towns he held out of *Judaea*. The king insisted hard upon two other conditions, namely, that they should receive a Syrian garrison into their metropolis; and secondly, that the fortress of *Acre* should be rebuilt. The first of these they bought off at the price of five hundred talents, three hundred of which were to be paid instantly, and the rest at some distance of time. They likewise engaged to put into the king's hands a sufficient number of hostages, to assure him of their future allegiance, that they might be wholly free from any commerce with strangers. As for the second, Hyrcan, who remembered what a grievous thorn in their side the late fortress had been, would by no means agree to the building of a new one; and the king, according to his

usual clemency, remitted this also. And yet Josephus tells us, that, when this peace was transacting, the city was reduced to the last extremity, having quite exhausted all their provisions; and, which is still more surprising, that the besiegers were so well informed of it, that they earnestly pressed the king to make use of so favourable an opportunity to destroy and extirpate the whole Jewish nation, which they traduced to him in the bitterest terms, as the pest of mankind, and sworn enemies of all other nations; so that, all things considered, it seem as if Providence had interposed in their behalf, and had mollified that monarch's heart towards them. And an Heathen author owns (1), with Josephus, that it was owing to his surprising goodness and generosity, that the whole nation had not then been entirely destroyed, and that they obtained a peace upon such easy terms.

(1) *Diodor. Sicul. libl. I. xxxiv. & apud Phot. cod. 244.*

Hyrcan's

*Hyrcan's* brother ; the city was dismantled ; the money paid ; and the siege raised : but *Hyrcan* was forced to make use of a strange expedient to procure the three hundred talents stipulated. It seems their treasury was then at so low an ebb, that it could not furnish him with that sum ; so that *John* was forced to open an hidden treasure, which had been laid up by some of the kings of *Judah* <sup>g</sup>, *Josephus* says the tomb of *David* <sup>h</sup>, from which he took out three thousand talents ; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predecessors, nor was after him by any, except by *Herod* (F).

With

<sup>g</sup> Lib. 4. MACCAB.  
I. iv. c. 2, & alib.

<sup>h</sup> Ubi supra, ad fin. & bell. Judaic.

(F) The story of an hidden treasure, whether laid up by *David*, or by any of his successors, is justly suspected by the judicious, as a fable invented by those two authors, without any foundation : only that of the *Maccabees* delivers it as a common report ; whereas *Josephus* affirms it both of *Hyrcan* and *Herod* without hesitation.

That both *David* and *Solomon* heaped up immense riches, we have formerly seen ; but that they caused any part of them to be hidden under-ground, much less in their own tombs, is no-where said, either by the sacred or apocryphal writers ; but the contrary may be fairly couched from them. For, if they had left any such hidden treasure, it is likely, that their wicked successors, who

made no scruple to rive the temple of its sacred utensils and ornaments (2), would have left it untouched ? Is it likely, that good king *H. zekiah* would have chosen to take all the silver and the gold vessels of the temple, and even to tear off the gold with which the gates, pillars, and other parts of that sacred building were covered (3), rather than

Again, is it probable, had there been any such depository, that so many *Affyrian* and *Chaldean* monarchs, as had formerly rifled both city and temple, would not have got some knowlege of it, and gutted it of all its riches ? And if they had till then been preserved by some kind of miracle (for nothing less could do it), how should *Hyrcan* dare to break in upon them, and not rather, like the good king above-mentioned, have rifled the temple of some of its valuable ornaments, which, by what we have seen hitherto, were by this time grown very numerous and costly, by the generosity not only of his predecessors, but of foreign princes ?

We have lately seen, that there was a treasury or bank in the temple, part of which consisted of donatives for the support of the poor, partly of the portions and dowries of the fatherless and widow, and partly of the substance of the richer sort, who despatched their wealth there for security (4), besides that which was allotted for the

(2) *Vetus. int. al. 2. K. v. x. 1. S. E. c. xvii. 18.*

(4) *Supra, p. 2,6 I. v. 2. M. al. v. 1.*

(3) *It. d. viii. 15, &c. sq.*

With this fresh supply he paid *Antiochus*, and ventured to do what had never been done before, to take a number of foreign troops into his service. This peace was followed by an alliance with *Antiochus*, after which that monarch was invited into *Jerusalem* with his chief officers, where he was received and feasted in a sumptuous manner; and, after mutual assurances of friendship and assistance, the king set out for *Syria*, and *Hyrcan* began to repair the breaches and damages which had

**Year of  
the flood** ninth month after *Simon's* death. *Hyrcan* was punctual in  
**2217.** his promises to that prince for some years after, and did him  
**Bef. Chr.** several signal services in his war against *Phraartes*, spoken of  
**131.** in a former chapter<sup>1</sup>, and bore a great share in the victories  
which that prince gained against him (G).

**Antio-  
chus's  
death.** *Antiochus* was soon after defeated and killed, as has been  
elsewhere related<sup>k</sup>; and *Hyrcan*, in his return to *Jerusalem*,  
took *Aleppo*, and laid it under a tribute<sup>l</sup>. After this, finding  
that the kingdom of *Syria* was rent with intestine disturbances,  
and their cities naked and defenceless, he marched thither  
with a good army, resolved to seize upon such of them as  
lay most convenient for him. The first he took was that of  
*Madeba*, which cost him a six months siege. From thence

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ix. p. 333.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. ix. p. 334.

<sup>l</sup> 4 MACCAB.

maintenance of the divine ser-  
vice (5). Now, if we consider,  
that they were so continually  
harassed with wars, invasions and  
oppressions, it is not improbable,  
that they deposited these riches in  
some proper subterranean places,  
known but to a few trusty men at  
the head of affairs, and kept the  
whole as much a secret as pos-  
sible. If therefore *Hyrcan* was  
now hard pressed to raise money,  
is it not more probable, that he  
borrowed it out of this bank,  
till better times enabled him to  
repay it?

But when *Herod* totally rifled  
it for his own use, if ever he  
really did so, might he not trump  
up this plausible story, that it had  
been deposited there by *David*,  
or his successors, against times of

need? And might not that cunning monarch colour this wicked  
deed with the specious pretence,  
that *Hyrcan*, a person of unex-  
ceptionable character, had done  
the same thing upon the like  
emergency (6) ?

(G) Some authors think (7),  
that it was in this war that *John*  
got the name of *Hyrcan*, on ac-  
count of some signal victory he  
gained over the *Hyrcanians*.  
However that be, *Josephus* tells  
us (8, on the authority of *N. Damascen*), that *Antiochus* shewed  
him so much regard, as to halt  
two days on account of the feast  
of pentecost, because it beginning  
that year on the day immediately  
following the sabbath, it was not  
lawful for the *Jews* to march on  
those two days.

(5) 2 Maccab. iii. 6.  
cicer. Sulp. Sev r. &c al.

(6) Vide Salien Uffe. & Pind.  
(8) Antiq. I. xlii. c. 16.

(7) Euseb. in

he went to that of *Samega*, which he subdued, with several others both in *Arabia* and *Phœnicia* <sup>m</sup>. From this time we *Hyrcanus* may date the total deliverance of the *Jews* from the *Syrian*<sup>s</sup> *yokes*; for neither he, nor any of his descendants, paid either the *Syrian* homage or obedience to those monarchs ever afterwards, but *yoke*. lived free, and independent on them <sup>n</sup>. From thence he turned his arms against the *Samaritans*, and took *Shechem* and *His cone: Garizzim*, and the temple formerly built by *Sanballat*, *quefts*. and demolished it, after it had stood two hundred years, together with all the edifices, altars, and monuments, which had been built there by *Jezebel*; and put several of the *Samaritan* priests to death (H). The following year *Idumea* was likewise conquered by him <sup>o</sup>, where he caused proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all those that would not be circumcised to depart out of the land; but the *Idumeans*, choosing rather to forsake their old idolatry than their country, submitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the *Jewish* commonwealth (I).

## IN

<sup>m</sup> Idem ib. *JOSSEPH.* *antiq.* l. xiii. c. 17. *STRAB.* *geogr.* l. xvi.  
<sup>n</sup> *JUSTIN.* ex *TROG* l. xxxvi c. 1. <sup>o</sup> *JOSEPH.* ubi supra, & l. xv. c. ii. *STRABO*, ubi supra. See also vol. ii. p. 180, & seq.

(H) These two last particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees*, *Josephus* says nothing of, but only mentions the demolishing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt: however, the *Shechemites* built themselves an altar there, on which they offered their sacrifices, according to the *Mosaic* law, and have continued to do so ever since.

(I) From that time downward to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, they continued in the *Jewish* religion; so that the word *Idumeans* signified no more than incorporated *Jews*, in contradistinction to those that were so by natural descent (9); and from their total dispersion, the former name has been intirely absorbed in the latter.

With respect to these *Idumean* proselytes, it will be proper to observe here, that *Herod*, who obtained afterwards the kingdom of *Judea*, was of that race. From his reign therefore the *Jewish* writers begin to style it מְלָכֹת הַגִּרְאָבָן malkuth *hagerim*, the kingdom or reign of proselytes or strangers; which not being observed by *Scaliger* and *Munster*, they have translated it the kingdom of the *Hagarens*; but our learned *Uster* has sufficiently confuted that mistake (8). and we shall further shew, when we come to the reign of that prince, that he was really one of these *Idumeans*, incorporated into, and thereby intitled to all the privileges of, a natural *Israelite*. There was indeed to be this difference in the true *Edomites*, that they could not intermarry with them

(9) *Vide Prid con sub ann. 129. note t.* & *Buxtorf. lexic. Rab. sub voce* אֲדֹם.

(x) *Sub A. M. 3875.*

**Hyrkan** In the year following *Hyrcan* sent *Simon* the son of *Dorrenus his successor*, and *Apollonius* the son of *Alexander*, on an embassy to *alliance* the *Roman* senate, to renew the alliance they had lately made *with* *Rome*. They met with an honourable reception at *Rome*, Year of and a ready compliance with all their demands. The senate, the flood besides the renewing of the alliance, granted the *Jews* the possession of *Joppa, Gazara*, and some other places, which <sup>2219.</sup> *Bef. Chr. Antiochus* had taken from them ; and ordered the ambassadors <sup>129</sup> a sum out of the public treasury, to defray their charges homewards (J.).

till the third generation, according to the law of *Moses* (2) ; but as we have shewn these *Idumeans* to be of a different race, or rather a mixture of other nations, how that matter was regulated by the *Chedrin*, we know not.

We have heretofore observed (3), that the word *Edomite*, and *Idumean*, which often occurs in the rabbinic writings, is not that of any nation, but the name by which they call the *Christians*, against whom they write, and is indeed one of the vilest ; but they oftener use those of *goi*, heathen, and *Nozri* or *Nazarite*, and sometimes that of *Samaritan* and *Cuthian* ; which caution we here repeat, to prevent those that read them being mistaken by any of those feigned names.

(K) Among these the fourth book of *Maccabees* mentions a large dish, and a shield, amounting to fifty thousand pieces of gold. That author mentions some other particulars, which are not in *Josephus* ; such as, that the ambassadors were made to sit down with the *Roman* consul ; that they were allowed the free exercise of their religion ; and that the letter which they brought from the senate to *Hyrcan*, gave him the name and title of king, which that pontiff took

upon him, and bore it from thenceforward. The letter is there inserted at full length ; but as it contains nothing particular, except that inscription, we shall refer the reader to that book for it.

(L) They likewise sent letters to all the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass in their return, to see them treated with all the marks of honour due to their character. The senate likewise ordered, that all the complaints they had exhibited against the *Syrians* should be redressed ; declared null and void all that *Antiochus*, or his successor, had done, or should do, contrary to their late league with the late *Jewish* high-priests ; that the *Syrians* should reimburse to them all the losses sustained by them ; and appointed commissioners to come and see the purport of their decree fully executed. The ambassadors had likewise desired letters from the senate, directed to all the princes and free states with whom they were in alliance, to recommend the *Jewish* interest to them ; but there being at that time other important matters on the tapis, the affair was deferred for further deliberation ; and they returned to *Jerusalem* highly satisfied with what they had.

(2) *Vide Deut. xxxii. 7, 8.*

(3) *Vol. u. p. 181, (Y).*

THIS embassy having so well succeeded, *Hyrcan*, on the *A second* next year, sent a new one with fresh presents, to thank the *embassy* senate for their last favour, and to obtain a ratification of all *sent to* their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily *Rome*. granted, and the ambassadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may see at full length in *Josephus* (M). By Year of these alliances he saw himself more and more strengthened in his dominions, whilst the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* were troubled with continual wars. *Alexander Zebina*, having by <sup>2221.</sup> *Bef Chr.* this time mounted the *Syrian* throne <sup>b</sup>, was glad to make him <sup>127</sup> his friend; but being soon after killed, and succeeded by *Antiochus Gryphus*, this last so resented it, that he was preparing <sup>2222</sup> *Bef Chr.* himself to invade *Judaea*; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at *Gizium*, and coming against him. *Hyrcan* left them to fight it out between them, without concerning himself on either side, choosing rather to enjoy his sovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense treasures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flourishing land, and from those countries which he had lately subjected to his dominions. At length some hostilities, which the *Samaritans* committed against the city of *Maressa*, which was then in friendship with him, gave him a fair handle for renewing the war, which he had lately begun against those of the *Hyrcan* city of *Shechem*. He went therefore with his two sons *Ariobulus* <sup>marches</sup> and *Antigonus*, at the head of a powerful army, and <sup>against the</sup> *Samaritans*, with all the proper engines for the siege of *Samaria*, which had been since rebuilt and fortified (N). These encompassed <sup>126</sup> the

P Vol ix. p 337, & seq.

(M) Here *Josephus* has again committed a manifest blunder, by inserting this decree in the wrong place (4), and instead of another then granted by the senate upon another occasion, and at the recommendation of *Julius Caesar*, to *Hyrcanus* the second. This has been fully proved by several learned men, whom the reader will find below (5); and he may further convince himself of it by comparing the contrariety between the decree itself, and the occasion upon which the Jewish

historian there quotes it, with respect to several other particulars, which the reader may see at full from the authors lately named.

(N) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that these *Samaritans* were not now of the old race so much hated by the *Jews*; for these, we have seen a little higher, had been either destroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by *Alexander the Great*, for the murder of his favourite *Andronicus*; immediately after

(4) *Antiq l. xiv. c. 16*  
*Offic. annal sub A. M. 3877.*

(5) *Scalig animad in ch on Fufeb rum 1971.*  
*Salien sub A. M. 4007. scit. 36. Prid correc.*  
*sub ann. 127.*

*Besieges* the city with a wall, and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thousand paces circuit; by which they soon reduced the city to such scarcity of provisions, that they began to eat all manner of unclean beasts, such as cats, dogs, and other carrion. In this extremity they found means to send and implore the assistance of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, who was now on the *Syrian* throne <sup>9</sup>, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief <sup>10</sup>.

*Year of* In the mean time the grand expiation-day being at hand, the flood *Hyrcan* was obliged to go up to *Jerusalem* to perform the office <sup>2228.</sup> of it, and left his two sons to carry on the siege. Upon their *Bef. Chr.* hearing, that *Antiochus* was coming against them, *Aristobulus* <sup>120.</sup> was dispatched with part of the army to meet him. A *Kouts the* bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Syrians* were totally routed, and pursued as far as *Scythopolis*; and *Antiochus* *Syrians*; escaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the siege was renewed with such vigour, that *Antiochus* was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a second battle, contented himself with sending six thousand men to make a diversion in *Judea*, in hopes to oblige the *Jews* to raise the siege; neither were these his own troops, but such as he had with some difficulty obtained from the king of *Egypt*. We have already seen the ill success of this expedition in a former volume, as *takes and* well as the betraying of *Scythopolis* to *Hyrcan* by *Epicrates*, *razes Sa-* and the surrender and utter demolition of *Samaria* <sup>11</sup>. Frcn *maria*; this time *Hyrcan* became more and more powerful, and made himself master not only of all *Palaestine*, but added also unto it *conquers* the provinces of *Samaria* and *Galilee*; all which he enjoyed *several* to the end of his life, without any molestation from without, *provinces*. or discords from within his dominions. His reign was no less *His great* remarkable on the account of his great wisdom and piety at *zeal for* home, than his conquests abroad. Never did the *Jewish* religion or commonwealth appear in greater lustre since the return from captivity; but that which raised his glory above any of his predecessors or successors, was, if we may believe *Josephus* <sup>12</sup>, and the fourth book of *Maccabees* <sup>13</sup>, his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely,

<sup>9</sup> Vol. ix. p. 342, & seq. <sup>10</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. <sup>11</sup> Ibid. vol. ix. p. 344, & seq. <sup>12</sup> Ant. ubi supra, & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 3. <sup>13</sup> Cap. vii.

which he recopuled the place with *Syro-Macedonians*, or a mixture of *Syrians*, *Mac'donians*, and *Greeks*.

These, being settled there, encompassed the town with a double high-wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications: those therefore are

mistaken, who think, that the *Jewish* hatred against the former sort of *Samaritans* was the occasion of this war; for these were all heathens, and consequently strangers to the disputes and intailed enmity between those two.

the

the royal dignity, the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. Of the last of these we shall give two or three instances out of those authors in the note (O); but the second, or high-priesthood, though he had exercised it in such a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the source of such persecutions from the proud and hot-headed pharisees, as quite imbibited the latter-end of his reign, if not shortened his days (P).

*Hyrcan* had always shewed himself a zealous stickler for the Hyrcan *a* pharisees: they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and *friend to* enjoyed the most considerable posts under him, whilst the *the phari-* other two were despised and kept under by him. But an un-*sees.* timely piece of condescension towards them, or perhaps rather Year of of vanity, from which the best of men are not always exempt, the flood gave one of the heads of that imperious sect, named *Eleazar*, <sup>2249.</sup> *Bef. Chr.*

(O) *Josephus* affirms him to have had very extraordinary visions and revelations, more particularly about his own children. He tells us, for instance, that, on the day in which his forces defeated those of *Antiochus*, himself was then offering up incense in the most holy place, where he heard a voice telling him of the victory gained by his sons. <sup>108.</sup> titioning; only this one is very remarkable, if true, that the stones of the breastplate, and the carbuncle on his shoulder, quite lost their lustre after his death, and never recovered it since.

(P) It is under his reign that this sect, as well as those of the sadducees and essenians, of which we have already spoken something, are supposed to have started up. This therefore may be thought a proper place of speaking of them more at large, as well as of that of the caraites, which sprung up afterwards; but as each of those four sects had many favourite tenets, quite opposite to the spirit and doctrine of the gospel, and its divine author, and proved so many invincible obstacles against its reception, we shall defer speaking of them till we come to that glorious epocha. By this means the reader will have them so fresh in his mind, and, as it were, in one view that, instead of wondering at the Jews rejecting so universally the person and doctrine of the Messiah, he will rather look upon it as a kind of miracle, that so many of that blind and prepossessed nation should so readily embrace them.

There are some other singularities related of him, which have still more the air of fables, and therefore not worth men-

*Eleazar* an opportunity to cast a reflection against him, which touched *calls his le-* him in the most sensible part. It was no less than calling in *gitimacy* question his legitimacy, at least as being less pure and undeniably than the *Mosaic* law requires in an high-priest ; and this he did by pretending, that his mother had been formerly a slave, intimating thereby, that either she was not of *Jewish* extraction, or else, that, being so, she had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to prostitute herself for a maintenance. The story being, as *Josephus* affirms us, absolutely false, and merely trumped up by the proud pharisee to mortify the good old prelate, we refer our reader to that author for it ; and only add, that *Eleazar's* base suggestion, and the partiality of his brotherhood in not assigning him a condign punishment, so exasperated the high-priest against the whole sect, that from that time he gave himself up wholly to that of the sadducees, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront as hatch'd against him by the whole pharisaic body, tho' one only of them had had the courage to blab it out. From thenceforth therefore grew the bitterest enmity between him and that revengeful sect, who ceased not to raise troubles and seditions against him during the short time he lived, and against his sons after him. *Hyrcan* was in the twenty-eighth year of his pontificate when this quarrel happened, and he died the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the pharisaic crew, who left no stone unturned to blacken his memory, and to get into the same credit and authority they had formerly enjoyed under him w (Q).

*Hyrcan*

w Antiq. I. xiii. c. 18.

(Q) *Josephus* is very inconsistent in the years of this prelate's reign, if there be not some error crept into the copies we have of him, and in the Latin version of *Rufinus*; for in one place (1) he gives him thirty three, and in two others (7) thirty-one: yet *Eusebius* out of him gives him but twenty-nine (8), and so doth St. *Jerome* in his Latin version of him, and elsewhere (9), and rightly too; for, as the learned *Usher* observes, in the place last-quoted, *Simon, Hyrcan's father, died in*

the 177th year of the *Grecian* kingdom, and in the 11th of the month *Sebat* (1), answering to the 4579th year of the *Julian* period; and his wife *Alexandra*, who reigned after his sons, died, as the sequel will shew, in December 4644. of the same period; so that the distance is 65 years, and about 9 months; from which if we subtract the 37 years which *Josephus* allows to her and her sons, the remainder will be 28 years, and 9 months.

*Hyrcan is affirmed by Jo-*

(6) *Bell. Judaic.* I. i. c. 3.

(7) *Antiq.* I. xiii. c. 1<sup>o</sup>. & I. xx. c. 8.

(8) In *chronic.* & *de orig. evang.* I. viii. c. 2.  
Vide *& Uffr. annal. sub ad. M. 3596.*

(9) *Comm. in ix. Dan.*  
(1) *Vide i Maccab. xvi. 44.*

C. XLV.

## *The History of the Jews.*

345

*Hyrcan* left three sons, according to the fourth book of *Maccabees* (R), or five, according to *Josephus* x, who gives us however the names but of four of them, namely. *Aristobulus*, who was also called *Judas*, and surnamed *Philellen*, by reason of his fondness for the *Greeks*, 2. *Antigonus*, 3. *Alexander*; and, 4. *Abdalom*, who was the youngest. What wa<sup>t</sup> the name

\* Antiq 1 xiii. c 19. & 1 xiv. c 8 bell Judaic 1 1 c 3.

*sebus* to have built the stately tower (2), or rather castle of *Baris* (3), the same which afterwards served for a palace for the *Azmonean* princes, and was some time after rebuilt, enlarged, and fortified, by *Herod*, and called by him *Antonia*, in honour of *Mark Antony*. This castle was built upon a steep rock, fifty cubits high from the valley that ran beneath it, to the top on which the building stood, and was invisible on all sides, except that towards the temple, with which it was even. It was of a square figure, two furlongs in compass, that is, half a furlong, or three hundred feet on every side, and cased all over with polish'd marble. The rock stood without the outer square of the temple, and upon the same mountain with, and on the north side of it, running parallel with its outer wall, but encompassed with that which *Simon* had built to stop the communication between the temple and the fortres of *Acia*. Here *Hyrcan* built an apartment, where he deposited his pontifical robes and ornaments, whenever he divested himself of them to attend on his other affairs, which method was afterwards observed by his successors. Here he kept his court, and spent most of his time, and so did they after him (4), till

*Herod*, observing the strength of its situation, turned it into a fortress, in which, however, the strictly strict ure was still kept, even after the Jews were subdued by the Romans, and under the custody of the commander of that garrison, called by St Luke the captain of the temple (5). His officer kept them in his custody under lock and seal, and delivered them up to the high priests upon all solemnities in which they were required, immediately after which they were put into his hands again, as we shall see in the next section.

(R) His author add' (5), that H<sub>j</sub> can was so excessively fond of his two eldest sons, that he would name neither to the succession, but left it wholly to Providence to direct it. On the other hand, he bore as great a aversion to *sle and*, who had been pointed out to him as his successor, in a vision, of which we have spoken in a late note, but yet without attempting my thing & insist him to prevent it.

*Josephus*, on the contrary, tells us, that he left the government to his wife during her life, tho' by the cruelty with which her eldest son used her, one would rather think, that she had forced some such will upon him.

(7) Delacour Prate fflr  
(8) Bell Judice lyc nis  
the muf. c = ( ) 173221

*Californicus* *var.* *var.*

Aristobulus of the fourth, he no-where tells us. *Aristobulus* succeeded his father in all his dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the *Mosaic* law; and, having a great affection for his brother

*Hyrcanus*, admitted him to share the government with him for some short space; after which, upon some suspicion or dislike, he caused him to be put to death. The other three

he kept close prisoners during his short reign, which lasted but one year, which he yet stained with his own mother's

blood; for that princess having claimed a right to the sovereignty, by virtue of *Hyrcanus's* will, her unnatural son not only shut her up in a prison, but there barbarously starved her to death. Soon after this he assumed the title of king, and

began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe *Josephus*, had never been done by any of his predecessors<sup>y</sup>, who had till then contented themselves with the title of governors, or at most with that of prince (S).

As soon as he had settled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade *Iturea*; but, being taken ill in the midst of his successes, he was forced to be brought back to *Jerusalem*, and to leave his brother to complete the conquest of that province (T); which he soon after did, causing all the *Itureans* either to be circumcised, and incorporated with the *Jews*, or else to depart into some other country<sup>z</sup>.

*Antigonus* whilst he was carrying on this successful war, there wanted not those at court, who, envying his happiness, endeavoured to precipitate the sick king with strange suspicions minned by against him. The queen more particularly seemed to have the queen conceived some irreconcileable hatred against that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened

<sup>y</sup> *Antiq.* I xiii. c. 19. & *bell. Judaic* ubi supra. <sup>z</sup> *Id. ibid.* c. 20.

(S) We have seen, however, in a late note (6), that *Hyrcanus* took the royal name and dignity upon him long before. *St. abo* says (7), that it was *Alexander*, *Aristobulus's* successor, who first took that title upon him.

(T) This province was so call'd from *Itur* the son of *Ishmael*, whom our English and some other versions wrongly call *Tetur*. It was situate on the other side *Jordan*, on the north side of the half-tribe of *Manasseh*, between that

and the territories of *Damascus*; so that it made one part of *Cælestia*, and lay on the side of *Judea*, as *Idumea*, formerly conquered in the same manner, lay on the other. It had the province of *Battanea* on the east, and the *Trachonitis* mentioned by *St. Luke* (8) on the south (9). The *Reubenites*, *Simeonites*, and *Manassites*, are said, in the *Chronicles*, to have invaded these territories (1), and to have subdued the *Itureans*.

(6) *Supra*, p. 326, (T).  
*Reland. Palst.* l. i. c. 22.

(7) *Lib. vi.*  
(1) *in Chron. v. 19.*

(8) C. iii. 1.

(9) *Vid.*

Year of  
the flood

2241.  
Bef. Chr.

107.

His cruel  
reign.

Invades  
Iturea.

soon after, when *Antigonus* inadvertently furnished her with the means of working it more effectually. For as soon as he had finished the conquest of *Iudea*, he marched directly to *Jerusalem*, it being then the feast of tabernacles; and, being in haste to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his success, and his vows for his brother's recovery, he went directly thither in his armour, without staying to shift his cloaths, and accompanied with a number of his men. This was immediately interpreted to the timorous king as a manifest tempt upon his life, to which he gave but too easy credit. *Her wife* *Stratagem* However, to satisfy himself more fully about it, he sent him *him* *murdered* orders to put off his armour, and to come immediately to him; which, if he complied with them, would sufficiently justify him; but if not, would fully prove his treasonable intent. The king was then at the castle of *Baris*, mentioned in a late note<sup>2</sup>, where he ordered some of his guards to be privately posted in the subterranean gallery, through which *Antigonus* was to pass, and who were charged to murder him, if he presumed to come armed to him. But the mischievous queen corrupted the messenger, and made him go and tell the young prince, that his brother, having heard his armour highly commended, desired to see him in it immediately; so that, when *Antigonus* came to pass through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him, and killed him (U). The king,

\* Note (Q), p. 344, 345.

(U) The gallery here spoken of was, it seems, under one of the towers of the castle, called, upon some account or other, *Straton's tower*; and so verified, according to *Josephus*, the prediction of one *Judas*, of the sect of the esseniens, concerning this prince's death. This man, who was then at *Jerusalem*, had foretold, some time before, that *Antigonus* should be killed on that very day at *Straton's tower*; but as he understood it of another more famed on the sea-coast, and at a distance from this, he was not a little surprised to see that prince come to the temple, looking upon it as a demonstration of the falsehood of his prediction,

since the day being already far advanced, it was impossible for him to reach it, it being above six hundred furlongs from *Jerusalem*

This threw him into such a fit of raving, that he vented his complaints for the supposed delusion in a very indecent manner; and, *Jonas* like, cried out, it had been better for him to have been dead, before he had been found a false prophet. Whilst he was in the height of his murmuring, news were brought of *Antigonus's* murder, and the name of the tower convinced both him and the rest of the truth of his prediction (2).

(2) *Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3*

however,

*The king*, however; was soon undeceived, and could not think upon remorse his brother's murder without reflecting on the more cruel one, and grievous, which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorse of which increasing his disease, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A servant happening soon after to spill some of that blood, which he was carrying away in a basin, upon the very spot where that of his brother *Antigonus* was still to be seen; some of the by-standers, thinking he had done it wilfully, gave a great cry, which was heard by the king. He sent to ask the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; which made him still more desirous of knowing it. At length he forced the fatal secret from them, which threw him into such an excess of grief and despair, as he vented in words to this effect: "Since the privacy of the place could not hide from God's all-seeing eye the detestable deed I have committed, but I must now vomit up my own blood, as it were, by drops, to atone for that which I have so inhumanly shed, would not a speedy death be much more desirable to me?" He gave up the ghost soon after, having reigned but one year; and was succeeded by his brother *Jannaeus*, or *Alexander*, whom the queen *Salome*, called by the Greeks *Alexandra*, released out of prison with his other two brethren, and caused him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldest of the three, and of a milder disposition than either of them.

*Alexander Jannaeus crowned.* He was, however, forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made some treasonable attempt against him; but was much kinder to *Abjalom* the youngest of all, whom finding contented to lead a private life under him, he took under his protection as long as he lived; and so privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till above forty-two years after, when having engaged in the war

*Year of the flood 2243 Bef. Chr.* against the *Romans*, he was taken by *Pompey*, and sent prisoner to *Rome*. *Alexander* being a subtle and warlike prince, and *Syria* being then torn by civil wars between the contending brothers, *Antiochus Cyzicus* and *Antiochus Grypus*<sup>b</sup>, and therefore in no capacity to oppose him, he led an army in the very first year of his reign against the city of *Ptolemais*; but *His unsuccess* with worse success in that siege than any of his predecessor's had done, being forced to use it to succour his own territories, which were invaded by *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who took gainst *Ptolemais* from him the city of *Azochis* in *Galilee*, carried off ten thousand captives, and gave him soon after a dreadful overthrow near the banks of the *Jordan*, as we have seen in a

<sup>b</sup> See before, vol. ix. p. 340, & seq. 424, & seq.

former chapter 5. This defeat, in which he lost thirty thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, and which was a just reward for his treachery to that prince, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into *Judea*, Alexander being now in no condition to have stopped his progress, had not Cleopatra come to his assistance (W), and forced *Lathyrus* to set aside the invasion of *Palæstine* for some time.

Cleopatra being come to *Ptolemais*, which had surrendered to her, the Jewish monarch came to acknowlege her favour to him by presents suitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in distress, and who had no other refuge than her friendship: but that which ingratuated him most to that politic prince was, his being an enemy to her son *Lathyrus*, who was by that time returned into *Palæstine*, and had taken his winter-quarters at *Gaza* (X).

Alexander soon after returned to *Jerusalem*, where being at Ptolemais now pretty secure of any danger from *Lathyrus*, he recruited his broken army, and, crossing the *Jordan*, went to besiege *Takes Gadara*, and took it at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to *Amathus*, another strong fortress on that side

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ix. p. 426, & seq.

(W) It was indeed that prince's interest not to let *Lathyrus* grow too great, and be thereby enabled to come and wrest the crown from her; but there was another spring that moved her to what she did. The Jews of *Alexandria* were highly in her favour, and *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, two of the most considerable, being the sons of *Onias* the high-priest, who built the Jewish temple at *Alexandria*, were at the head of affairs: and these could not behold *Judea* in such imminent danger from an exasperated enemy, without using all their interest with that queen to prevent it. We shall not repeat what has been said in a former chapter (3) concerning the success of her arms against that competitor.

(X) During Alexander's stay with Cleopatra, some of her friends advised her to take to fa-

vourable an opportunity to make herself mistress of *Judea*; which would at once increase her dominions and strength, and give her a superiority over her competitor. But *Ananias* the Jew, lately mentioned, who was one of her head general's, dissuaded her from such an attempt, alleging, that it would be very ungenerous and unjust to dispossess of his dominions an ally, who was come to implore her friendship and assistance; that it would lessen her character in the eyes of the world, and, above all, make her detested by all the Jews. These reasons, joined to the influence which that general, who was Alexander's kinsman, had over her, did not only divert her from her design, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of *Scythopolis*.

(3) Vol. ix. p. 424, & seq

and Ama. the river, into which *Theodosius* the son of *Zeno*, tyrant of those *Philadelphia*, had laid up an immense treasure, and took it in

a much shorter time than he had that of *Gadara*; and with *Years of* it all *Theodosius's* treasure. But he did not keep it long; that

<sup>2248.</sup> the flood prince, having got together a numerous army, fell suddenly upon him, as he was returning from the siege, killed ten thou-

<sup>100.</sup> *Bef. Chr.* sand of his army, routed the rest, recovered all his wealth,

*Defeated* seized on *Alexander's* baggage, and carried off a considerable *by Theo-*

*dorus.* plunder from his men<sup>d</sup>. This defeat, however, did not dis- courage *Alexander* from pursuing his warlike views; only it afforded great matter of triumph to the pharisees, his impla- cable enemies, who took occasion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to use all possible means to make his crown sit uneasy on him.

*Marches* As soon as *Alexander* had recruited his army, he stayed not *against* in *Jerusalem* to quell the pharisaic faction, but left them to *Gaza.* make the most of his late disgrace, whilst he went to vent

*Year of* his resentment on the treacherous *Gazaens*, who, by inviting *the flood* *Lathyrus* against him, and furnishing him with auxiliaries, had been the cause of his late overthrow. He immediately be-

<sup>2250.</sup> *Bef. Chr.* sieged the towns of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, since called *Agrip-*

<sup>98.</sup> *pia*, by *Herod*: these two places stood at a few miles distance *(Wavy line)* from *Gaza*; by which means having in some measure blocked up this last, he, the next year, set about besieging it with a powerful army. The city being then under the command of *Apollodotus*, a man of great valour and conduct, made a stout defence against him one whole year, and in one sally were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer

*The town* it might have held out in all likelihood, had not the brave betrayed to *bim.* governor been treacherously murdered by his own brother *Ly-*

*simachus*, and the place betrayed by him to the besiegers.

*Alexander*, upon his entering it, made a great shew of clemency to the *Gazaens*; but soon betrayed his rancour and *ty to the* cruelty against them, by abandoning them to the fury of his *Gazaens* men; who thereupon made such an horrid slaughter of them, as was like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the *Gazaens*, standing desperately on their own defence, killed almost as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at last glutted himself with the blood of those unfortunate wretches,

*Rases the* he vented the rest of his resentment on that great and antient city, by reducing it into a heap of ruins; after which he re-

*city.* turned with his army to *Jerusalem*<sup>e</sup>. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds<sup>f</sup>, that he took afterwards the cities of *Emath* and *Tyre*, but *Josephus* says nothing of it.

<sup>d</sup> *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 21.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>f</sup> *Cap.* xxix.

BUT whilst he had been abroad with his army, the pharisees, *The pharisees* who, as we hinted before, bore a mortal hatred to him, and *ses cabal* his whole family, had taken such means to exasperate the *against* people against him, by evil surmises and flanders, which they *him*. privately instilled into them, that it broke out at last into an open affront, which came little short of a rebellion. They chose the feast of tabernacles, on which solemnity they went to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, especially of that of a kind of citron, which they call *attrog*, with the fruit upon it ; and when he was performing the priestly office at the great altar, probably on the last day of *Alexander* that solemnity, they pelted him, not only with those *attrogs*, *pelted by* but with the most injurious reflections, and opprobrious lan- *the people*. guage, crying aloud, that such a slave as he (Y) was unworthy Year of of either the pontifical or regal dignity. This insolence, which seemed the forerunner of something worse, so exasperated the pontiff, that, suspending his office for a while, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob ; which they did with such speed and fury, that they killed six thousand of *His severities* them, and dispersed the rest <sup>2253.</sup> As soon as the tumult was *revenge on* quelled, he caused the court of the priests to be inclosed with *them*. a wooden wall, to prevent such insults being offered to him Year of for the future ; and at the same time provided for his further the flood safety, by taking into his pay six thousand auxiliaries out of *Fisidia* and *Cilicia*, being afraid to trust his person any longer <sup>2254.</sup> *Bef. Chr.* to the guard of those of his exasperated nation, who, as he <sup>94.</sup> found now to his great grief, were not to be quelled by the greatest severities, nor mollified by the greatest lenities : so that, being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he *Leaves Jerusalem* marched out of *Jerusalem* at the head of his army, crossed *rusalem*, the *Jordan*, and went and destroyed the city of *Amathus*, and makes without meeting with any opposition from *Theodotus*, who *war a-* contented himself with carrying off his treasure and garison, leaving the city to his mercy ; so dreadful was become the name of *Alexander* by this time to all the nations round about. From thence he marched against the *Arabians*, whom he

\* Antiq 1 xiii. c. 21. bell. Jud. I. i. c. 3.

(Y) By calling him a slave, it is plain they harped upon that scandalous suggestion of *Eleazar*, lately mentioned, of his mother's having been a slave. But the true foundation of the pharisaic grudge was his treading in his father's steps, not only in professing the opposite sect, but in con-

tinuing the penal laws against those who should observe the traditions and customs introduced by the pharisees. This was such a crime against them, that nothing but his blood could expiate ; and they did not scruple to tell him so soon after, as we shall see in the sequel.

subdued ;

*His swift conquests* after which he laid the *Moabites*, and the mountaineers of the land of *Gilead*, under tribute. Soon after this, as he was carrying on the war against *Obodas* king of the *Arabians*, he fell into an ambush near *Gadara*, where he was forced by a large drove of camels into a strait so narrow and craggy, that it was with the greatest difficulty that he escaped, and regained his own metropolis (Z). Here he found, to his great mortification, that the news of this last defeat had not only reached the place, but had given new life to his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever against him. His endeavours to quell them, as he had done before, did now but increase the tumult, till it broke out into an open insurrection against him. He was, however, too wise and brave to be either surprised or terrified by it; but quickly gathered a number of forces to make head against them. A civil war immediately ensued, which lasted six whole years, during which above fifty thousand of the rebels were slain, besides those he lost on his own side, and the innumerable calamities it brought on the Jewish nation (A).

(Z) *Josephus* mentions these wars so confusedly, that it is impossible to guess at what time they happened, or how long they lasted. It seems as if he had thrown them thus together at the end of a chapter (4), to shew his readers what a warlike prince *Alexander* was, and that his neighbours led but a weary life during his reign. Perhaps it would have been better for him to have continued them longer, since his return to *Jerusalem* proved the cause of fresh tumults, which ended at last in an open rebellion.

(A) *Alexander*, however, tho' he still got the better of them, was so weary with destroying both his people and country, that he spared no means, no offers or promises, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels, and those of the pharisaic leaven,

every advance he made did but harden them the more. At length, being resolved, if possible, to bring them to a better mind, he sent some of his friends to know what would satisfy them, promising to grant them whatever they should in reason and justice demand. To this they unanimously cried out, that he must cut his own throat, telling him at the same time, that he ought to think highly of them, if they thought his death a sufficient recompence for the blood he had shed, and the mischiefs he had brought upon the nation (5). This answer made him lose all hopes of an accommodation, and look out for some more effectual means to suppress their horrid insolence; whilst they, on the other hand, sent to *Damascus*, to beg of *Demetrius*, surnamed *Eucerus*, to come to their assistance (6).

(4) *Antiq.* l. xii. in fin. cap. 21. & *ibid.* *Jud.* l. i. c. 3.  
*ibid.* *Vid.* & *Maccab.* c. viii.

(5) *I.d. ibid.*

(6) *Id.*

*Demetrius*

*Demetrius* came accordingly into *Judea*, with an army Year of  
of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, who were the flood  
partly *Jews*, and partly *Syrians*; and *Alexander* came against 2259.  
him with another, consisting of six thousand Greek auxiliaries, Bef. Chr.  
and twenty thousand *Jews*: each of them tried for some time 89<sup>a</sup>  
to gain over the troops of his competitor, *Demetrius* to corrupt the Greek auxiliaries to forsake the Jewish king, and this latter to bring over those *Jews* that were in the *Syrian* army. But all their efforts proving vain, they came at length to a decisive battle, in which *Alexander* was defeated, and *Alexander* forced to flee to the mountains for shelter, with the small *defeated* number of men that stuck close to him. This is the account which *Josephus* gives us of this action, wherein he again triu-  
clashes with the fourth book of *Maccabees*, which makes the advantage to have been vastly on *Alexander's* side <sup>b</sup>. But, be that as it will, the former tells us, that he was reduced by this defeat to such a low ebb, that he seemed irrecoverably *Relieved*. lost, when an unexpected accident turned again the balance on his side. Those Jewish troops, whom he could not, with all his art, and fair promises, withdraw from the enemy's army before the battle was fought, were now, upon his losing it, taken with such a fit of compassion, that they came all over to him; so that *Demetrius*, fearing lest the defection should still increase, left *Judea*, and marched against his brother *Philip*. This retreat gave *Alexander* an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched against the rebellious *Jews*, and beat them in every engagement he had with them; though without being able to bring them to submission, or in the least abate the fury of their resentment against him, till a decisive battle put an end to the war. In this last action *Alexander* cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the rest, at least the chief of them, into *Bethome*, where he closely besieged them, and on 2262. the next year made himself master of the place: and here it Bef. Chr. was that he began to let loose the reins of his fury against 86. them, in such barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our historian, who was a zealous pharisee, has His cruelty to the rebels. not exaggerated the matter (B).

AFTER

<sup>s</sup> Chap. xxix.

(B) He caused eight hundred of the principal of them to be carried to *Jerusalem*, and there to be all crucified in one day, and at one place: and, as if this had not been punishment sufficient to appease his resentment, he

caused their wives and children to be brought and bunched before their faces, whilst they were hanging each upon their crosses. But what swells the account of his barbarity almost beyond all credibility, is, that he caused a

A a

banquet

*Quells the pharisaic faction.* AFTER this dreadful havock, the rebels quite dispersed themselves, and eight thousand of them disappeared on the very night following, and never more molested him during the remainder of his reign; so that, from that time forth, the pharisaic faction never dared lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this, the king of *Syria*, intending to invade the territories of *Arabia Petrea*, marched his army through part of *Judaea*, which was the only passage he could have to come thither. *Alexander*, who suspected him to have some design against him, endeavoured in vain to obstruct him, by drawing a deep trench, twenty miles long; that is, from the town of *Capharsaba*, since *Antipatris*, quite to the sea of *Joppa*, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient distances. *Antiochus* forced his way through them, and penetrated into *Arabia*, where he lost his life, as we have seen elsewhere<sup>b</sup>: and *Alexander*, being rid of that fear, marched his army over *Jordan*, to recover some of those places in *Arabia*, and the lands of *Moab* and *Gilead*, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to surrender during the civil wars, to prevent the *Arabian* king's supporting his rebellious subjects. This brought *Aretas*, now king both of *Arabia* and *Cœlesyria*, into *Judæa*, where he defeated *Alexander*; but, having soon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to pursue his other conquests. *Alexander* accordingly marched against the city of *Pella* taken *Dion*, and took it by assault<sup>c</sup>. *Pella* was taken next<sup>d</sup>, after which he went and besieged *Eessa*, alias *Gerasa*, in which *Theodotus* had secured all his treasure; and having built a treble wall about it, took it by storm, and carried off all the

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ix. p. 348.   <sup>c</sup> Antiq. I. xiii. c. 23.   <sup>d</sup> Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

banquet to be prepared for himself and his concubines, near enough to this scene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their sufferings. Hence the historian adds<sup>(7)</sup>, that he had the name of *Tracidas*, or *Ibrahim*, given him, that nation being infamous above all others for their horrid barbarities; and was indeed a name too good for him, if he was really guilty of these cruelties. But here it must be

remembered, that *Josephus* was a zealous pharisee, and *Alexander* an inveterate enemy to, not to say in some measure a persecutor of, that old sect; and how far this consideration may have soured the pharisaic leaven in that historian, and have made him represent that prince as less successful than he really was, and guilty of such cruelties as he was a stranger to, may be easily guessed.

(7) Antiq. I. xiii. c. 23.

rich plunder he found in it. The inhabitants of *Pella* having refused to be circumcised, he forced them, according to the custom of the *Afrikan* princes, to leave the country, and their city was demolished. Alexander marched from thence, and took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, the valley of *Antiochus*, and *Gamala*; and stripped *Demetrius*, who commanded in those places, of his principality, because he had been guilty of us *slippe* some foul crimes and malversations. This expedition took of his him three whole years, after which he returned triumphant *principa-*  
to *Jerusalem*, and brought *Demetrius* prisoner with him th-  
ther, where his late conquests gained him the loud acclama-  
tions of his subjects<sup>1</sup>. But, giving himself from thencefor-  
ward to drinking, and other debaucheries, he was seized with  
an obstinate quartan ague, which stuck to him till the day of death.  
his death, which happened about three years after. All this Year of  
while, neither his distemper, nor his pleasures, which he still  
pursued, could alleviate his invincible thirst after conquests (C).  
Perhaps he was also in hopes to overcome the one by the other;  
but it happened quite otherwise; and his strength being quite  
exhausted by fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before  
*Regaba*, a fortress in the territories of the *Gerasens* beyond  
*Jordan*, which he was then besieging, in the twenty-seventh  
year of his reign<sup>m</sup>.

He left two sons at his death, *Hyrkanus* and *Aristobulus*; Leaves  
but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to his wife *the crown*  
*Alexandra*, during her life, and then to which of her two <sup>to his</sup> *wife*.

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. ubi supra. <sup>m</sup> Ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(C) Witness the vast number of places he possessed of in *Syria*, *Idumea*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, &c. beyond all his predecessors, and which we shall here subjoin out of *Josephus*, that the reader may have them all in one view (8).

Along the sea, the tower of *Straton*, the ports of *Apollonia*, *Toppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Antbedon*, *Raphia*, and *Rhinocorura*. In the mid-land of *Idumea*, *Adora*, *Marissa*, and all *Samaria*, with the mountains of *Carmel* and *Itabyr*, and the cities of *Scytropolis*, *Gadara*, *Gaulona*, *Seleucia*, and *Gabala*. In the land of *Moab*, *Heshbon* or *Esebon*,

*Midaba*, *Lemba*, *Oron*, *Telithon*, and *Zara*. In *Cilicia*, *Aulon*, and *Pella*. This last, and that of *Gaza*, were demolished, as we have seen before. Besides those he conquered in *Arabia*, and was forced to surrender to *Aretas*, and many more in the land of *Gilead*, and some fresh ones in the land of *Syria*, whose names our author has omitted. What a subject would there have been here for a lofty panegyric, had the historian been a sadducee, or the prince a pharisee! and how truly is the saying verified, *Cedunt arma togæ!*

(8) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23.

Year of  
the flood  
2269.  
Bef. Chr.  
79.

*Her just sons* she should think fit to succeed her. The queen, who *dread of* was then with him at the siege, seeing him to be past recovery, addressed herself to him, all in tears; and, in a most pathetic speech, represented to him the extreme danger she and her children were going to be exposed to, from the inveterate grudge which the pharisaic faction still bore to him, and to all that belonged to him; and who, being the idol of the people, would not fail to make her feel the effects of their bitterest rancour, by raising up new seditions against her, as they had formerly done against him, and perhaps to the total extirpation of his race. As her fears were but too well grounded, they could not but awake those of her dying husband, who, luckily for her, happened to have still presence of mind enough to bethink himself of an expedient, which would effectually put her out of all danger from that revengeful sect. Having therefore thought some time upon it, he

*His dying advice to her.*

spoke to her to this effect: " You know, said he, but too well, the cause of our mutual enmity; and since your security and happiness must rise or fall, according as you make them your friends or foes, when I am dead, be sure to conceal the secret from my army, till they have taken the fort, and then lead them triumphant to *Jerusalem*; carry my body along with you, and, as soon as you come thither, send for the principal leaders of that factious sect, and lay it before them; and tell them, that you wholly submit it to them, either to give it a burial, or throw it in the high-way, for the injuries I have done them. Assure them at the same time, that, as to you, you are so intirely devoted to them, that you design to place them again at the head of affairs, and you will do nothing without their advice and consent. Give them immediately some marks of your favour and friendship; and then you need not doubt, but they will not only extol me to the skies, and give me a royal burial, but will likewise support you, and my sons after you, in the peaceful enjoyment of your kingdom." He just lived to give her this salutary counsel, and then died in the forty-ninth year of his age.

*Alexandra follows his advice with success.* Alexandra was too wise not to follow his injunctions, if they were really his, and not a pretence trumped up by that politic princess. However, it had the desired effect; and the pharisees, glad to see themselves again at the head of affairs, were beyond measure lavish of their praises and honours.

*Year of the flood 2270. Bef. Chr. 78.* to the deceased king. They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they bestowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wisdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. He did certainly right in that, seeing his eldest son *Hyrcanus*, who was then about thirty

years

years of age, was a prince of a sluggish disposition, without ambition or spirit. Him therefore the queen thought fit to *Gives the* succeed his father in the pontifical function, not so much out *high-* of respect to his primogeniture, as because he was less likely to *priesthood* interfere with the affairs of state than the younger brother; *to her son* who, being of a more enterprising genius, was for that very Hyrcan. reason secluded, and confined to a private life. But though she had so carefully secured her prerogative from any attempt from her two sons, yet was she far enough from enjoying it so absolutely and quietly as she expected. For the pharisees, as they grew more and more powerful, grew also more and more *The phari-* insolent and untractable; insomuch that her fear of their raising *sees grow* a new rebellion forced her to consent to many of their de- *insolent* mands, much against her will, as well as her interest.

THE first thing they obtained of her, was a total revoca- *Their ex-* tion of all the edicts which *Hyrcan* the first, and the late *orbitant* king, had made against their constitutions, and traditional demands do&ctrines: the next was an amnesty for all their faction, to *granted* together with the release of such of their brethren as had been confined since the late civil war: and the third was the recalling of all those who had been either banished, or forced to fly the country, since the conclusion of it, and their being re-admitted into the possession of all their forfeited estates (D). She retained indeed six thousand auxiliary troops in her pay, Year of by which she kept at least her neighbours and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time fresh hostages <sup>2271.</sup> *Bef. Chr.* from them <sup>a.</sup> But as the pharisaic crew looked upon this as the effects of their friendship to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themselves, and soon gave her to understand, that nothing less than the total extirpation of the *Sadducees* (who were the only ones that stuck close to the *Sadducees* late king) should purchase the continuance of their friend- *persecuted*.

<sup>a</sup> *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 23, comp. with l. xx. c. 8, & bell. *Jud.* l. i. c. 4.

(D) By the first of these, the pharisaic traditions grew again into credit, by which means they became more and more numerous; and that sect being at full liberty to impose them on the people at their pleasure, they not only became an intolerable burden to the people, but by degrees quite obliterated the written word, of which they were pretended to be the true

sense and explication: and by the other two decrees, they so increased and strengthened their party, that the queen was now afraid to deny them any thing; whereby they became still more exorbitant in their demands, till they let her see plainly, that they designed to leave her only the name of sovereignty, and the power to command her subjects to obey them.

ship and assistance. They began with insisting upon her punishing all those who had counselled him to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned, with immediate death. Accordingly, *Diogenes*, one of the chiefs of the *Sadducees*, and a confidant of *Alexander*, was presently dispatched ; and after him a great many others, against whom they had laid the same accusation, right or wrong ; that is, against as many of that sect, as they thought had been too much attached to that monarch's service<sup>o</sup> (E).

*Petition the queen.* AT length, some of the most considerable persons of that persecuted party, having got young *Aristobulus* at their head, came to the royal palace, to beseech the queen, that she would put an end to their misery. They reminded her of their great services, and invincible loyalty, to her late husband ; and that it was in consideration of it, that he had bestowed on them those marks of his favour and esteem, which exposed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to suffer the late king's best and most loyal friends to be thus daily sacrificed to the rancour of his ambitious and bitterest enemies, in a time especially of a profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witness of all the difficulties and hardships they had suffered with and for him. They concluded with their earnest prayer, that if she could not suppress the pharisaic rage against them, she would at least give them the liberty of sheltering themselves from it, either by retiring into some foreign countries, or by placing them in such of her garrisons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. *Aristobulus* at the same time backed their petition in such manner, as sufficiently shewed his disgust to such cruel proceedings. The queen, though doubtless highly affected with their distress, dared not grant the first part of their petition, for fear of exasperating the pharisees. To grant them the second, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herself of so many faithful subjects, whose friendship might one time or other be of service to suppress the arrogance of that tyrannic sect. Upon

<sup>o</sup> Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(E) These persecutions were continued several years, though much against the queen's mind, who could not but feel some lively remorse to see so many of her husband's most zealous friends daily butchered : but the pharisees still insisting, that to put a stop to these severities, would be

to stop the course of justice, contrary to the laws of God, and the security of every good government ; the fear of a new insurrection, the dreadful effects of which she had so lately felt, made her still look upon those executions as the less evil of the two.

mature

mature deliberation therefore, she agreed to the last expedient proposed; of placing them in the several garisons of the grants kingdom, whence she might at any time fetch them when the occasion served; and where they might be either safe from their enemies, or, at least, in a condition to stand in their own defence. She excepted, however, those of *Hyrcania*, *Alexandria*, and *Machæron*, in which she had deposited her most valuable treasure, left, by shewing too great a confidence in them, she should give umbrage to their enemies the pharisees (F). How she took her son's intercession on their behalf,

Year of  
the flood  
2276.  
Bef. Chr.  
72.

(F) The fourth book of *Macabees* (9) takes no notice of their being sent into garisons; but only tells us, that she gave them leave to retire into what cities of *Judæa* they pleased; and that the essenians, no less hated by the pharisees, joined themselves to them.

In this year, our learned *Usher* observes (1), was born *Herod*, afterwads king of *Judeæa*, of whom we shall have a great deal to speak in the sequel; for he was twenty-five years old when he was made governor of *Galilee* in the year before Christ 47.

Concerning his father *Antipater*, or, as he grecified his name, *Antipater*, authors have given us various accounts, according as they were well or ill affected towards his son. Thus *N. Damascen*, who had received great obligations from him, and published his history in *Herod's* life, derives his pedigree from one of the principal Jews that returned from the *Babylonish* captivity; for which flagrant flattery *Josephus*, who must have been better informed, doth sharply reprove him, and assures us (2), that *Antipater* was of a noble *Idumean* family, and had been made governor of *Idumea* by *Alexander*

*Janneus*, and continued so under his queen *Alexandra*; so that, according to this last historian, he was of *Idumean* race, but by religion a *Jew*, the *Idumeans* having long since been proselyted, and incorporated into the *Jewish* church and state, as we have seen before.

But a modern Jesuit (3), who has pretended to prove *Josephus's* history a mere forgery, makes *Herod* to be an *Athenian*: his proofs are, that he is called in some medals a benefactor to *Athens*, and that there actually was one of his name in that city in *Cæsar's* time. He has advanced several other singularities concerning that prince, which we may have occasion to mention, when we come to speak of his reign.

But none have more debased his origin than *Julius Africanus*, who, in his letter to *Aristides*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (4), makes *Antipater* to have been the son of one *Herod an Ascalonite*, who was vestry-keeper of *Apollo's* temple in that city; and withal so poor, that when his son (this our great *Herod*) was taken prisoner by some *Idumean* robbers, he was not able to redeem him; so that he was brought up among those

(9) *Ch. xxxii.*      (1) *Sub A. Jul. per. 4642.*      (2) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2.*  
(3) *Huidouin de numm. Herodian.*      (4) *Eccl. hist. l. i. c. 6. & 7.*

behalf, our historian doth not tell us ; but intimates, that she sent him soon after with an army into Syria, against *Ptolemy Menneus*, who infested all the neighbouring countries ; and that he returned soon after, without effecting any thing worth notice <sup>2.</sup>

**Year of the flood** ABOUT the same time news came to her, that *Tigranes the Good* king of Armenia was come into Syria with an army of fifty thousand men, had besieged *Ptolemais*, and that his design was to march from thence into *Judea*. This news threw the whole kingdom into the greatest consternation, it not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an invader.

**Her embassy to Tigranes.** She therefore hasted some ambassadors, laden with the richest presents, to beseech him to spare her dominions, and to grant her his friendship. Both presents and embassy were received with marks of the sincerest kindness and affection, not so much out of regard to that prince, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn ; his territories being now threatened with an invasion from the *Romans*, who had already penetrated into *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, where *Lucullus* was then ravaging all that country ; so that he was forced to go and defend his own territories, instead of invading those of his neighbours <sup>3.</sup>

**The queen's sickness.** THE queen was scarcely rid of this danger, before she fell into new ones. A fit of sickness, which seized her about this time, dangerous in its nature, and much more so on account of

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. c 24. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.    <sup>3</sup> Id. ibid.

banditti, who were, however, of the Jewish religion ; and this notion, it seems, was readily adopted by several of the fathers (5).

One thing seems beyond contradiction, namely, that one of the main causes of the invincible hatred which the whole Jewish nation bore against that prince, in spite of his grandeur, generosity, and munificence, was his not being of Jewish extract ; so that what *Damascas*, and after him the *Arabic* history, printed at the end of the *Paris* polyglot, affirm of his noble descent from a Jewish stock, must be false and groundless.

His opposite pedigree, from a sexton of *Apollo*'s temple, is at best founded on a tradition, attributed to Christ's kinsmen according to the flesh, without the least authority, and seems to be trumped up to debase the whole *Herodian* family, which was universally hated ; and can consequently never outweigh the testimony of *Josephus*, who wanted neither means nor inclination to inform himself of his genealogy, and whose authority is still universally received, in spite of all the cavils which the Jesuit above-quoted has raised against it.

(5) Vid. *Amir. comment.* in *Luc.* c. iii.

her great age, made her youngest son believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was therefore high time for him to *Her young-*  
*think of securing the crown for himself, which his elder brother for tries*  
*ther was unfit for.* To this end, he went out of *Jerusalem to secure*  
*one night, accompanied by one single confident, with a de-* *the crown.*  
*sign to go and bring over to his interest those friends of his fa-*  
*ther, who had the custody of the several fortifications, of*  
*which we have lately spoken.* This secret he intrusted with  
*none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her chil-*  
*dren, till he came to the castle of *Agaba*, where *Gabestus*, one  
*of his father's chief confidants, who commanded there, re-*  
*ceived him with no small joy.* He immediately declared to  
*him the design of his coming, and the reasons he had to fear,*  
*lest, if his mother died before he had made sure of the crown,*  
*not only he and his whole family, but all their friends in ge-*  
*neral, should again fall under the tyranny of the pharisaic sect,*  
*through the indolence and stupidity of his elder brother, who*  
*would doubtless suffer himself to be wholly governed by them.*  
As his fears were but too well grounded, he easily gained *Ga-* *Gabestus*  
*besus*, whose example was soon followed by the governors *joins with*  
*of the other fortresses, who all declared for him.* The queen *him in it.*  
*missed her son from the first night; but did not suspect him* *Other go-*  
*of any design, till the alarmed pharisees brought her word,* *vernors*  
*that these fortresses were gone over to his interest;* by which *follows*  
*means he had got, in some measure, the whole strength of the* *him.*  
*kingdom into his hands.* As to the army, and even the peo-*  
*ple, who were heretofore so ready to idolize their sect, they*  
*were sensible they had used them of late with such severity*  
*and insolence, that, instead of expecting any support from*  
*them, they had great reason to fear they would, upon the*  
*very first occasion, go over to *Aristobulus*, and embrace the*  
*milder government of the sadducees.*

THEY had brought *Hyrcan* with them to the queen, when *Hyrcan*  
*they came to acquaint her with the dismal situation of their* *brought to*  
*affairs; and both he and they were very pressing with her, to* *the queen.*  
*advise them what to do in such a dangerous case.* The queen,  
*who found herself dying, had just strength enough to tell*  
*them, that her condition would not now permit her to think*  
*of their safety; and that she left it wholly to them to see to*  
*it themselves.* She added, that they wanted neither soldiers,  
*arms, nor money, to make head against her other son;* and *Appointed*  
*that she appointed *Hyrcan* her successor.* She expired imme- *her succef-*  
*diately after, in the seventy-third year of her age, and the* *for.*  
*ninth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the pharisaic* *Her death.*  
*faction, who now could expect nothing else but a severe re-*

\* Antiq. l. xiii. c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

taliation for all their cruelties to the late king's friends ; but to the great joy of all the rest of the kingdom, who now hoped to see an effectual end put to the pharisaic tyranny, by her brave son *Aristobulus* (G).

WHILST, therefore, the hopes of such an happy change brought daily both army and people over to him, the pharisees found no other expedient to provide for their own safety, than seizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the castle of *Baris*, to be kept there as hostages against him ; but when they found, that this did not stop his progress, but that he took the royal title and state upon him, and daily gained strength, they raised an army against him ; and *Aristobulus*, who desired nothing more than a decisive battle, well knowing the valour and fidelity of his army, and that he had little to fear from that of his brother, soon gave him an opportunity of joining issue with him. A battle was accordingly fought near *Jericho*, in which most of *Hyrcan's* forces went over to his brother ; so that he had no way left, but to retire to *Jerusalem*, and to shut himself up in the same castle, where they had confined *Aristobulus's* wife and children. The few forces that stuck by him followed his example, and took sanctuary within the verge of the temple ; where they had not

*Pharisees raise an army against Aristobulus ; which goes mostly over to him.*

(G) This defection from *Hyrcan*, whom she had nominated her successor, to her younger son, who was in some measure in open rebellion against her, did not proceed from any disrespect the people had for her ; for she appears to have been a princess of great wisdom and conduct ; and, could she have suppressed the pharisaic tyranny, would have left an unblemished character behind her ; and even this circumstance of her giving too much way to it, appears to have been rather her misfortune than her fault.

Some authors (6) have absurdly confounded this queen with *Salome* the wife, and afterwards the widow, of *Aristobulus*, the elder brother of the late *Alexander*, and who, as we observed a little higher, out of *Josephus*, was

also called *Alexandra* ; so that they have supposed her to have been the same person ; and that, being left a widow, *Alexander*, the next brother, had been obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to marry her, and raise up seed to his brother.

But this has been fully confuted by our learned *Prideaux*, in the place above quoted, since *Hyrcan*, who is every-where allowed to have been the son of *Alexander*, is there proved to have been five years old before *Aristobulus* died ; for *Hyrcan* being, according to *Josephus*, above eighty years of age when he died, which happened in the year before Christ 30, eighty-one years will carry us back to the year before Christ 111. whereas *Aristobulus* did not die till the year 106.

(6) *Capel. & al. Vi. Prid. connect. sub A. 70.*

been

been long before they came over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this desperate state, *Hyrcan* was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms ; and *Aristobulus* *Hyrcan* granted it to him, upon condition that he divested himself of reduced to his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly resigned them to a private him, and contented himself with a private life, with the enjoyment of his peculiar patrimony. *Hyrcan*, who, as we have observed more than once, was a man without ambition or spirit, made no difficulty to yield to these conditions, and to divest himself of a government he could keep no longer, after a three months troublesome possession of it \* (H).

THIS

\* *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 1, 2, 3. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.*

(H) So says the text in *Josephus* ; but our excellent *Usher* has clearly shewn, from the six years which elapsed between the consulate of *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus*, in which *Hyrcan* began his reign, and that of *C. Antonius*, and *M. T. Cicero*, in which his brother *Aristobulus* was deposed by *Pompey*, that there must be an error crept into *Josephus*, who allows but three months reign to the former, and three years and six months to the latter.

But that learned prelate has not so well succeeded in correcting that mistake, by supposing that *Hyrcan* reigned three years and three months (7), and that the former of the two numbers had been dropped by the carelessness of the transcribers; for this seems quite contrary to the tenor of *Josephus*, who makes his reign and deposition to have followed much closer than this supposition will admit of.

Another great antiquary (8) has taken a different way to solve the difficulty, by supposing that *Hyrcan* was divested of his regal dignity after the first three months ; but that he preserved

the high-priesthood three years longer ; that is, till his flight to *Aretas*, of which we shall speak by-and-by ; and that the three years and six months allowed to his brother by the Jewish historian, are to be reckoned only from the time that he assumed the pontifical dignity. But this again is contradicted by *Josephus*, who makes *Aristobulus* to have divested his brother of both dignities, and to have taken them upon himself at one and the same time, and *Hyrcan* to have been reduced to a private state.

Dean *Prideaux*, in the place above quoted, supposes therefore, that the original had six years and six months, it being more reasonable, that a numerical letter should be changed by carelessness of the scribe, than a whole word ; that is, that he should mistake a three for a six, rather than a month for a year, as in the supposition of archbishop *Usher*.

From the objection, that *Josephus* in another place (9) gives him but three years reign, and that not in numerical letters, but in words at length, which might

(7) *Sub A. Jul. per. 4647.*(9) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. ad fin. Conf. cum l. xiv. ss. & xv. 9.*(8) *Petav. ap. Prid. connect. sub A. 70.*

THIS deposition did not however hinder Hyrcan's retaining still a powerful party, which, consisting of pharisees, who had nothing to hope for, but a great deal to fear, from his successful brother, were still busily plotting to raise up their old idol over him. This was gladly observed by Antipater the father of Herod, whose nation and pedigree we have spoken of in a late note. This person, though, in all likelihood, in fear of different as to the distinction between pharisee and sadducee, Aristobulus being, as we there observed, an Idumean proselyte, was in as

Ius. great danger of feeling the resentments of Aristobulus, as any of the former sect. His peculiar skill and address, backed by an unmeasurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king Alexander, and of his queen Alexandra, who had bestowed the government of Idumea upon him; and, as he had still looked upon Hyrcan as their successor, the hopes of advancing himself still higher under that

Year of the flood soft prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal  
2283. for him: so that, when he came to see his brother on the  
Bef. Chr. throne, he had all the reason in the world, not only to despair of further advancement, but to dread his resentment. This

65.  
*Cabals with the discontented pharisees.*

be therefore looked upon as a confirmation of the former, the same judicious author rather confirms his own hypothesis in as clear a manner as the subject can admit of. To give his answer at length, would swell this note too much; we shall therefore content ourselves with hinting at the main stress of the argument.

He observes, that this last place has three years, and the same number of months, whereas the former has three years, and six months: from whence he supposes, that some critic, finding this difference between those two places, and not suspecting this last to have been corrupted; that is, three to have been put instead of six years; has altered the other place according to it, in order to

reconcile the Jewish historian; and so, instead of six years, and just as many months, as he found it written, he made it three years, and as many months, as he found it corrupted in the other place.

This supposition, which cannot but appear very probable to those who are acquainted with manuscripts, and with the inadvertency of transcribers, as well as the boldness of critics in correcting them, takes away at once all the difficulties, reconciles Josephus to himself, and fills up the six years space between Hyrcan's reign, and Aristobulus's deposition, according to the consulates under which each of them is affirmed by him to have happened (1).

(1) Conf. ant. l. xiv. c. 11. & xx. c. 8.

had cut off his brother, and, with him, all that had been in his interest (1).

As soon as he had gained *Hyrcan's* consent, he offered himself to go and negotiate that affair with *Aretas*; which he did with such privacy and dispatch, that he came back very soon, took *Hyrcan* with him in the night, and, by long *Carries* journeys, brought him to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, *Hyrcan* where he presented him to the king. It is likely, that *Anti-* into *Arapater*, at his first interview with *Aretas*, had only engaged bia. him to protect *Hyrcan* against his brother; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his design, and to conviace him how much it would be his interest to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, by assuring him, that he should have all the places restored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the *Jewish* kings, which were very many and considerable, and which he must never hope to recover, as long as *Aristobulus* was on the throne. *Hyrcan* was easily persuaded to confirm all his minister had said, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the *Arabian* king, who came soon after with them into *Judea*, *Aretas* at the head of an army of five thousand men, where he was *invades* joined by those of *Hyrcan's* party. *Aristobulus* marched against *Judea*. him, and an obstinate fight ensued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jerusalem*. *Aretas* pursued *Aristobulus* thither, and, entering that metropolis without opposition, *lus de-* drove him, and his few men, most of them priests, into the *seated*. precinct of the temple, and there closely besieged him, whilst *Besieged in* the rest of the people declared for the conqueror<sup>1</sup>. But here *the temple*. the besiegers were guilty of two such flagrant deeds, as did not long go without due punishment. The reader may see

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. I. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. I. i. c. 5.

(1) By these insinuations he soon drew them into his design to dethrone him, and set up his brother again: but his great difficulty was, to prevail upon *Hyrcan* to join with them. That prince, being of an easy and indolent disposition, could not be persuaded, that his brother would attempt any thing against his life; neither had he any ambition to recover his lost dignities; or, if he had, it was easily cooled by

the danger of attempting it, which he viewed in the most dismal light. When therefore *Antipater* perceived, that fear was his predominant passion, he raised such a battery against it, by repeated assurances, that his life was in manifest danger, and that he must resolve either to reign or die, that the weak prince was at length wrought upon to seek for safety and assistance from *Aretas* king of *Arabia* (2).

(2) Antiq. I. xiv. c. 2. Bell. Jud. I. i. c. 5.

them

them in the following note (K), whilst we pursue the account of that siege in the next section.

(K) The temple being thus besieged, and the approaching feast of the passover thereby likely to be wholly obstructed, many of the chief of the *Jews* retired into *Egypt* to celebrate it there. On the other hand, the besieged having neither lambs, nor other victims, for the sacrifices of that solemnity, *Aristobulus* applied himself to the besiegers to supply them with a competent number of them ; which those at first promised, upon condition that they paid them a thousand drachms of silver for every head, and had the money beforehand. But when the sum stipulated was let down to them by a rope from the top of the wall, they refused to send the victims : upon which the priests went to the altar, and, instead of them, offered up their prayers to God, that he would speedily punish their perfidious contempt of his religion. To this guilt the besiegers added another, neither of which went long unpunished.

There was at that time in *Jerusalem* one *Onias*, a man in high esteem for his sanctity ; and who was thought to have saved the land from a famine, by obtaining from heaven a comfortable rain, after a long and grievous drought. This good man, seeing his unhappy country involved in a civil war, had retired

into some of the neighbouring deserts, and hid himself there. Him they found out, and brought by main force to the siege ; and would have obliged him to curse *Aristobulus*, and his adherents. He resisted a long time, till, constrained at length by their threats, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and addressed it in words to this effect : *O Lord God, sovereign Governor of the world, since these that besiege thy temple are thy people, and those that are besieged in it are thy priests, I beseech thee to hear the prayers of neither side.* He had scarce pronounced these words, before the exasperated multitude let fly on him such volleys of stones, as put an end to his life. This double crime brought a double punishment very speedily upon them : a vehement stormy wind shortly after destroyed all their fruit and grain ; insomuch that a measure of wheat sold for eleven drachms, and other provisions in proportion (3). But the most dreadful of all was, the falling presently after under the yoke of the *Romans* ; a yoke which they never more could shake off, but groaned under the severe weight of it, till the utter destruction of their city and temple, and their total dispersion throughout the world, as will be seen in the next sections.

(3) *Ies. antig. & bell. Jud. ubi s: pra.*

## E C T. IV.

*The History of the Jews, from their being subdued by the Romans to the Reign of Herod the Great.*

*A*RISTOBULUS, being thus freightly besieged by the Arabian king, and forsaken by all his party, was forced <sup>mans in-</sup> to have recourse to the Romans ; for Pompey, having by this <sup>wited by</sup> time overcome Tigranes, was retired into the Lesser Armenia, Aristobulus and from thence had dispatched Gabinius into Judæa ; and Ius. this last, having received three hundred talents from Aristobulus, was gone back without acting for or against him. Scaurus came next from Syria into Judæa, and, in his way, was met by some ambassadors from the two contending brothers, each to implore his friendship and assistance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. Scaurus, who knew Aristobulus to be the more liberal, and the braver of the two, suffered himself to be gained by him : besides, as he rightly judged, it would be the easier task to restore him, since he need but oblige Aretas to raise the siege, and depart out of Judæa, and Hyrcan would soon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to Aretas, in which he told him, that, if he did not immediately withdraw his troops, he should be declared an enemy to Rome, and oblige Pompey to turn his arms against him. Aretas, who had no mind to exasperate the Roman general, readily obeyed, and led his army out of Judæa : Scaurus returned to Damascus ; and Aristobulus, being thus timely relieved, gathered up what forces he could, and pursued after the Arabian king. He overtook him, and his brother Hyrcan, at a place called Papyriion ; and gave him a great overthrow, in which he killed seven thousand of his <sup>Aretas de-</sup> ficated men, and amongst them Cephalion the brother of Antipater <sup>a</sup>. Much about the same time Pompey, being come to Damascus, received ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, especially those of Judæa, Syria, Egypt. These three last, being <sup>brothers</sup> <sup>send pre-</sup> but a kind of usurpers, were extremely desirous to bring the <sup>sents to</sup> Romans over to their interest, and endeavoured to gain their Pompey. general by most magnificent presents (A).

SOON

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(A) Aristobulus, for his part, sent him a golden vine, upon a square mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beasts about it, all of the same precious metal. This curious piece had been formerly made by Alexander Jannæus, and was now sent to Pompey, who conveyed it to Rome, where it was deposited.

*Send a second embassy.* SOON after this the two contending brothers sent a separate embassy to Pompey, on his coming into Cœlesyria, each to implore his friendship and patronage against the other; *Antipater* in behalf of *Hyrcan*, and *Nicodemus* in behalf of *Aristobulus*. Both were heard with seeming equanimity, and dismissed with fair promises, and the two brothers ordered to appear in person, and to plead their causes before him; and, after a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controversy as justice should direct (B).

*Year of the flood Syria, 2285. Ref. Chr.* EARLY on the following year Pompey came again into the flood *Syria*, where he deposed several petty tyrants, took several fortresses, particularly that of *Lysiad*, of which *Silas* a *Jew* had made himself master, and came at length to *Damascus*.

63. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cause and pretensions before him, and had brought a great number of witnesses to their respective pleas. But, besides these, there came another set of *Jews*, to plead against them both, alleging, that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-priests of the God of *Israel*, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the sacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their antient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the *Jewish* nation into a state of slavery.

*Hyrcan's defence.* *Hyrcan* spoke next, and complained, that, being the elder brother, he had been unjustly deposed by *Aristobulus*, and by him forced into a private state, with only the income of a few paternal lands, whilst he, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continual depredations on his neighbours both by sea and land. For proof of all which, he brought a thousand of the principal *Jews*, who had been gained by *Antipater*, to witness what he had alleged. To this

deposited in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the *Capitol*. *Strabo* tells us (1), that he saw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thousand talents. However, the senate, being neither willing to acknowlege *Aristobulus* for king of *Judea*, nor to return so noble and curious a present, ordered it to be inscribed to his father *Alexander* king of the *Jews*.

(B) Unfortunately for *Aristobulus*, his ambassador took it into his head to complain of *Scaurus*

and *Gabinius*, for having received the former four hundred, and the latter three hundred talents from his master; by which he made those two generals, who had a great influence on Pompey, to become his enemies (2); and the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that the *Roman* general accordingly promised him to decide in favour of *Aristobulus*, but underhand acted in favour of his brother (3).

(1) *Strab. ap. Joseph. ubi supra. Vid. &c. Plin. Hist. l. xxvii. c. 2.* (2) *App. l. xiv. c. 5.* (3) *C. xxviii.*

*Aristobulus* replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out *Aristobulus* of the government; but that it was, because he was incapable *lun's reply* of holding it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that *Hyrcan* was a person of so unactive and sluggish a disposition, and so despised by the people, that he had been forced to wrest the power out of his hands, lest it should be transferred into another family. He added, that, as to the royal title, it was no other than his father *Alexander* had borne before him. However, *Pompey*, after a full hearing of all parties, wisely deferred giving his sentence, left *Aristobulus*, against *put off the whom he designed to declare, should obstruct his intended expedition against the Nabatheans; and contented himself with dismissing them with a promise, that as soon as he had subdued Aretas, he would come himself into Judæa, and there determine their controversy.* *Aristobulus*, who looked upon *and Ari-* this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to see *stobulus Pompey* in *Judæa*, went away in an huff, first to *Delion*, and goes off in thence into *Judæa*, without so much as taking leave of a pet. him b.

THIS proceeding highly offended the *Roman* general; who thereupon sent for his troops, which he had in *Syria*; and with those which he designed against the *Arabians*, and the legions which he had with him, marched strait against *Judæa*. *Aristobulus* had not been idle, but had got a good army under him, and was himself at the castle of *Alexandron*, a place of no small strength (C), when *Pompey* entered *Judæa*. As soon as this last had reached *Corea*, he sent for *Aristobulus* to come to him; who would willingly have ex- Is sum- cused himself from it, but was at length prevailed upon by moned to those that were about him to obey the summons, and prevent appear be- thereby a war with the *Roman* general. He came according- fore him. ly; more than once or twice, to him, and conferred with him about the dispute between his brother and him, sparing neither compliments, promises, nor presents, to engage him

b Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(C) This fortress had been built by his father *Alexander Jannæus*, and was from him called *Ale an- drion*; it was situate on an high mountain, in the very entrance into *Judæa*, near the town of *Corea* (4), which was the first place in *Judæa* on the *Samaritan* side, and upon the road to *Je-* richo, on the frontiers of *Judæa* and *Benjamin* (5). *Alexandron* was afterwards the burying-place of the Jewish kings; so that, though it was demolished by the Romans, it was rebuilt by *Herod*, and his sons sent thither to be buried, as we shall see in the sequel.

(4) Vid. *Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. xii. xiv. 6, &c. lib.*

(5) *Bid. & bell.*

Pompey's on his side. Pompey as often dismissed him with a shew of partiality friendship, and suffered him to return to his castle. At length he proposed to him, that he should put all his fortresses into his hands, and send orders to all his governors to resign them to him without hesitation. It was easy then for him to see, that the Roman general was in his brother's interest, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himself against him. But though he had been long before suspecting his partiality, and had taken all possible methods to secure himself against it, yet was he forced, though much against his will, to comply with the proposal, being now in that general's hands. But, as soon as he was got away from him, he fled with all speed to Jerusalem, with full resolution to defeat his design <sup>c</sup>.

Pompey  
comes a-  
gainst Je-  
rusalem.

Year of  
the flood  
2185.  
Bef. Chr  
163.  
Keeps A-  
riflobulus  
refused to perform the agreement. This disappointment so exasperated Pompey, that he ordered Aristobulus to be kept in chains, and marched directly with his whole army against the

Aristobulus, repenting now of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himself at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hostilities against the Jewish nation, promising him a considerable sum of money upon that condition. The general agreed to it, and, keeping him in his camp, sent Gabinius with some troops to receive the money; but he was

HE

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. l. xiv. c 6. bell. Jud. ubi sup

(D) Upon his encamping in the plain of Jericho, he received the agreeable news, that Mithridates had killed himself, and that his treacherous son had seized upon the kingdom; and in such haste was the army to know it, that the general, for want of a tribunal to communicate it to them, according to custom, caused one to be raised by laying a number of saddles one upon another, from which he acquainted them with the Pontic king's death, and received their congratulations with the usual signals of joy (6).

(E) We have had frequent occasion to speak of the strength of

this place, both with respect to its excellent situation, and to its other fortifications; so that, being now so well garrisoned and provided, it might in all likelihood have found the Roman general work enough to have taken it by siege; but, unfortunately for it, those that should have defended it, were divided into two parties: that for Aristobulus were for standing out to the last against a general, who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for Hyrcan, which were the more numerous, were, on the contrary, for opening the gates to him, and preventing thereby the sad ef-

(6) Plut. in vbi. Pompei.

He was invited soon after into it, and sent ~~Pompey~~, one of his *and be-* generals, with a number of troops, to secure the place, and *sieges the* the royal palace, whilst those that were in the temple were *city*. busy in fortifying every part of it that could be of service to them to hold on the siege. Pompey at first sent to them some proposals of peace; but, finding them resolved to stand it out, he set himself immediately to besiege them in form. He began with inclosing the place with a strong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; Hyrcan gladly furnishing him with all necessary things to carry on the work. Battering rams, and other engines of war, being brought to him from Tyre, he ordered the attack to be made on the north-side of the temple, which was the weakest, though inclosed with strong walls, high towers, and other fortifications, and had a large deep ditch, and a spacious valley, beneath it. As for the other sides of it, they were in a manner inaccessible, after the bridges had been broken down, by reason of their cragginess and steepness. The battering engines were accordingly raised on mounds and platforms, and began to play in earnest against the place, and to fling large stones into it, whilst the besieged were as industrious in leveling the one, and dismounting the other, as fast as they were raised by the besiegers. The siege had already taken up three months, and might in all likelihood have lasted much longer, if not perhaps been raised, had not the besieged been seized again with their old fatal superstition about the breach *of the sabbath*, which hindered them from making such a *de-tion of the fence* as they had formerly, and should now have done (F). *Jews.*

THIS scruple had now again made such an impression upon them, that they never moved an hand on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raised, or breaches being

fects of a siege, and destructive war. The priests declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter, so that Ahasobulus's party, finding themselves overpowered, were forced to retire within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley, which parted those two places, before Pompey could be admitted into the latter.

(F) We have had occasion heretofore to shew how destructive that notion had been to their

forefathers, and how wisely it had been condemned by the brave Maccabees; so that from their time they had made no scruple to take up arms against an offending enemy; but now they were, it seems, taken with a qualm of conscience, that, though it was lawful to stand in their defence on the sabbath, when an actual assault was made upon them, it did not therefore follow, that they might do any thing on that day towards preventing those preparations which the enemy made towards such future assaults.

*The city taken.*

Year of the flood 2285. Bef. Chr. 63. *Admirable constancy of the priests.* *W*hile a breach was made in the wall of Jerusalem by the Romans, the Jews fought furiously against them. At length the Romans took the city, and slew twelve thousand of the besieged.

WHAT was most surprising during this horrid scene of action, was the constancy of the priests, who never intermitted one moment the divine service of the temple; but continued to offer up their usual prayers, praises, and sacrifices, with the same calmness and assiduity, as if no such slaughter had been then acting in that sacred place; and at last suffered themselves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekness and constancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it (G). Pompey, though surprised at their religious constancy, caused all the prisoners that were found to have been most zealous against him to be put to death, whilst a great number of the rest prevented him by a desperate exit, some throwing themselves down the deepest precipices, and others, setting their apartments on fire, burnt themselves in it. These were the fruits of Aristobulus's ambition, and of the two contending brothers calling in the Romans. These new masters, who seldom, if ever, lent their assistance but with a

(G) It is observable, that the city was taken on the very day on which the Jews were keeping a solemn fast, in memory of its having been formerly taken by Nebuchadnezzar, on the 28th of the month *Chislev*, answering to our December, according to the learned Usher (7), who takes the third month here mentioned to

(7) *Sub A. B. 364.*

have been that of the sacred year; but it is more probable to have been the third of the civil year, called *Thammuz*, answering to our June, as dean Prideaux has shewn (8). On the same day, twenty-six years after, it was likewise taken by *Cosmus*, by which the Jews became subject to the Herodian sceptre.

(8) *Sub A. ant. Chislev. 63.*

view of enslaving, soon altered the face of the Jewish affairs, according to their usual method. Hyrcan was indeed restored to the pontifical dignity, with the specious title of prince, though from thenceforth tributary to *Rome*; but he was wholly divested of his regal one, and forbid to resume either the diadem, or royal style, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of *Judaea*. All the cities which had been gained by his predecessors in *Cœsusyria* and *Phœnicia*, were taken from him, and restored to *Syria* (H), of which province *Scaurus* was left governor, at the head of two *Roman* legions, to keep the country in awe, whilst the conqueror prepared himself to return to *Rome*.

BUT, before he left *Jerusalem*, he gave the Jews a more mortifying stroke than any we have yet related. We have Pompey had frequent occasion to mention how jealous they were of *entering* into having their temple profaned by strangers, whom they absolutely debarred from setting a foot into that holy place. But Pompey, as eager to satisfy his curiosity, and to view the most sacred recesses of that building, caused them to be opened to the flood him; and, attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the most holy place, into which the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the grand day of expiation<sup>d</sup>. He viewed with a curious eye the golden table, candlestick, censers, lamps, and other golden vessels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and spices used in the divine worship; and in the treasury he found about two thousand talents. But whether the sacredness of the place inspired him with an uncommon respect for those costly things, which he there saw, our author tells us<sup>e</sup>, that he not only forbore to touch any of them, but that he immediately ordered the priests and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their sacrifices according to custom (I).

Pompey, having thus subdued the Jewish nation, to prevent a future revolt, pulled down the walls of *Jerusalem*, and left

*S. awus*

<sup>d</sup> See vol iii. p. 44, & seq. Vid & p. 50, note. ant. l. xiv. c. 8.

<sup>e</sup> JOSEPH.

(H) These were, among many others of less note, those of *Hyrcanian*, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Marissa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arethusa*, in the inland; together with *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and the tower of *Straton*, on the sea-coasts.

(I) This expedition and success of Pompey against the Jews

is also related by several heathen authors; and, excepting some difference in small particulars, almost to the same purport with Josephus. Cicero highly commends the respect that general shewed to the sacred utensils of the temple (9). *Livy*, *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Dio*,

(9) *Orat. pro L. F.*

*Aristobulus* Scaurus governor with a sufficient force. He set out for *Rome* *but* carried soon after, and took with him *Aristobulus*, and his two sons, to *Rome*. *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, with his two daughters, as captives fit to adorn his future triumph. However, they *Alexander* were not, it seems, so closely guarded, but *Alexander* found returns in means to escape, and to return into *Judea*; where he soon to *Judea* drew a considerable party after him, which proved the source of new and more grievous troubles (K).

*Antipater's policy* As soon as *Hyrcan* found himself rid of his rival brother, he relapsed afresh into his indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to *Antipater*, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage, and the aggrandizing of his family. He foresaw, however, that he could not easily compass his ends, unless he endeared himself to the *Romans*; and therefore spared neither pains nor cost to gain their favour. *Scaurus* was soon after beholden to him for a supply of corn, and other provision, without which his army, which he had led against the metropolis of *Arabia*, must have been in danger of perishing. This service was followed by another, and *Antipater*, who was so well known to the king of *Arabia*, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the *Roman* general, and thereby save his country from being ravaged by him (L). Thus

and *Appian*, as well as *Plutarch*, have likewise made mention of it.

But this moderation of his did not hinder the *Jews* from resenting the indignity he had offered to that holy place, more than all the mischiefs they had suffered from him, and from ascribing all the misfortunes that befel him afterwards, to this sacrilegious attempt (1). Many Christians have been of the same mind, and men are indeed too apt to judge rashly in matters of this nature; but whatever may have been the cause of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain, that this victory over the *Jews* was the last he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worse, as we shall shew when we come to the *Roman* history.

(K) As for his father and brother, they were brought to *Rome*, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom *Pompey* had conquered. What became of *Aristobulus* afterwards, we may see in the sequel; but among the rich soils which *Pompey* carried with him, was the golden vine we have spoken of in the last section, the worth of which is said to have amounted to five or six hundred talents, and which he dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* (2).

(L) It is also very probable, that *Antipater* was the person who procured those services from *Hyrcan* to the *Athenians*, for which *Josephus* tells us (3), they made that honourable act of their senate, in which the pontiff is styled a great friend and benefactor to all the *Greeks*, and more par-

(1) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 8. \* (2) *Antiq.* ubi supra. See also the authors quoted in the last note. (3) *Ant.* l. xiv. c. 9.

THUS did that politic minister lay the foundations for his future grandeur, by securing the friendship of the most powerful states. Herod his son followed the same maxims, especially with regard to the Romans and Athenians; and thereby completed what his father had begun, as the sequel will soon shew.

IN the mean time Alexander having got a strong party in *Judaea*, and an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, began to raise and fortify several eminent fortresses, such as those of *Alexandriion* and *Machæron*, situate near the foot of the Arabian mountains; and from them made frequent incursions into *Judaea*. Hyrcan was not in a condition to suppress him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to shelter himself from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which Pompey had caused to be demolished, the Romans, always jealous of their new conquests, had ordered him to desist; so that he was forced to call them to suppress this new invader. Accordingly Gabinius, who was president of Syria, and was lately come into that province, sent Marc Antony with some troops against him, whilst himself and the rest of his army were preparing to follow him. Antipater sent likewise such forces as he had raised, to join the Roman general; and these being followed by a number of Jews in the Roman interest, with Pitolaus at their head, Alexander was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where a battle was soon after fought, in which he was defeated, and lost three thousand of his men, besides those that were taken prisoners. He was thence pursued to *Alexandriion*, where he had refuged himself, and there besieged by Gabinius; but the place being

57.

*Hyrcan**calls in the**Romans.**Alexander**defeated.**Blocked up**in Alexan-**driion.*

m Ant. l. xiv. c. 10, &amp; seq.

ticularly to the Athenians, and for which they decreed him a crown of gold, and a statue of brads, to be placed in the temple of Demus and the Graces.

The original has τε Δῆμον, which some versions render *Demus*, as we have, though our English one render it *of the people*, &c. A learned critic conjectures, that there is an error crept into Josephus, and that it probably was the temple of the Muses and Graces, or perhaps the temple of Academus, and the Graces (4). For we are told by

an ancient writer (5), that there was a temple in their academy dedicated to the Muses, in which Plato set up the statues of the Graces; and we do not read, that the Athenians had any other temple of the Muses besides that.

Archbishop Usher places this decree, and these presents, in the ninth year of Hyrcan's reign, from the death of his mother (6). He there rectifies an anachronism in Josephus concerning it, which the reader may see in that learned author.

(4) *Calmet. Hist. v. Tost. l. viii. sub A. M. 3945.*  
viii. *Leucipp.* (6) *Annal. sub an. ant. Cbr. 6;*

(5) *Dicq. Laet. m.*

**Samaria  
rebuilt.**

**Peace  
made with  
Alexan-  
der.**

**Change of  
the Jewish  
gov-  
ern-  
ment.**

Strong, and well provided, that general ordered a number of his troops to invest it, whilst he marched with the rest into *Judaea*, where he caused the cities mentioned in a former note to be rebuilt, according to Pompey's order. That of *Samaria* being one of them, he called it, from his own name, *Gabiniana*; but *Herod* soon after changed it into that of *Sebastæ*<sup>s</sup>, as we shall see in its proper place. Whilst *Alexander* was closely besieged, he sent to desire peace of the *Roman* general, promising to surrender that fortress, and those of *Ma-chæron* and *Hyrkanion*. About the same time his mother, a wise and discreet woman, whose husband (*Aristobulus*) and her children were still kept prisoners at *Rome*, came to the *Roman* general; and partly by her address, and partly by her services to him, insinuated herself so much in his favour, that she procured the peace offered by her son to be accepted, and him to be dismissed with pardon and impunity for what he had done. After this *Gabinus* ordered the three fortresses delivered up to him to be demolished, that they might no longer be an occasion of fresh revolts, and then led *Ihydrus*, who had, it seems, assisted him in the siege, to *Jerusalem*, where he reinstated him afresh in his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five several districts, in each of which he erected a separate court of judicature; the first at *Jerusalem*, the second at *Gedara*, the third at *Abath*, the fourth at *Jericho*, and the fifth at *Siphoris* in *Galilee*<sup>h</sup>; by which the government was changed from a monarchy into an aristocracy, and the *Jews*, who had been till then governed by their own monarchial pontiff, fell under the subjection of a set of domineering lords (M)

IN

<sup>s</sup> Vid. SYNCER. ap. Usser. sub A M. 3979.     " Antiq. I. xiv. c. 10. & bell. Jud. I. c. 6

(M) The *Jews* had till now been governed by two sorts of councils, or courts of judicature, under their sovereign. These councils or sanhedrins were of two sorts, the inferior consisting of twenty-three, and the greater one of seventy-two persons; and this latter was emphatically called the grand sanhedrin. Of the lesser sort there was one in every city, and two at *Jerusalem*, where was a greater concourse of people and business. The grand

one sat only at *Jerusalem*, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. We have had frequent occasion to speak of this last in several parts of this history; and shall only add here, that it was the last resort to which all other inferior ones might appeal, and from whose sentence there could be no appeal. Both sorts were abolished by *Gabinus*, who erected in lieu of them a court in each of the five districts independent of each other, and endowed them

In the mean time *Aristobulus* found means, towards the latter end of the year, to escape out of the prison, into which he was remanded after Pompey's triumph, and to return into *Judea* with his son *Antigonus*. Here he was soon joined by a considerable number of *Jews*, and among the rest by *Pitolaus*, who had till then been a chief leader of the *Roman* party. But a great number of them coming to him without arms, he was forced to dismiss them, and only reserved eight thousand stout men, with whom he went to secure and rebuild the castle of *Alexandria*, which had been demolished by *Gabinius*; but this last sent *Cassenna*, *Marc Antony*, and *Servilius*, against him, who, in spite of the bravery of his small army, defeated him, killed five thousand of his men, and forced him to fly into the ruined castle of *Marlaron*, with only a thousand men he had left, the rest having took their flight where they could. The *Romans* did not give him time to fortify himself, but came and besieged him, and after two days stout resistance, took him by assault, covered with wounds, and sent him and his son *Antigonus* prisoners to *Rome*, where he was conveyed into his old prison. But *Gabinius* wrote soon after to the senate, and informed them of the promise he had made to *Aristobulus's* wife, upon the delivery of the *Jewish* fortresses; whereupon the rest of his family were ordered to be set at liberty, and he only was kept prisoner during the rest of his life<sup>1</sup>. *Gabinius* being the next year invited into *Egypt* to assist *Ptolemy Aulites* in the recovery of his kingdom, as has been related in another volume<sup>2</sup>, *Hypain*, or rather *Anapater*, proved very serviceable to that general, not only by furnishing him with necessary provisions of corn, arms, and money, for his army; but also by writing to the *Jews* of *Oaton* near *Pilsum*, which was the key of that part of *Egypt*, to forward the *Romans* to the best of their power. By this means *Gabinius* and *Marc Antony* easily succeeded in this expedition, which might otherwise have proved too hard for them (N).

DURING

<sup>1</sup> Jos. ibid. 4 MACCAB. C. 11.   <sup>2</sup> Vol. ix. p. 444 & seq.

them with the sovereign power, from which no appeal could be made but to *Rome*.

The talmud however tells us (7), that they retained a kind of council of three to decide all their controversies about bargains, sales, and other such private matters.

Each of the contending parties chose a judge from among them-

(7) *Tract. Sanhedrin.*

3

selve, and these two chose a third, and the three used to decide those controversies among them; which was perhaps done chiefly to avoid the charge, trouble, or rather injustice and arbitrariness, of the courts erected by the *Romans*.

(N) The fourth book of *Maccabees* (8) tells us, that *Gabinius*

(8) *Cap. xl.*

having

Year of  
the flood  
2292.  
Bef. Chr.  
56.

Alexander. DURING this Egyptian expedition, Alexander taking the advantage new vantage of Cezenna's weakness, a rash unexperienced youth, whom Gabinius had left to command in Syria with a small number of troops, had got a considerable army, and was entered Judaea, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every-where without controul.

Year of the flood 2293. He fell on the Romans where-ever he met them, and killed a great number of them : the rest retired to mount Garizzim, whither he came soon after, and closely besieged them. The

Ref. Chr. 55. news of this having brought Gabinius into Judaea, the first Supplanted by Antipater. thing he did was to send Antipater to try by fair means to withdraw the revolters from Alexander's party ; and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number of them. But all his address could not persuade Alexander to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, enraged to see such a defection of his men, resolved, with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle.

Defeated by Gabinius. It was accordingly fought near mount Tabor, and he totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight. Gabinius, after this victory, returned to Jerusalem, where he settled the Jewish affairs according to Antipater's mind, and left Judaea, and soon after the government of Syria ; and was succeeded by Crassus<sup>1</sup>, as will be farther seen in the Roman history in the next chapter.

Crassus 2294. THIS last, upon his coming into his new government, found the whole province, and particularly Judaea, in peace, so that he was at leisure to pursue his favourite design of invading the Parthians ; for which expedition he had obtained, though with some difficulty, a decree from the senate <sup>m</sup>. As

Ref. Chr. 54. avarice was the chief passion that pushed him to it, he began with plundering the temple of Jerusalem, not only of the two thousand talents which Pompey had left there untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the sum of eight thousand Attic talents more. Among these was a large beam of massy gold, covered with another hollow beam, which went acrois the partition, which divided the holy from the most holy place. The veil that separated those two rooms was fastened to it, and over it they shrew all the old veils, whenever they hung a new one ; so that this valuable piece,

<sup>1</sup> JOSEPH. 4 MACCAB. DIO CASS. ubi supra.  
xxix. Vid. & PLUTARCH. in Crass.

DIO, lib.

having sent to desire Hyrcan to come and join him in Egypt, the high-priest sent his favourite Antipater with an army to him, who helped him to beat the Egyptians, and restore the king ; after which, they coming back into Judaea, the Roman general renewed his alliance and friendship with the Jewish pontiff, and then returned to Rome.

which

which weighed three hundred Hebrew minæ (O), was so well concealed, that none knew of it but the treasurer of the temple. A priest named *Eleazar*, then in that post, and being apprised of *Crassus's* plundering design, was imprudent enough to endeavour to save all the rest of the costly temple-furniture at the expence of this; but did not discover it to *Crassus's* treachery and sacri-  
him, till he had made him swear that he would spare the rest; but the greedy governor made no scruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every valuable thing he could lay his hands on, without sparing the most sacred utensils belonging to it. The whole amount of this sacrilegious plunder was so great, that *Josephus*, fearing it would scarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of *Strabo of Cappadocia*, and other records, not now extant<sup>n</sup>. What we have said at the end of the last note will further confirm his account, and the immense treasures of which that rapacious governor stripped that sacred place, tho' it amounts to ten thousand talents; that is, above two millions of our money.

*Crassus* being killed in his *Parthian* expedition, *Caius Cassius* brought the shattered remnant of his army into *Syria*, to suppress the incursions which the now elated *Parthians* made into that province; and here he gave them so many overthrows, that he soon forced them to send home for a fresh supply of troops. From thence he marched into *Judea*, where he besieged *Tarichæa*, a city on the south shore of the lake *Gennezareth*, where *Pitolaus* had shut himself up with the few remains of *Aristobulus*'s faction; and, having taken it, carried away thirty thousand prisoners; and *Pitolaus* was put to death by the advice of *Antipater*, to prevent his raising new troubles in favour of *Aristobulus* (P). As for *Alexander*, *Caius Cassius* contented himself

<sup>n</sup> Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

(O) The mina amounted to about two pounds and an half of our weight, so that the whole bar or beam weighed about seven hundred and fifty pounds. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that all the old veils, which were taken down, when a new one was hung up (and which were all extremely rich and beautiful), used to be thrown over it. Besides these and other costly utensils and ornaments of the temple, we may add the continual offerings sent to it by the *Jews* from all

(9) Cap. xli.

parts of *Asia* and *Europe*; but especially those which were presented to it, not only by the Jewish monarchs, but by those of other nations, of which we have given some instances in a former section out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees* (9).

(P) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (1), that *Caius Cassius* came afterwards to *Jerusalem*, and there reconciled *Hyrcan* to his subjects, who were then in open rebellion against him.

This is that *Caius Cassius* who had

(1) Cap. xl.

formerly

*Cassius's*  
*success in*  
*Syria.*

*Year of*  
*the flood,*  
2296.

Bef. Chr.

came to him, and preferred a severe complaint against *Hyrcan* and *Antipater*, for the injuries which he pretended they had done to him ; and at the same time represented to him the misfortunes of his family, for having stuck close to his interest ; and particularly the poisoning of his father by *Pompey*, and the beheading of his brother by *Sipio* : in consideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he would restore him to his father's principality, of which *Hyrcan* had unjustly stripped him. But, unfortunately for him, *Antipater* was then attending upon *Cæsar*, who defended his own and *Hyrcan's* cause so well, that they were both absolved with applause, and *Antigonus* repulsed as a factious and turbulent person, that could never be at rest. *Antipater* far rejected farther, that, as to *Antigonus*'s father, he had been justly sent prisoner to *Rome*, for being a constant enemy to the *Roman* nation ; and that his brother had been deservedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging that of the *Jews*. *Cæsar* had too many obligations to *Hyrcan* and *Antipater*, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cause. But he was resolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them. he confirmed his former decree in favour of them, and of the *Jewish* nation ; and caused it to be engraved on brazen tablets in *Latin* and *Greek*, and to be hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Ascalon* (R), as well as in the published.

(R) This decree, which at once abolished the aristocracy lately set up by *Gabinius*, and restored the *Jewish* state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by *Josephus* (5), and runs to this effect.

" *Julius Cæsar*, emperor and dictator the second time, &c.  
" Forasmuch as *Hyrcanus* the son of *Alexander*, a *Jew*, hath given us many singular proofs of his affection, both in time of peace and war, and particularly by the supply sent to me in the late war; in consideration of those services, I do hereby confirm unto him, and his heirs, the perpetual government of the *Jews*, both as their prince and high-priest, after the manner and rule of their own laws. I inrol him, from henceforth, among my

" trusty friends ; and ordain, that all the legal and pontifical rights and privileges be devolved upon him and his sons for ever ; and that in all controversies that shall arise concerning the rights and discipline of the *Jews*, he, or they, be the only judges ; and further, that the *Jews* be henceforth discharged from the burden of winter-quarters, and all public tribute."

About the same time the *Armenians* renewed their alliance with *Hyrcan*, and sent their decree to *Jerusalem*, in which they acknowledge that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the *Greeks*, and to their own republic in particular. The reader may see it at large in *Josephus*, in the place last quoted.

*Capitel*

*Capitol at Rome*; whether *Hyrcan* sent, soon after, his embas-  
sadors, to renew the alliance with that nation; which was, *embassy to*  
by his order, published in all the principal cities of the em-*Rome*.  
pire, that all the world might know, that the *Jews* were ac-  
knowledged the friends and allies of *Rome*. These embassa-  
dors, who were there received with great marks of honour,  
obtained likewise a permissory decree for the fortifying of *Je-*  
*rusalem*, and for rebuilding the wall, which had been pulled  
down by *Pompey* <sup>t</sup> (S).

*Cæsar*, having left the government of *Syria* to *Sextus Cæsar*  
his near relation, was accompanied by *Antipater* as far as *Tyre*,  
where he embarked for *Sicily*. On his return to *Jerusalem*,  
*Antipater* took care, in every place he came through, to ex-*Antipa-*  
tol the *Roman* emperor and nation, and to exhort the people ter's *bigr*  
to peace and obedience; representing to them, with his usual *encomiums*  
eloquence, that, whilst they behaved like faithful subjects, *on Cæsar*  
they would be blessed with a mild government, and enjoy *and the*  
their rights, liberties, and religion; but that, if they grew *Romans*,  
discontented and mutinous, they would soon find themselves  
forced to submit to a severer yoke; and that *Hyrcan*, from  
a mild and pacific prince, might easily become their tyrant,  
and the *Romans*, from friends and protectors, would not fail  
to turn their bitter enemies. This was not said so much to *His singu-*  
keep the *Jews* in obedience to *Hyrcan*, whose stupidity and *lar policy*  
*in it.*

<sup>t</sup> Jos. Antiq. I. xx. c. 7. & bell Jud I. i. c. 7.

(S) The fourth book of *Mac-*  
*cabees* adds (6), that *Cæsar* did  
these ambassadors the singular  
honour of making them sit down  
in his presence; and, a little  
lower, that that emperor had  
decreed for himself and successors,  
that all the maritim part of the  
*Syrian* province, from *Gaza* to  
*Sidon*, should pay yearly to the  
*Jewish* temple the tribute they  
were wont to pay to the empire;  
and that that of the town of *Sidon*  
amounted yearly to twenty thou-  
sand five hundred and fifty mea-  
sures of wheat; and that the ci-  
ties of *Laodicea*, and others, which  
had been formerly in the posse-  
sion of the high-priests, should

be now surrendered to *Hyrcan*.  
All these grants, our author  
says, were bestowed on the *Jew-*  
*ish* nation, in consideration of  
the eminent services which they,  
and *Antipater* at their head, had  
done the emperor in his *Parthian*  
expedition. But whether he  
really was sent thither by the  
high-priest, as is there affirmed, it  
is certain, that this great change,  
in favour of the *Jews*, was owing  
to the wisdom, conduct, and  
valour of *Antipater*: and how  
much it contributed to raise his  
interest, not only in *Judæa*, but  
in *Rome* and other nations, the  
sequel will soon shew.

indolence, *Josephus* himself tells us, was but too visible to all his subjects; but, by thus over-awing them with the dread of the *Romans* anger, he plainly intimated to them his own credit and interest with them to be such, that they would never see his measures opposed, without interposing their own authority; and therefore closed the whole with these words; “ For “ they (the *Romans*) will be obeyed.” By these speeches he gained two main ends; he kept a divided and factious people in awe, and took the advantage of his own established power, and of *Hyran’s* weakness, to grindize his family.

*Rebuilds  
the walls  
of Jerusa-  
lem.*

UPON his arrival at *Jerusalem*, he set himself about putting *Caspar’s* decree in force, and settling, or rather restoring, the *Jewish* government to its ancient model, and ordering the repairs of the walls and fortifications of *Jerusalem*, which had been demolished by *Pompey*. He made his eldest son *Phasael*

*Herod  
made go-  
vernor of  
Galilee.*

governor of that metropolis, and *Herod*, his second son, governor of *Galilee* ( $\Gamma$ ), whilst he and the high-priest took a progress about *Judaea*, to settle the government and peace of the kingdom. *Herod* soon signalized himself by the suppression of a band of robbers, who hid, till then, much infested that and the neighbouring provinces. He took their chief, named *Hezekiah*, with some others, of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby dispersed the rest of their gang. This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to *Sextus Caesar*, the new president of *Syria*. On the other hand his elder brother neglected nothing that could endear him to the people of *Jerusalem*, over which he was governor, so that *Antipater* saw with pleasure himself and his sons become the dukes of the nation, without lessening, at least outwardly, any part of their respect to the high priest, who seemed still to be at the head of all the national affairs, and to give his sanction to them.

*Phasael  
governor  
of Jeru-  
salem.*

\* Antiq. ubi supra, in fin. c. 16.

(T) *Antipater* had four sons by his wife *Cypris*, who were, by this time, grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wisdom and valour. We have mentioned the two first in the text: *Josephus* indeed allows the latter of them but fifteen years of age, but that must be a mistake, either of that historian, or rather of his copyists; for both *Ptolemy*, and *Nicolas Damascen*, give him twenty-five years; and our learned *Usher* has made it appear, that he could have no less. (7). The third son was called *Joseph*, and the fourth *Pheroras*. He had also a daughter named *Salome*, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and divisions which she created in her family, as we shall see in the sequel.

(7) Sub A. M. 3937. Vid. & Prid. connect. sub an. A. C. 47.

BUT

BUT it was this greatness, this excessive growing power of Antipater *Antipater*, which raised at length the envy and jealousy of the *envied by* principal *Jews*. *Herod's* action was doubtless a noble one, *the Jews*. and the country felt the benefit of it. but he had gone some unjustifiable lengths in it, in putting the banditti to death by Herod *ac-* his own authority, and without any formal tryal, and this they *cused*. looked upon as an earnest of what he might do in time, if his enterprising genius was not nipp'd in the bud. This made them at length resolve to try to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to summon that young hero to come and answer to this and some other accusations, before him and the sanhedrin.

*Hyrcan*, who had a great friendship for him, betrayed at *Surmoned* this juncture an extreme partiality, in excusing him of several *before the* crimes they alleged against him. They in vain represented *Sanhedrin.* to him, how dangerous it was for him to suffer the son of a *Year of* proselyte, who had already ingrossed all the power and honour, *the flood* and left him only the bare title of sovereign, to arrogate to *2302* himself such an unlimited authority, as to put a number of *Bet Chr.* men to death without tryal, or even without asking his or the *46.* *Sanhedrin's* consent. At length, since they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouse his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of those whom *Herod* had put to death; and who ceased not to come daily to the temple, to demand justice of him, for so daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. *Hyrcan* was at length prevailed upon to send his summons to him, to come and answer to the charge before him and the *Sanhedrin*. *Herod* appeared accordingly, but in *Appears* such a guise, and with such a numerous retinue, as gave *with a show* them to understand, that he came not as a private person, *more* much less as a criminal to be judged by them. He was *tinne* cloathed in purple, and, by his father's advice, brought such a number of servants, as should be sufficient to defend him, in case he was condemned, and yet not so numerous, as to raise any jealousy in the friendly high priest. He also brought letters to him from *Sextus Cesar*, with express orders to acquit him, and threatening him with his highest resentment, in case of non-compliance.

THESE letters seem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the *Sanhedrin*, rather than to recommend *Herod's* cause to the high-priest, who was already sufficiently in his interest. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high court, he struck such an awe upon them, that none of his accusers dared to open their mouths against him. At length *Simeas*, *Simeas.* a man in great esteem for his wisdom and integrity, had the *noble* courage to stand up, and arraign him, not only for his former *speech* crime, but much more now for his unjustifiable boldness, in

appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guise of an accused person, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himself of his accusation. I do not, at the same time, continued he, so much blame him for the insolent means he takes to secure his forfeited life. What surprises me is, to see both the high-priest and his judges thus tamely to permit it: but take notice of what I am going to tell you, said he, turning to them; *God* is a righteous and powerful Judge, and this very man, whom you now strive to acquit, in complaisance to *Hyrcan*, shall prove the ruin of both king and judges. How true a prophet he proved, the sequel will shew; for *Herod* was no sooner got into the possession of the government, than he put both the high priest and all his cowardly judges to death, except *Simeas* and *Pollio*, for whom he retained a singular esteem ever after (T). Here *Hyrcan* observing, that his speech had made such an impression on the court, that the majority were like to be against *Herod*, adjourned the court till next day, whilst he sent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to *Damascus*, where having gained the protection of the *Syrian* governor, he sent the sanhedrin word, that if they should take it into their heads to summon him afresh, he would disclaim their jurisdiction. This contemptuous message threw the judges into a fresh fit of rage; they vented their resentments against the pontiff, and strove in vain to awaken him into a sense of his danger; he remained deaf and insensible to the last w (U).

ABOUT

\* Antiq 1 xiv c 17.

(I) *Simeas*, or r the rabbins call him, *Simeon*, was, according to *Josephus* (1), the disciple of *Pellus*, another learned Jew, who in great esteem with *Herod*, not unlikely the same which the rabbies call *Hillel*, for this latter having been a famous disciple of *Samai* or *Shammai*, and having in process of time proved the antagonist of his master, as l the founder of that famed school, which retained his name, it is a wonder *Josephus* should never mention him, whereas he speaks very honourably of *Pollio* in several places of his history.

We shall have occasion to speak to that point, as well as the rupture of those two famed schools, in a proper place. All we shall add concerning them here is, a rabbinic proverb much in vogue among the Jews. Be courteous as *Hillel*, and intrepid as *Shammai*.

(U) In the mean time *Herod*, having with a large sum of money purchased the government of *Cælesyria* of his friend *Sextus Cæsar*, raised an army with an intent to march against *Jerusalem*, and be revenged of *Hyrcan* and the sanhedrin for the affront

(1) Antiq 1. xv. c. 1.

they

ABOUR two years after this, *Hyrcan*, having sent an embassy to *Cæsar*, who was by this time entered into his fifth consulship, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a fresh decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, which *Antipater* immediately put in execution ; and that metropolis was soon after raised to its pristine splendor and strength. *Cæsar* moreover granted some farther privileges to the *Jews*, in consideration, as he expressed it, of the signal services they had done to him in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The reader may see them more fully in *Josephus*. As for *Hyrcan*, he gave him leave to govern in *Jerusalem* according to his pleasure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been possessed by his ancestors ; that the lands and other privileges, which the *Romans* had bestowed on the kings of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, on account of the alliance that had been between them, should likewise be bestowed on him and his successors ; that he, they, and their ambassadors, should have the liberty of sitting down with the *Roman* senators in all public shews and games ; and lastly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the senate, they should be introduced by the dictator, or by the master of the horse ; and that they should have an answer within ten days \*. In a word, such was that emperor's gratitude and friendship to the *Jews*, so many and considerable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their pontiff and nation, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke.

BUT this happy state was soon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the *Julius Cæsar* one in *Judæa*, and the other at *Rome*, which brought on a far mur-series of distraction and feuds in both. In the former, *Sextus Cæsar* was treacherously murdered by *Bassus* ; and *Cæsar* himself at *Rome* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and their associates, as shall be better seen in the *Roman* history. *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella*, who were then consuls, assembled the senate ; and the ambassadors from *Judæa*, among others, were ad-

\* Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

they had put upon him ; but he was happily diverted from it by *Antipater* and *Phasael*, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur

they enjoyed. *Hyrcan* acquiesced for the present, and was satisfied with having given them such a token of what he could do whenever occasion offered, and remained quiet in his province (2).

(2) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.*

mitted to renew their alliance with them (W). By this time Year of *Baffus* had seized upon the government of *Syria*, but was the flood soon after driven out of it by *Cassius*; who immediately came 2305. thither after *Cæsar's* death, and took the command of the Bef. Chr. Roman troops upon him, who were then besieging the assassin

43. of *Sextus*, in the city of *Apamea*. *Cassius*, having drawn him and *Marcus* into his party, raised the siege of the place, and *Cassius* got all *Syria* into his possession. He was however obliged to *seizes upon* levy new troops to reinforce his army; and, hearing that *Syria*.

*Alienus*, one of *Dolabella's* lieutenants, was marching through *Judea* with four legions sent to that consul by *Cleopatra*, he posted himself so advantageously, that he surrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his service. Having by this time got an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy very large tributes on that province, particularly on *Judea*, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. *Antipater*, who knew the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour by sending him a speedy one, committed the levying one half of that sum to his sons *Phasael* and *Herod*, and ordered the rest to be raised by one *Malichus* and some associates. *Herod* failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself to *Cassius*, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for him. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their examples, particularly those of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *His seve-* *rity to Ma-* *Thamma*, and some other cities of *Judea*, *Cassius* ordered all *litchus, &c.* their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put *Malichus* to death, had not the high-priest redeemed him at the expence of an hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers.

*Cassius*, being soon after forced to march against *Dolabella*, left the government of *Cælestria* to *Herod*, as an earnest of

y Antiq. I. xiv. c. 18. Bell. Jud. I. i. c. 9.

(W) Pursuant to which (some of the *Asiatic Jews* having been forced to enrol themselves in the *Roman army*) *Hyrcan* sent to complain to *Dolabella*, reminding him, that the *Jews* were wont to be exempted from the war, by rea-

son of their being obliged to observe the sabbath; and obtained a letter from the consul to the governor of *Ephesus*, enjoining him to see, that the *Jews* were set free, and restored to the exercise of their religion and laws (3).

(3) *Id. ibid.*

his future friendship ; but *Malichus* in the mean time, who *Malichus* bore a mortal hatred against *Antipater* (X), and saw him with *conspires* an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, re-*against* solved to rid himself and the nation of him. *Antipater* having *Antipater*. had timely notice of his treacherous design, presently retired to the other side of the *Jordan*, and there raised some forces, and put himself in a posture of defence. Whereupon *Ma-* *Sooths him lichus*, finding his plot was discovered, came to him in *a into a re-* seeming friendly manner, and by oaths, protestations, and *concilia-* other crafty insinuations, easily persuaded him of his inno-*tion*. cency, and a reconciliation was made between them. *An-* *tipater* was even forced to make use of all his interest with *Marcus*, now governor of *Syria*, and who was well ac- quainted with all his private plots, to prevent his putting him to death. But *Malichus* was not to be wrought on by such an unparalleled generosity, whilst he beheld his rival's interest raised still higher by it. For about this time *Cassius* and *Aur-* *Herod cus*, who had bestowed the government of *Cœle-syria* on his *modi go-* son *Herod*, had engaged his fidelity to them by a promise to *vernor of make him king of Judæa*, as soon as the war now begun *Cœle-syria* against *Mark Antony*, and the young *Ottavius*, since named *Augustus*, was ended. This made him dread the excessive power of *Antipater* to such a degree, that upon the first opportunity, which was soon after offered, when he was to *possum d by dine with the high-priest*, he bribed that pontiff's butler to *Malichus*. poison him in a glass of wine, whilst himself with an armed force seized upon the government of *Jerusalem*. *Phphael* and *Herod* easily perceived, that *Malichus* was at the bottom of this villainy, notwithstanding his vows and protestations to the contrary, and *Herod*, who was of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the fact with open force, but his brother, who rightly judged, that it would be much safer to

(X) *Malichus* was a Jew; he and *Antipater* had been the main supporters of *Hyrcanus*'s interest; so that he could not behold his rival, who was of *Idumean* race, as we have hinted before, preferred before him without the deepest envy and regret, and this was the motive which made him conspire against him, not doubt ing, but, if he was once removed, himself would be at the head of the Jewish affairs.

The fourth book of the *Macabees* lays indeed (4), that they were the head of the Jewish nation, who conspired against *Anti-* *pater*, and very likely *Malichus* had drawn a great number into the same black design; it being as great a mortification to them as to himself, to see their prince held in a kind of servitude by a stranger, who had ingrossed all the power into his hand

(4) C/ xl.

dissimble for the present, and to punish the assassin by some private stratagem, without involving the nation in a civil war, easily brought him over to his opinion <sup>2</sup>.

**Malichus** ACCORDINGLY, these two brothers feigning to believe *outwitted Malichus* innocent of their father's death, the eldest went by Herod and busied himself with rearing a stately monument to him, whilst Herod went into *Samaria*, under pretence of suppressing some turbulent spirits there. He came some time after to *Jerusalem*, attended with a number of his men of war, to assist at the feast of pentecost, and *Malichus*, who was afraid of something worse, prevailed on *Hyrcan* to forbid him to enter that metropolis with such an escort, as would Herod *en-profane* that solemnity. *Herod*, despising his orders, entered *Jerusalem* by night, but forbore attempting any thing against his enemy, though he had received full power from *Cassius* to revenge his father's death on that assassin. But a much better opportunity offered itself soon after, in which *Malichus* was caught in his own craftiness. *Cassius* had taken *Laodicea*, and all the chief lords of *Syria* and *Palestine* hastened thither with their presents and congratulations, and *Malichus* having left his son hostage with that governor, designed to have taken that opportunity of getting him off, and to have gone back and excited a revolt in *Iudea*, whilst the *Romans* were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold push for the *Jewish* crown. Whether *Herod* knew his whole design or no, he rightly guessed, that he would not fail to pay his compliment<sup>s</sup> to the conqueror, and so he did accordingly,

**Causes** accompanying the *Jewish* pontiff thither. *Herod* fell in with *Malichus* them in the way, and having first obtained from *Cassius* an order to the *Tyrians* to assist him in the punishment of *Malichus*, he invited *Hyrcan* and him to a supper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, and sent his servants into that city, under pretence of getting all things ready; but in reality, to acquaint the officers and garrison of that city with *Cassius*'s orders. These sallied out accordingly, and having overtaken him, as many as could come at him, at once sheathed their daggers into his body. *Hyrcan* upon hearing the news of his death, remained thunderstruck for some time. At length, having recovered himself, he asked, by whose orders he had been killed? and *Herod* having calmly answered, By *Cassius*'s, he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, since it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ant lib xiv c 20.

<sup>2</sup> Bell Jud ubi supra. Antiq ubi supra, cap 20.

BUT *Malichus* had left a brother behind him, as turbulent as himself; who, under the specious pretence of revenging his brother's death, put *Judea* again into a flame, whilst *Cassius* was gone to join *Brutus* in *Afia*. *Felix*, who at that time was left at the head of some Roman forces at *Jerusalem*, <sup>Year of</sup> seems also to have been gained on that side. As for *Hircan*, *Judea* he had not courage enough to oppose them, but acquiesced <sup>the flood</sup> in what they did; so that *Felix* attacked *Phasael* on the one hand, whilst *Malichus*'s brother went and took *Messadas*, and some other fortresses of *Judea*. *Herod* was then detained by sickness at *Damascus*, and unable for a while to give his brother any assistance but *Phasael*, who had still a considerable number of forces, found means to drive *Felix* and all his party out of *Jerusalem*, and from thence into some fortress, out of which he did not suffer him to come, but by capitulation. By this time *Herod* being recovered, came <sup>Quelled</sup> to his assistance, and drove the remaining part of *Malichus*'s faction out of their fortresses, and forced the brother to surrender *Messadas* to him, and to capitulate for his life. The two brothers returned to *Jerusalem*, where they reproved *Hircan*'s baseness in the severest terms, but were soon after reconciled to him by the marriage of *Herod* with *Mariamne*, the beautiful grand-daughter of that pontiff.

In the interim another enemy started up on the sudden, Antigonus, namely *Antigonus*, the younger son of *Aristobulus*, *Hircan*'s <sup>brother</sup> <sub>son</sub>. He was upheld by *Ptolemy Menneus*, prince of *Chalcis*, to whom he was related, and on that account had <sup>wads</sup> <sub>daa</sub> been adopted by him (Y). He had likewise gained *Mariamne* prince of *Tyre*, and bribed *Fabius* governor of *Damascus* into his interest, so that having gained a sufficient army, he put

<sup>b</sup> Id. ib. cap. 21, & seq.

(Y) The reader may remember, that after *Pompey* had caused his father and brother to be put to death, *Menneus* invited *Antigonus* into *Chalcis*, where he afterwards married his beautious daughter, and for her sake took both the mother and her children into his protection (5).

As for that *Mariamne*, who joined with young *Antigonus*, he had been lately made prince of *Tyre* by *Cassius*; for that general be-

ing in great want of money for the carrying on of the war against the triumvirs, had divided the country of *Syria* into small districts, and sold them to the highest bidder, one of whom was this *Mariamne*, who had bought the principality of *Tyre* of him (6). These petty tyrants, however, were afterwards turned out by *Marc Antony*, upon his coming into that province

(5) *Conf. Jos. p. antiqu. l. xiv. c. 13, & 21.* (6) *Id. ib. & bell. Jul. l. i. c. 22.*

*Herod marches against him.  
His generosity to the Tyrians*

*Marriage with Mariamne  
put off*

*Marc Antony's arrival in Bithynia*

*Phasael and Herod*

*Hycanus's request to him*

*Jewish captives restored.*

himself at the head of it, with an intent of reviving his father's pretensions to the kingdom; but he had scarce entered the frontiers of it, before *Herod* met him with a powerful army, and totally defeated him. This prince acted with his usual generosity towards the *Tyrians*, who had assisted his enemy, not only sparing their lives, but sending some of them home with rich presents, by which he gained the affections of that city, after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, where the people, and among the rest *Hyrcan*, who now looked upon him as one of his family, came and offered him the usual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with *Mariamne* were not however celebrated till some years after, when he had by her three sons and two daughters, besides his eldest son *Antipater*, whom he had by a former wife of his own country, named *Dorcas*.

*Brutus and Cassius* having been defeated in the following year by *Marc Antony* and *Oetarius*, the latter marched into Gaul, and the former came into *Syria* to settle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival in *Bithynia*, where he was complimented by vast clouds of embassies from all the neighbouring states, the *Jews* came and preferred a severe accusation against *Phasael* and *Herod*, as having ingrossed all the power and administration of *Judea*, and left *Hyrcan* only as used by the bare name of a prince. but *Herod*, who was there also, Jews to found in that general a steadfast friend, not only on account of former kindnesses, which he had received from *Antipater*, whilst he served under *Gabinus* in *Judea*, but much more on that of a large sum of money, with which he had taken care to bribe him, so that he would not so much as hear their accusers. Upon his coming to *Ephesus*, an embassy came to him from *Hyrcan*, desiring that the Jewish prisoners, whom *Cassius* had formerly sold by auction, contrary to their alliance with *Rome*, might be restored to their liberty and lands.

*Antony* readily granted their request, and sent an obliging letter to *Hyrcan*, which was soon followed with an edict to the *Tyrians*, and other neighbouring states, enjoining them to restore all those captives, according to *Hyrcan's* desire, and the purport of the edict, which the reader may see in the note <sup>d</sup> (Z).

BUT

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid c 22.

(Z) *Marc Antony*, emperor and triumvir, &c. to the magistrates, senate and people of *Tyre*, greeting.

Forasmuch as the gods have declared themselves the dire *re*vengers of the late *Cæsar's* death, by the total defeat of his most detestable

BUT all these favours of the triumvir, tho' chiefly owing *New com-*  
*to his friendship to the sons of Antipater*, were not able to *plaints a-*  
*reconcile them to the generality of the Jews*. For as soon as *gainst He-*  
*Antony was come so near them as Daphne*, a city near *An-* <sup>Year of</sup> *rod re-*  
*tioch*<sup>e</sup>, he was accosted by a fresh embassy from *Jerusalem*, <sup>2307.</sup> *jected*.  
 which was sent to prefer the old complaint to him against *the flood*  
*Hyrkan*, who, looking upon them now as part of his family, <sup>Bef. Chr.</sup>  
 was come thither to second their defence. After a full hear- <sup>41.</sup>  
 ing, *Antony asked the pontiff*, which of the two parties he <sup>thought best</sup> qualified for the government, and being answered *Hyrkan's*  
 in favour of the two brothers, he likewise declared for them; *ansuer in*  
 and, as a farther mark of his friendship, made them both <sup>their fa-</sup>  
 tetrarchs, put *Judea* under their care, and wrote a letter <sup>vour.</sup>  
 to the Sanhedrin in their favour. Fifteen of the most tur-  
 bulent of their accusers were sent to prison, and would  
 have been put to death, had not *Herod* interceded for them.  
 All this only exasperated that faction the more, and produced  
 a third embassy, which came to meet the triumvir at *Tyre*,  
 and consisted of a thousand persons. But *Antony*, whom fresh *A third*  
 presents, and large sums of money, had fastened still more <sup>embassy</sup>  
 to *Herod's interest*, sent orders to the magistracy of that <sup>smt, and</sup> *place* to assist him in the punishment of those factious muti- <sup>severely</sup>  
 neers, as he termed them; whereupon *Herod* met them out <sup>punis'd.</sup>  
 of the city, and advised them, in a friendly manner, not to  
 push the matter further. *Hyrkan* likewise tried in vain to  
 forewarn them of their danger, in case they persisted in their

<sup>e</sup> De hac vid. sup. p. 515, (E). Antiq. 1. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. 1. i. c. 11.

detestable assassins *Brutus* and *Cassius*—and forasmuch as the *Itawish* nation, notwithstanding their known and constant attachment to the *Roman* interest, has been greatly oppressed by *Cassius*, and great multitudes of them sold for slaves by him; we order the said *Jews* to be restored to their liberties, lands, and to all the privileges and immunitiess which had been granted to that allied nation by *Dolabella*; and charge all those cities, in which any such *Jews* are detained,

whether bond or free, forthwith to discharge and restore them, pursuant to the strict tenor of this edict.

This edict, and another, about some disputed territories, he ordered to be copied out in *Greek* and *Latin*, and the original to be preserved in their archives, and the copies to be affixed in some public place, where they might be publicly read. He likewise sent some others to the same purport to the *Sidonians*, and to the cities of *Antioch* and *Arad* (7).

(7) *Antiq. ubi sup'r a,*

**M. Anto-** design. They refused all advice, till the *Tyrians* rushing in upon them, made them repent of their rashness, when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, and others taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. This put an end indeed to the controversy, but not to the faction, which vented their resentment against *Herod* in such an open manner, that *Antony*, in a fit of anger, caused all the prisoners to be put to death<sup>1</sup>.

**Antigo-** *Herod* had no sooner weathered this storm, but another was raised against him by *Antigonus*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus* had been succeeded by his son *Lysanias*; and this last had prevailed upon *Pacorus* the son of the *Parthian* king, and his general *Bazanes*, who by this time had made themselves masters of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, to invade *Judæa*, depose *Hyrcan*, and set *Antigonus* on his throne, in consideration of which, the latter was to pay him an hundred talents, and five hundred women (A) *Pacorus*, pursuant to this agreement, sent his cup bearer, named also *Pacorus*, with part of his cavalry, to invade *Judæa*. *Antigonus*, who had got together by that time a great number of discontented *Jews*,

**Year of** who joined him from mount *Carmel*, had made himself master of the canton of *Djoma* (B), where a great number of other  
the flood  
2308. *Jews* coming still to him, persuaded him to march on to *Jerusalem*, and attack *Phasael* and his brother in the royal  
Bef Chr  
40. *pilace*. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with

**Antigo-** the *Parthian* cup bearer, and these two being met by the two  
nus and  
*Pacorus* tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were  
repulsed,  
and return- forced to retire into the temple. *Herod*, for the better secu-  
into the  
temple rity of that place, placed a guard of soldiers in all the ad-  
jacent houses, but these were soon set on fire, and the sol-  
diers burnt in them before any help could be brought. *Herod*  
did not let this los. go long unrevenged, but gave them a sharp  
defeat, in which he made a great slaughter of their party.  
Thus they continued skirmishing one another till the feast of  
pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by *Antigonus*,

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ibi l*

(A) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (8) says, eight hundred women, the fairest and best bred in all the country

(B) It is not easy to guess what canton this was, unless it be the same with the *Daroma* of

*Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, by which they mean the southern part of the tribe of *Judah*, extending about twenty miles from east to west, from *Beersheba* to the *Dead Sea*, and is called in *Hebrew Darom*, which signifies south (9).

(8) *Cap. xix.*  
*Clement sub ac.*

(9) *Vid. Reclam. Palæst. illustrat. I. 1. c. 32, &*

in hopes that the great concourse of the Jews to that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of Antipater.

He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted <sup>with An-</sup> Jews <sup>join</sup> to him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms <sup>with An-</sup> nor experience, Herod, who with his brother had retired <sup>uponus.</sup> into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without, made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple.

THE two parties being at length tired with shedding so <sup>In agree-</sup> much blood, came to an agreement, that Pacorus, who was <sup>at me-</sup> by that time encamped without the walls of the city, should <sup>dicted by</sup> be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though set on foot by Antigonus, who wholly relied on the friendship of the Parthian general, was yet agreed to by Phasael, who went out to meet him, and courteously lodged him in the royal palace. Here Pacorus taking the advantage of the confidence his kind host put in him, persuaded him to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, who was then governor of Syria under the Parthian king, assuring him, that it was the only means to settle his affair on a firm footing. *H. 2d, His trea-*  
*who justly suspected the treachery of the Parthians, was in- chis su-*  
*finitely averse to the proposal, but Phasael, more credulous (per fidem hy-*  
*than he, consented to it; and taking Hyrcan with him, set Hrcod.*  
 on the journey, attended with an escort of two hundred Parthian horse, and with Pacorus, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in Galilee (C), they were met with a guard of armed men, who were sent to conduct them *briuyed.* to Barzapharnes, and Pacorus returned to Jerusalem. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and Barzapharnes lodged them in a house near the sea side, where Phasael was soon after informed by some friends of the contract which had passed between the Parthian king and Antigonus: it was then that he first became sensible of their treachery, and of his danger. However, though he was *His fid hty* earnestly intreated to make his escape, and was offered transports *to Hyrcan.* ships to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forsake either Hyrcan's or his brother's interest; for

(C) Josephus doth not here tell us the place where Barzapharnes then was, but only that he was in Galilee, near the sea-side; but, in his wars of the Jews, he says (1), they met him at Ecdipon, which place was near the sea shore, and at a small distance north of Ptolimaios; but the fourth book of Maccabees says, it was at Damascus, the capital of Syria (2).

(1) Lib. 1. c. 11.

(2) Ch. xlvi.

here

here he was likewise told, that *Pacorus* was sent back to *Jerusalem* to surprise *Herod* also. The best expedient therefore he could think on, was to go to *Barzapharnes*, and to expostulate the matter with him ; which he did in the severest terms, telling him at the same time, that, if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honest, and come over to his interest. The *Parthian* had no other way to come off, but by forswearing the charge, and assuring him, that nothing was falser than such a surmise ; but as soon as he thought, that *Pacorus* had made sure of *Herod*, he marched directly towards him, and ordered *Hyrcan* and *Phasael* to be seized, and clapt in prison.

*Both imprisoned by Barzapharnes. Herod's escape.*

*Pacorus* however had missed his aim ; and *Herod*, having timely notice of the treachery, had found means to convey himself out of *Jerusalem*, together with his mother, his betrothed *Mariamne*, her mother *Alexandra*, his brother *Pherroras*, with all his servants, friends, and valuable things, and a numerous escort of his own men of war, and made the best of his way towards *Idumea*. He met with several stops in his journey (D), being forced to fight his way through the *Parthians* and *Antigonians*, who pursued him ; but his valour, and that of his guards, got him clear of all ; and in memory of a signal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty stades or seven miles from *Jerusalem*, he afterwards built a stately palace, and called it *Herodion* &.

*Leaves his family at Massada.* WHEN he was come to *Thressa*, or, as *Josephus* calls it elsewhere, *Ressa*, a small town in *Idumea*, his brother *Joseph* met him at the head of a considerable reinforcement ; but when they arrived at *Massada*, the place where he designed to retire, it being a very strong, and almost impregnable fortress, he found it too small to contain all his men, so that he was forced to dismiss nine thousand of them. Here he left his family and treasure under the care of his brother *Joseph*, and of a garrison of eight hundred men ; and having

<sup>a</sup> An q ubi supra, cap 25 The reader may see that palace described by *Jospeh. bell. Jud. 11 c. 16.*

(D) One of them was the overturning of the chariot in which his mother sat, by which she was so terribly bruised, that her life was despaired of ; which sad accident went so near his heart, that he drew his sword with full intent to kill himself, but was

happily prevented by some of his retinue.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (3) says, that *Herod* sent all his family and riches before him ; but that himself stayed behind with his guards to prevent their being pursued.

furnished it with all necessaries, he set out for *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where *Malchus* had succeeded his father *Aretas*, a prince who had formerly been highly obliged to him. His design was, to borrow as much money of him, as would buy his brother *Phasael's* freedom; and to that end he had brought his son with him, who was but seven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the Arabian king. But that ungrateful prince sent him express orders to depart out of his territories, pretending that he had been forbid by the *Parthians* to receive him; so that he was forced to dismiss some of his attendants, and to make the best of his way into *Egypt*.

In the mean while, his flight out of *Jerusalem* having been discovered by the very next morning, the first thing the *Parthians* did, was to plunder his palace, city, and all the country about it. They spared however *Hyrcan's* treasure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and some of *Herod's* riches, that were left behind, but they made themselves amends by the plunder of *Marissa*, an opulent city, which they totally destroyed. *Antigonus* was next installed on the Jewish throne, according to their agreement, and *Phasael* and *Hyrcan* were soon after brought to him in chains. The new king however did not think proper to put the high-priest to death, but contented himself with incapacitating him for the pontifical functions, by causing his ears to be cut off<sup>b</sup>. As for *Phasael*, he easily foretold that he could not escape some cruel death, but, being bound with chains, and unable to kill himself by any other way, he knocked his brains out against a stone (kills himself). The *Parthians*, having thus performed their contract with *Antigonus*, began their march homeward, and took the unfortunate high-priest with them, to prevent any fresh tumults being raised upon his account<sup>c</sup>.

By that time *Herod* was got from *Rhinocorus* to *Pelusium*, Herod's messengers from the Arabian king, who was now ashamed of his baseness, with an apology, and new offers of service, but he rejected them, and would have embarked for *Rome*, but the sailors obstinately refused to take him in.

<sup>b</sup> See *LEVIT* xxi 16, & seq & vol iii p 72, & seq. <sup>c</sup> *Antiq.* l. xiv c 25 Bell Jud 1 1 c 11.

(E) Our historian adds, that there was a report, that his wounds not being mortal, *Antigonus* sent some physicians to him, under pretence of trying to cure, but in reality to poison them, and make sure of him. However, he had the pleasure before his death to hear, that his brother was escaped, and got to *Rhinocorus*, and there it was that *Herod* heard of his death.

whereupon he applied himself to the magistrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ship (I). As soon as he was come to *Rome*, he dedicated himself first to *Antony*, and then to *Ostavianus*, to whom he related all that had happened in *Judea*, and the desparate condition his affairs were in, and partly by his intreaties, and reminding them of his father's friendship to *Julius Caesar*, putly by the promise of a large sum of money, so worked upon them, that they resolved to assist him to the utmost of their power. *Anton.*, on the score of the oll kindnesses of *Antipater*, performed more than *Herod* knchts to expected, or even desired of him. The utmost of his aim was, to have had *Aristobulus*, the brother of his beloved *Mariamne*, sett l on the throne (G), and himself to have been at the head of the *Jewish* affars under him, as his father had been under *Hircan*, whereas the triumvirs actually resolved to procure him the crown, though this was contrary to the *Pomian* method, who in cases of the like nature, always paid such due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings, as not to set a stranger over them, but our triumvirs interest easily over-ruled that good maxim.

*Created anno of Ju d'is,* *Year of the flood 2305 before Christ.* *et cetera* *et cetera* *I* THE senate was accordingly convened, and *Herod* introduced to them by *Messala* and *Atratinus*, two noble senators, who there set forth the great services of *Antipater*'s family to the Romans, and represented *Antigonus* as a turbulent and seditious person, and a known enemy to their nation, who had not scrupled to accept of the *Jewish* crown from the hands of the *Parthians*. To this *Antony* added, how advantageous it would be to his expedition against *Parthia*, to have such a steadfast friend as *Herod* to be king of *Judea*, upon which he was unanimously chosen by the senate, and *Antiochus* stood in enemy to them. As soon as the decree was passed, *Herod* was conducted with great ceremony into the capitol, *Ostianus* and *Antony* marching on each side of

(I) During his stay in *Egypt*, he was courted by *Cleopatra* to continue there longer. The *Mac cabuth* book often quoted adds, that she offered to make him her prime minister, and general of all her forces, but that he was fully bent upon going to *Rome* with all speed, and, getting on board a vessel, which was bound to *Pennylle*, a violent storm forced them to land at *Hierac*, whre le

met with some friends and assistance, and passed thence to *Bundusium*, and came at length to *Rome*.

(G) This prince had certainly the best title to the crown, being the son of *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hircan*, by *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus*, the brother of that pontiff, so that the right of those two brothers was united in him.

him, accompanied by the consuls and senators ; where, after the usual sacrifices, the decree was deposited among the archives, after which *Antony* gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus *Herod* became king of *Judæa*, by the friendship and interest of *Antony* and *Augustus*, in the consulship of *C. Domitius Calvinus*, and *C. Asinius Pollio*. The condition in which he had left his affairs in *Judæa*, and his family in *Idumea*, not permitting him to stay longer than seven days after his inauguration, he set out again for *Brundusium*, and sailed from thence to *Ptolemais*, where he landed about the latter end of the summer ; so that he spent but three months in this expedition, both by sea and land<sup>k</sup>.

WHILE he was thus successful at *Rome*, *Antigonus* had so *Messada* closely besieged the fortress of *Messada*, that though it was besieged by well provided with all other necessaries, yet they were much distressed for want of water ; insomuch that *Joseph*, who<sup>nus.</sup> commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally, and to break through the besiegers, in order to escape into *Arabia*, and get some fresh succour from *Malkus*, who, as we hinted before, was highly ashamed of his late treatment of *Herod*. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to sally out, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns again ; so that he thought on nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came and relieved him, whilst he still made some bold sallies, and killed not a few of the besiegers. In the mean time *Ventidius*, the *Ventidius Roman* general in *Syria*, having driven the *Parthians* out of *ourusts* that province, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of *him*. *Jerusalem*, under pretence of relieving *Messada*, but, in reality, to extort money from *Antigonus*, for, as soon as this last had satisfied his greediness with a good round sum, he marched away, leaving, for formality's sake, some part of his men with *Silo*, a pensioner, whom *Antigonus* had been forced to gain by dint of money, till he could get himself strengthened by the *Parthians*, whose assistance he was still in hopes of.

*Herod*, on the other hand, was not idle ; his thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his distressed family, but especially ne's *cha*- his beloved *Mariamne*, a princess, who was indeed very well adir. worth all his care and concern, whether we consider her as descended from a long series of illustrious kings and high-priests, or a person of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the most endearing charms of body and mind. As soon *Herod* therefore as he was arrived at *Ptolemais*, he got an army to march<sup>a</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Antiq. ibid. c. 26, 27. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12

gather

gainst An-gather of Jewish and other troops, which his generosity still tigonous, increased as fast as he went, insomuch that a very little time had brought almost the whole province of Galilee into his interest. At the same time his friend *Antony* sent orders by *Dellius* to *Ventidius*, to assist him with all his forces ; so that he was now strong enough to march against *Antigonus*, and to *takes* Jop-relieve *Maffada*. He stopped, however, to lay siege to *Joppa*, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. *Silo* took this opportunity to withdraw his forces, and was like to have paid dear for his desertion : for *Antigonus* fell upon him, and had infallibly defeated him, had not *Herod* come to his rescue. *Joppa* being soon after surrendered, he marched directly to relieve his besieged friends ; and, in spite of the many ambushes which *Antigonus* laid in his way, and the treachery of *Silo*, who extorted money from both sides, and did all he could to obstruct, instead of assisting him, he reached *Maffada*, forced the enemy to raise the siege (G), and was joyfull, received by all his family <sup>1</sup>.

By

and re-  
lives  
*Maffada*.1 *Antiq. ibid. c. 26, 27. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12.*

(G) The fourth book of *Macabees* adds (4), that *Herod* surprised *Antigonus* before the place, and made a vigorous attack on one side of him, whilst *Joseph* fell oat against him on the other ; so that he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jerusalem*, whither *Herod* pursued him, and laid close siege to him.

It will not be amiss to close this note with an hint on a more remarkable occurrence out of our learned *Uph.* (5), namely, the birth of *Salomon* (so called by his father *Afrius Pille*, the then *Roman* consul, in memory of his taking *Salsona*, a city in *Dalmatia*), and which gave occasion to the fourth elogue of *Virgil*, in which that poet has given such a noble description of the golden age, which this child was to re-

store to the world, that he is justly supposed to have stolen it, not so much out of the pretended *Sibylline* oracles, as from the prophecies concerning the reign of the *Messiah*, the true Prince of peace : for, as these were translated by that time into *Greek* and *Latin*, they may be reasonably supposed to have been read by him, and, perhaps, further explained to him by the *Euri*, who, if we may believe (in (6)), were very numerous at that time at *Rome*.

That *Virgil* proved a false prophet, with respect to his wonderful child, the event has shewn, since he lived but nine days. But that the more miraculous child *Jesus*, who was born forty years after (7), has left us such a divine set of laws, as fully answer the glorious description which the

(4) *Cap. I.*(5) *Arnal sub. A. M. 394.*(7) *Pr. d connect sub an. A.C. 40. Vid. & by Dr Chandler's defence of Christianity, &c al. plur.*(6) *Orat pro Flacco.*

By this time Herod's army was greatly increased, not only Herod by the garrison of Massada, but by other reinforcements, which came voluntarily from other parts, and enabled him to gain the siege of Jerusalem. He took Rhesa in his way, and being come before the metropolis, he caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed, extending to all, none except a general ed, that had joined with Antigonus, and came over to him within a limited time. To this Antigonus answered, addressing himself to Silo, and the rest of the Roman soldiers, who were come to assist Herod in the siege; "That it was a shameful injustice in the senate, to set a private person on nus's throne, who was an Idumean, or half Jew, contrary to it to the Jewish laws, and right of succession; that if they resented his receiving the crown from the Parthians, there were still enough left of the royal and sacerdotal race, who had deserved, to the full, as well of the Romans as Herod, and on whom they might more justly bestow it." The contest between the two rivals rose at length to such a height, that Antigonus caused some volleys of arrows to be shot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here arose a fresh mutiny in the army, supposed to have been underhand encouraged by Silo; his soldiers complaining aloud of the want of money, provisions, and better winter-quarters: Herod was forced to send out for fresh supplies for them, which came afterwards in such plenty, that there was not the least pretence left for a revolt. The city of Jericho, however, fell a sacrifice to the Romans' greediness; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immense value; after which Herod by the Romans was forced to send them into winter-quarters in Samaria, Idumea, and Galilee, whilst Antigonus, to curry favour with Antony, obtained of Silo, as a great favour, that part of the Roman army might be sent into Lydda, which still held out for him.

THE season, by this time, being too far advanced to begin the siege of Jerusalem, Herod, having well glutted and quartered his Roman auxiliaries, sent his brother Joseph into Idumea, with a thousand foot, and four hundred horse, whilst he went and secured his family in the city of Samaria: from Idumea thence he went and took some fortresses in Galilee from An-

<sup>m</sup> Antiq. ubi sup. in fin cap 13 Bell. Jud. ubi sup.

prophets have given us of his reign, and which, duly and universally observed, would easily eclipse all that the poets have sung concerning their fabulous golden age, cannot be denied, our enemies themselves being judges.

Sephoris *tigonus*, and among others that of *Sephoris*, which had been taken by Herod. abandoned by the garrison, and where he found great store of provisions.

From thence he sent a detachment into the territories of *Arbela*, which was sadly infested with gangs of banditti ; but as they could not ferret them out of their lurking-places, he marched against them with his whole army,

*The banditti in Galilee totally defeated;* and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obstinate fight ensued, in which his left wing began to give way ; but he came so timely to their aid, that he gained a complete victory ; by which he became master of all *Galilee*, except those rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired.

He rewarded his troops with a noble donative of an hundred and fifty drachms to each private man, and so proportionably to those of an higher rank, and then sent them into winter-quarters. *Silo* left him soon after to follow *Ventidius* into *Parthia*, and *Herod*, who could hardly stay for the return of the spring, to put himself in action, resolved, if possible, *to rid himself and the country of the remaining gangs of banditti* (II).

*Herod*, thinking by this time that he had pretty near reduced their gang, left the country under the command of *Ptolemy*, at the head of as many forces as he thought would suffice to keep it in awe ; and took the road to *Samaria*, where he had left his family, with a design to go, and either

(II) The inaccessibleness of their lurking-hole, made it almost impracticable ; but *Herod* having caused a number of iron cheifs to be made, and filled with soldiers, which were let down with iron chains, he made great execution amongst them, till night obliged them to withdraw, when he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed to all who should come and surrender themselves. But this having reduced but a few of them, his soldiers by next morning went and set some combustible matter on fire at the mouth of their caverns, put all within in a flame, and so thered those it could not burn ; and yet such was their obstinacy, that they close rather to peril than

accept of a pardon ; a notable instance of which the reader may see in what follows.

Our historian adds (8), that an old man being hid in one of these caverns, his wife and seven sons, who were with him, earnestly besought him to suffer them to surrender themselves ; but he, placing himself at the mouth of the cave, stabbed them one after another, as they attempted to pass by him, and cast them down the precipice, and himself next, after having vented some scandalous reflections on the meanness of *Herod's* extraction, who was at the same time making him all the signs of pardon and clemency.

(3) *Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 28. sub fin. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.*

begin the siege of Jerusalem, or bring Antigonus to a battle: He was no sooner gone, but those whom he had lately driven ~~Bands~~<sup>over</sup> Jordan, returned again, slew Ptolemy, and ravaged therally country afresh, so that he was obliged to come back with fresh forces, with which he so effectually destroyed them, and their lurking-places, and fined those towns so severely, which had given them either shelter or relief, that he quite rid the province of that destructive vermin".

THE Parthians having been defeated soon after by Ventidius, as shall be seen in a subsequent chapter, that general, by order of Antony, sent Machæras, with two legions and a thousand horse, to assist Herod in his war against Antigonus; but this last having gained him over by a large sum, Machæras would needs march towards him, under pretence of examining the strength of the place. Herod, having tried in vain to dissuade him from it, began to suspect him of some treachery; but held his peace for the present. Not so did Antigonus, who, seeing the Romans draw near the walls of Jerusalem, conceived such jealousy of them, that he caused his men to let fly some volleys of arrows and stones against them, which his resent- so exasperated him, that he returned to Emmaus, and turned his arms against the Jews there, slaying indiscriminately all that came in his way, and among them a number of Herod's friends. Herod, who was then on the point of going to pay his respects to Antony, at the siege of Samosata, threatened to complain of it to him; but Machæras halting after, prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother Joseph, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his absence; on this condition, however, that they should undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. In his march to Antony's camp, he was forced to fight his way through some bands of free-booters; or, as the fourth Maccabees calls them\*, wild Arabs, who had attacked his rear, which would have been all cut off, if he had not come back to their assistance, and defeated the thievish gang. At his arrival before Samosata, he was received with all the marks of honour and esteem by the Roman triumvir, and did him many gallant services at that siege. In reposal of which, when the city was taken, Antony left Sofus governor of Syria; with the command of the Roman forces, and orders to assist Herod with them whenever he required it.

Herod, on his return, found his affairs strangely altered for the worse: his brother Joseph having forgot his orders, had made an incursion against Jericho, with his own troops, and

\* Antiq. ibid.

• Cap. lii.

five legions, which he received from *Machæras*; but the Roman horse being unfit for such rocky ground as he was then encamped upon, the enemy surprised and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himself was killed by *Pappus* the Roman general. *Antigonus* caused his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother *Pheroras* deemed it soon after at the price of fifty talents. The consequence of this defeat was, the total revolt of *Gahlee*, where the wealthiest of *Herod's* party were barbarously flung, in great numbers, into the lake of *Tiberias*. *Idumea* was also on the point of revolting, when *Herod* appeared at the head of a fresh army, and in a little time reduced those two provinces again. His army still increasing, and *Machæras* stoutly defending himself against *Antigonus*, a battle was soon fought between the two antagonists, wherein *Herod* gained a complete victory, and made an horrid slaughter of the enemy. *Pappus* being found among the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and sent to *Pheroras*. His earnestness to revenge his brother's death, made him pursue his flying enemy with such uncommon swiftness and cruelty, that, had he not been prevented by a violent storm, he might have gone straight to *Jerusalem*, and have taken it with ease. *Antigonus* being by that time so reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning it, but now winter coming on, and the soldiers not being able to bear the fatigues of a siege, *Herod* put them into winter quarters, and set about getting ready all things necessary for beginning it early the following spring.

*Whilst* these preparations were making, *Herod* went to *Samaria*, and there consummated his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had before four years before, but had been hindered from marrying, through the many troubles he was entangled in, though he had in extreme desire to see this union once happily accomplished. (I) By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, and *Sosius*, who had been sent to his assistance, at the head of eleven legions,

¶ Anoq & bell Jid ubi supia

(I) We have already given the character and descent of this excellent princeps, and *Herod* had great reason to hope, that this marriage would effectually reconcile him to the Jewish nation, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the *Ajmo* *caſtiblly*, of which he was deſcen'd by the two brothers, *Hircan* and *Aristobulus*, as we hinted in a former note. This he thought would likewise facilitate the surrender of *Jusidem*, by withdrawing numbers of the besieged Jews from the faction of *Antigonus*.

\* 405

and six thousand horse, besides some auxiliary troops hired from Syria, was marching through Phœnicia to join him ; and with this numerous army they went and besieged Herod \* Jerusalem (K). The besieged, on the other hand, were no less numerous and resolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with Jews, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. But these wanted military experience, and trusted either to their strength and courage or to the sacredness of the temple, which they seemed confident would be defended by some miraculous providence against an Idumean usurper, and an army of idolatrous Romans. They likewise annoyed the besiegers by frequent private sallies, in which they spoiled great quantities of their provisions and forage. But, on the fortieth day of the siege, the Romans, in spite of the stout resistance given within, found means to scale the outward wall, and to make themselves masters of it, and on the fiftieth they got within the second, when some of the galleries about the temple being set on fire, Herod threw all the odium of it on Antigonus. The lower city being taken, the besieged betook themselves to the hill, and to the temple, where they suffered very much through famine, it being the sabbatic year <sup>1.</sup>. However, they built a new wall instead of that which was beaten down, countermined the encircling, and fought sometimes above, and sometimes under-ground, and with more despair than courage. At length, after a five month's <sup>2.</sup> siege, Herod, finding them as obstinate as ever, ordered a general assault to be made, which both his and the Roman troops performed with such vigour, that they forced them at length to surrender (L).

The Romans, having dispersed themselves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible slaughter of

<sup>1</sup> De hoc vid. vol. iii p. 35, & seq

(K) Josephus tell us, that the Roman legions did not consist of a certain number, but amounted, some to 1000, some to 5000, and some to 6000, but, however, if we take them at the lowest, and join to them the Jewish and Syrian forces, this army must have amounted to above 60,000 men.

(L) Antigonus himself came down from a tower, where he

had defended himself so long as he could, threw himself at Herod's feet, and in the most abject and submissive guise implored his mercy (9). But the elated Roman, instead of expressing the least concern for that unfortunate prince, upbraided him with cowardice and effeminacy, calling him in the feminine gender Antigona, and ordered him to be put under a strong guard.

(9) Antig. lib. i. cap. 28. sub fin. b. Jud. n. c. 13

the *Jews*, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they exprest it, for the length and fatigue of the siege. The very sanctuary was in danger of undergoing the same fate, had not *Herod* prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening words, and even by mere *Saved from force*. He sent at the same time a severe message to *Sosius*, *disfrustrating* Herod complaining, that if this plunder and butchery were not stopped, the *Romans* would leave him king only of a bare wilderness; and that, as for himself, he should look upon his success as the most unhappy thing that could befall him, if it must be attended with the profanation of that sacred place, the access to which was permitted to none but the *Jewish* priests. To all this *Sosius* answer'd, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by assault, so that *Herod* saw himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation, by a large donative out of his own coffers.

**Antigo-** Thus was this city taken, after a siege of six months (M); **nus put to** and with its surrender ended the reign of the *Arimoneans*, **death** after it had continued an hundred and twenty-nine years, from **Year of** *Iudas Maccabæus* taking the *Jewish* government upon him (N). **the flood** *Antigonus*, the last man of that race that bore the regal title, **Bef Chr** <sup>23<sup>11</sup> was clapped in iron by *Sosius*, who, having presented a crown **37** of gold to the temple, left *Jerusalem*, and took the unhappy prince with him, and delivered him to *Antony*, by whom he was, at the earnest solicitations of *Herod*, put to a shameful death (O), in the third year of his reign.<sup>r</sup></sup>

## S E C T.

\* Antiq 1 xv c 1 Bell Jud 1 1 c 13 Vid & Usser sub,  
A M 3967

(M) Reckoning from *Herod*, first setting down before it, for it was not till some time after that *Sosius* joined him with his troops, and carried on the siege jointly with him.

(N) *Josephus* reckons but an hundred and twenty six years (1), but he must be underflowd only from the time that *Iudas* was established in his government by his peace with *Antiochus*, three years after he had taken it into his hands.

It is true, however, his successors did not take the title of kings, as we have seen in the course of this section, till *Aristobulus*, or rather till *Alexander Jannæus*, but that family still enjoyed the peculiar privilege of joining the pontifical with the regal or supreme dignity.

(O) The *ewish* historian observes, that *Antony* would willingly have reserved *Antigonus* for his future triumph, but that *Herod*, who feared every thing

(1) Ant q ubi supra, cap. 28. sub fin. bell. Jud. l. 1, c. 13.

from his rival, if he should ever have an opportunity to plead his own cause before the senate, ceased not to importune that general to put him to death, and obtained it at last by a large sum of money : but he caused that unhappy prince to be executed in so shameful a manner, as has given just occasion to several ancient authors to condemn it as a piece of injustice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the *Romans* (2); for having caused him to be condemned as a private criminal, and without regard to his

illustrious descent, the sentence was executed accordingly at *Antioch*, where, having been first tied and whipped at a stake, his head was cut off, after having been all along flattered with promises of life. This punishment *Strabo*, in the place above-quoted, observes, had never been inflicted on any crowned head ; but *Antonius*, thought it necessary, by such an ignominious death, to render him contemptible to the *Jews*, to prevent their raising any new tumults against his generous friend *Herod* (3).

(2) *Vit. i. n. al. P. u. n. b. in M. Anton. Dion. lib. xix. Strab. ap. Joseph. arr. q. l. xv. c. 1. 3) Ibid.*

### S E C T. V.

#### *The History of the Jews, from Herod to the Birth of Christ.*

THE taking of *Jerusalem*, and the death of *Antigonus*, Herod's having now fixed *Herod* upon the *Jewish* throne, he cruel being soon obliged to bend his thoughts on two important con-ginning ; cerns ; the one to replenish his coffers, exhausted, partly by the large sums with which he had been forced to buy the friendship of the *Roman* generals, and even *Antony* himself ; and partly by the profuseness with which he rewarded his own and the *Roman* troops for their past services, and especially for saving the city and temple from plunder and ruin : the other was to suppress the opposite *Jewish* faction, which, in spite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the *Afmonian* family, and an irreconcileable hatred to his own. These two points, which could not be gained, *The causes* the one without a great deal of oppression, and the other of it. without much cruelty and bloodshed, we must look upon as the two main springs of all his actions, and the causes of his uneasy reign. Accordingly, upon his having got possession of that metropolis, he caused all the gold, silver, and other valuable things he found in it, to be carried into his own palace, by which he amassed immediately an immense treasure ; but as a great part of it had been already promised to *Oppression* the *Romans*, and was actually given to them, he reimbursed *the An-* himself *tigonians*.

Cruel  
watchful-  
ness over  
them.

himself by the forfeiture of the estates of the *Antigonian* faction, causing the wealthiest of them to be seized, and forty-five of the principal of them to be put to death (A). And such was his jealousy in this respect, that he caused guards to be planted at their gates, to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies ; in which case they were seized upon, and sent into his treasury. Upon the whole, his necessities and profuseness were so great, that he spared no extortion to supply them ; insomuch that this being the sabbatic year, in which there was neither planting nor sowing, and all the country round about having been so terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the siege, nothing less than a grievous famine was expected to have filled the whole land <sup>2</sup>.

*Jealousy of Herod* had still another rival left, who, though at a great Hyrcan distance from him, and kept, as it were, a prisoner in Par-

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell Jud. 11. c. 13

(A) We took notice in the last section, that *Herod* spared that very *Samaritan*, who had appeared the most intrepid against him, at his tryal before the sanhedrin ; as well as *Pollio*, another learned and valuable Jew, who had been a great stickler for *Hyrcan* against him : and these were not the only instances of *Herod's* clemency.

However, we must own, that these two great men, whom he took into his special favour and confidence, had, notwithstanding all the incense which the rabbies give them for their courage and intrepidity, taken care to make their peace with him during the siege, by exhorting the besieged to open their gates to him.

For, whilst the *Antigonian* faction were encouraging the superstitious Jews, with crying, *The temple of the Lord!* and making them expect some miraculous

deliverance, these two politicians, foreseeing that the city could not hold out much longer against such a vigorous siege, and under the exceſſe want of all provision, did with a kind of prophetic confidence assure them, that all resistance was vain, since the thing was from the *Lord*, who, for their sins, was now bringing them in subjection to this foreigner (1).

There was indeed some ground for what they affirmed in favour of *Herod*, if what *Josephus* (2) says be true, that one *Menahem*, a cotemporary of theirs, and an esenian, endowed with the spirit of prophecy, had long before foretold his rise to the crown ; but as that hath too much of the Jewish fable to deserve belief, we shall refer our readers to that author, for the further account of it.

(1) Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Vid. & l. xiv. c. 17.

(2) Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.

*this*, did not suffer his mind to be at ease, till he had quite *been in* himself of him. This was *Hycan*, the deposed king and Parthian high-priest, whom *Pacorus* had carried thither with him in chains. But when *Phraates* came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generously took off his chains, and permitted him to live in *Babylon*, where he was highly respected, not only by the great number of *Jew* who dwelt in that city, but likewise by all those that lived beyond the *Euphrates*, who all looked upon him as their rightful prince, and high priest. The reverence for him was raised still higher, when they understood, that *Herod* had filled the pontifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named *Anas*, a descendent of one of those priestly families that settled at *Bayon* after the captivity, and whom that politic prince caused to be fetched from thence, merely on the score of his meanness and obscurity, that, being without friends or interest in *Judea*, he might be contented with his sacerdotal function, without interfering with the regal prerogative.

*Hycan* might then have thought himself happy in his exile, *That* *pon* being thus respected by the *Parthian* king, and by all the *chief's* *hap-*  
*Jews* of the dispeision yet such was his love for his country, *pines*  
*or rather* his fatal confidence in the new *fei wiſh* monarch, that, *there*  
*as soon as* he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived  
*a great desire of spending the remainder of his life with him.*  
*His* *friends*, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried *Persuaded*  
*in vain* to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the *to return*  
*folly* and *haſt* of putting himself in that monarch's power, *daa*  
*especially* since he could hardly expect either greater honour  
*or happiness* in *Jerusalem*, than he enjoyed in *Babylon* but  
*could arguments* have prevailed with him, *Herod* would have  
*left no means untried to have frustrated them, and to have*  
*made use of him, as he accordingly, did* <sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Antiq lib xv cap 2*

(B) He began, however, with sending him a kind invitation to come and bear a partnership with him of his power and grandeur, and reap the fruits of his gratitude for his former kindness. But, lest this invitation should fail, he backed it with an embassy to *Phraates*, in which he begged of him to give the pontiff leave to return to *Judea*. *Saturnalla*, who was charged with this embassy, was ordered to make some

considerable presents to the *Par-*  
*thian* king and court, and suc-  
*ceeded* so well in his negotiation,  
*that Hycan*, in spite of all the  
*remonstrances* of his friends to  
*the contrary*, left not the asylum  
*for Jerusalem*, where *Herod* at  
*first received him with great*  
*friendship and magnificence and*  
*forgot nothing that could possibly*  
*conceal the treacherous design*  
*he was hatching against his*  
*list* <sup>(2)</sup>

(3) *Antiq lib xv cap 2*

WHILST

Herod's  
domestic  
jars

**WHILST** this was doing, *Herod* was not a little disturbed with domestic jars. *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcan*, and mother of *Aristobulus* and *Mariamne*, a woman of an haughty spirit, could not bear with any patience to see an obscure *Babylonish* priest preferred before her son to the pontifical dignity, from which *Hyrcan* was now disabled, by the loss of his ears. **2313.** **Bef. Chr.** She was ever expostulating with him the injury done to her son, and insisting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of succession to him alone, as being descended by father and mother from *Alexander Jannæus* (C), none but he ought, in justice, to be invested with it. But *Herod*, who was conscious, that the young prince had an equal right likewise to the regal dignity, which he now usurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, lest she should find some means in time of seizing upon the other. This obliged her to write to *Cleopatra*, not doubting but her interest with *Antony* might greatly influence that general in favour of her son. It was impossible for her to carry on that correspondence so closely, but *Herod* had some intimation of it; and, fearing the worst from those two intriguing princesses, he was forced for the present, notwithstanding the irregularity of it<sup>c</sup>, to consent to have *Ananel* deposed, and *Aristobulus* invested with that dignity, pretending that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age fit for it.

**Aristobu-**  
**Ius made**  
**high-**  
**priest.**

**THIS** condescension of *Herod*, backed with so plausible an excuse, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them; but which was nothing less than sincere on either side, especially on *Herod's*, who still suspected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit of the son, whose high birth, and blooming virtues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the *Jewish* nation. Upon some pretence therefore, or other, he quarreled with *Alexandra*, forbade her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace, and to be closely watched. In the mean time, *Cleopatra* having sent her

<sup>c</sup> See vol. iii. p. 70.

(C) *Aristobulus*, as the son of *Alexander*, and grandson of *Hyrcan* and of *Aristobulus*, the sons of *Alexander Jannæus*, had the right both to the regal and pontifical dignity united in him: for he was grandson to the former by his mother *Alexandra*, who was his only child; and by his

father *Alexander*, he was grandson to *Aristobulus*. By his descent from the latter, he had a right to the high priesthood, which was fixed to the male line; and, by his descent from both, he would have had the only title to the crown also, had not the Romans transferred it to *Herod* (4).

and her son an invitation to come to her, she was easily persuaded *Invited by* to accept it, since she could now only look upon herself as *Herod's Cleopatra-prisoner*, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The *tra-*  
*difficulty was, how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies : she intrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey them in that manner to the ship. But, unfortunately, one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself to *Herod*, and made a full discovery of the design.* *Herod stayed Her bra-*  
*only till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the tigran be-*  
*way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested, and trayed.*  
*brought back. His fear, howevr, of Cleopatra's resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them ; and, since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the mask of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them ; but from that moment resolved to get rid of the young prince.*

A N accident happened soon after, which determined him to hasten his death. The feast of the tabernacles, one of the three Aristobulus grand festivals, was come, which was usually solemnized with *lvs offi-*  
*the greatest magnificence*<sup>d</sup>; when the new high-priest, who *at s on the*  
*was then about seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in *cast of**  
*his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and *tabirua-**  
*grace, that the people thought they beheld all the *mcit and cles.**  
*grandeur of his ancestors revived in him. They could not for-*  
*bear filling the temple and city with his praises, which raised *Rnls, He-**  
*the tyrant's jealousy to such a height, as made him resolve to *od's jea-**  
*put his murdering design in execution with the utmost speed, lousy.*  
*Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with*  
*him to Jericho, where *Alexandri* had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, *Aristobulus* was *Drowned*  
*invited to bathe in a fine fish-pond in that neighbourhood, where *in a bath.**  
*some of *Herod's* hired creatures were swimming ; and where,*  
*as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him still under*  
*water, till he was dead. This bloody deed was glossed over*  
*with the specious pretence of its being done in sport, by accident,*  
*and without any design on the pontiff's life ; and *Herod* not*  
*only seemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have*  
*it thought so by the rest, by putting himself into the deepest*  
*mourning for him, ordering a stately monument to be erected*  
*to his memory, and his funeral obsequies to be performed with*  
*the utmost magnificence. This was the end of young *Aristobu-**  
*lus, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpressible grief :**

<sup>d</sup> De hoc vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 26, & seq.

Ananel re- he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having scarce enjoyed stored. his dignity one whole year, which, upon his death, returned to Ananel.

**Herod** *be-comes odious.* All these grimaces of *Herod* to dislulpate himself of the murder, were easily seen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more so to his own family.

*Alexandra*, at the first news of her son's death, could scarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herself; but, upon cooler thoughts, she prevailed on herself to conceal her resentment against the tyrant, that she might the more easily compass his ruin.

**Alexander plots against him.** She wrote to acquaint *Cleopatra* with his treachery, and that princess, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a sense of pity or horror for the crime, ceased not to solicit

*Antony* to punish the murderer, in hopes that after his death she might easily obtain his kingdom for herself. *Antony*, being at length prevailed upon, sent order, to *Herod* to come and clear himself before him at *Lardicæa*, whither he was then going, and *Cleopatra* along with him. *Herod* was obliged to obey, though much against his will, but took care to bibe his judge so high, that, upon his appearing before him, he was most basely

*Acquitted*, absolved, and *Cleopatra*'s avarice compensated with the province Year of of *Cælesyria*, instead of that of *Judæa*. But, before he went, the flood he left such bloody orders about his dear *Mariamne*, as proved a 2314. source of endless trouble to him and his family. The reader will Bef. Chr. see them in the note (D).

(D) *Herod*, not knowing how it would go with him in *Syria*, had, before his departure, given express orders to his uncle *Joseph*, whom he left governor during his absence, that, in case he was cast for his life, he should put his beloved *Mariamne* to death. The violence of his passion for that princess extorted this inhuman command from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long since captivated the *Roman* triumvir, and the thoughts of leaving her in the possession of such a rival, even after his death, were more dreadful to him than any death he could inflict on him; and his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguish,

by the promise of a punctual obedience. When he was gone, *Joseph*, who waited daily on her, either on affairs of state, or to pay his respects to her, took all opportunities of extolling *Herod*'s extreme passion for her, and at length was indiscreet enough to disclose the fatal orders he had left with him, as an irrefragable proof of the greatness and sincerity of it. But the queen, looking upon it rather as an argument of his jealousy and inhumanity, conceived from it a more invincible hatred against him. In the mean time, there was a rumour spread through the city, whether by *Herod*'s enemies, or by some of his subtle agents,

His present troubles were, for a while, diverted by the Cleopatra coming of *Cleopatra* into *Judea*, in her return from the *Eu-* *coris to phatras*, whither she had accompanied *Antony*. That prince, *Jerusalem*, whose avarice was as insatiable as her lust, had obliged *Herod* lem. sensibly by both these passions. On the one hand, she had ob- *Hr recip-* tained from her paramour all the fertile territories of *Jericho*, *tion*, *ava* which were by far the richest and pleasantest of all *Judea*, espe- *ric*, and cially upon the score of the balm (E), and the great quantity of *lust*, palm-

agents, that *Antony* had put him to a cruel death, which cast the whole court, but especially *Al-* *andra* and *Maria*, into a great consternation. *Al-* *andra* had, by this time, been informed of the bloody orders left with *Joseph*, to prevent the execution of which, she went to him, and strove with all her eloquence to persuade him to leave *Tyrus*, and to go and put themselves under the protection of the *Roman* eagles that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city. Their deliberations were quickly broken off, by letters from *Herod*, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cause, but that *Antony*, was duly heap ing flesh m<sup>is</sup> of his affliction upon him, and that he should soon return to *Tyros*, more strengthened than ever in his kingdom. This news made them lay aside their design, but as they had not carried it on so closely, but *Salome* had received some intimation of it, she failed not to inform her brother of it upon his arrival. Some injurious reflections which *Mariamne* had cast on the meanness of her birth, had exasperated her so far, that she had vowed a most dreadful revenge; and she took this opportunity of completing it, by accusing her of having held two

great a familiarity with *Joseph* during his absence

*Me armi* easily cleared her innocence, upon her first interview with the king, but whilst he was entertaining her with the professions of his great love, she could not forbear at length mentioning the orders he had left with his uncle, as rather a token of his barbarity to her. These word, which stabb'd that jealous monarch to the heart, made him conclude, that nothing less than the culminal covertituation, of which *Salome* had accused her, could have induced his uncle to disclose the fatal secret. In the first sally of his fury, he was on the point of sacrificing her with his own hand, but his love prevailed over his resentment. But *Joseph* and *Alexen- dra* tell the unhappy victims of his rage, the first of whom he caused to be put to immediate death, refusing even to see him, or hear what could be urg'd in his defence the latter he caused to be put in chains, and confined to a clost pris<sup>n</sup> under a strong guard, as the main cau- of all this mischief

(E) This precious plant, so famous for its balsam, the most valuable of all ointments, we have already spoken of in some former volume, (5) all that we

(5) See vol. II p. 388 & note (G). See also II p. 711, 715 & a lib.

*palm-trees which grew in it, and brought Herod a considerable revenue<sup>f</sup>. On the other, she was soliciting that monarch to make her hateful to Herod, an amour all the time she stayed with him. Herod, who had conceived a great aversion to her, was consulting all the time he entertained her with the utmost magnificence, of some means of putting her to death, whilst he had her in his power; but his friend, dreading the consequences of such a fact, did not only dissuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at least her avarice with costly presents, which he did with surprising profuseness. However, as he had refused to gratify her other predominant passion, he feared, lest her resentment on that score, joining with the invincible hatred which the Jews had conceived against him, shoul<sup>d</sup> one day prove fatal to him. To prevent which, after he had accompanied her as far as *Pelusium*, he who fortified the castle of *Mossada*, and furnished it with fies the arms and provisions for ten thousand men, that at all events he castle of might have a sure place of refuge to flee to. At the same time Massada. he took constant care, to send that princess the revenues of those territories which *Antony* had given from him to her, that she might have no pretence to fall out with him upon that score<sup>g</sup>.*

*Her resent- But this was not sufficient to prevent the effects of that base  
ment a- princess's resentment; and she soon after laid such a plot against  
gainst him, him, that all his strength and courage were hardly sufficient to  
and hellish save him from ruin. We have elsewhere taken notice, that she  
plot.*

had obtained a great many provinces from *Antony*, in *Syria*, *Phoenice*, and *Arabia*<sup>h</sup>. The latter of these had paid tribute to her constantly enough, whilst *Antony* was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of *Actium*, of which we shall speak in a more proper place, *Malchus*, then king of that country, refused all further payment to her. Herod, who had got a complete army, with which he designed to assist his friend *Antony* against *Oetavianus*, received orders from him to turn his forces against the *Arabians*. This was *Cleopatra*'s plot; who, by bringing these two kings to a battle, proposed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which side it would. But as her spite against Herod was most prevailing, she sent one of her general, named *Athenion*, who equally hated him, at the head of an army, under pretence of assisting him, but in reality to betray and ruin him, because she foresaw, that he was like to

<sup>f</sup> Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 13, & vii. c. 28.

<sup>g</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 28. \* Vol. ix. p. 465, & seq.

need to add here is, that that carried into *Egypt*, where it hath cunning princes took care to grown and thrive ever since (6). have a quantity of that plant

(6) *S. Dapier descript. of Egypt, Dr. Slaw, Pocock, &c al.* have

Year of  
the flood  
2316.  
Bef Chr.

32.

have the better of his enemy. For *Herod*, upon the first encounter, had given them a great overthrow, and obliged them to get a fresh army together, which *Malchus* brought into *Cæle-syria*. Here a second battle was fought near *Cana* (F), in which *Herod* was on the point of getting a new victory ; when *Athenion*, who had stood neuter all the time of the engagement, fell <sup>trayed by</sup> upon his troops, before they could rally themselves, and, in spite of his speedy assistance and bravery, cut the greatest part of the *Jews* in pieces, and plundered their camp, *Herod* himself escaping with great difficulty, with a small number of his men<sup>h</sup> (G).

*Herod* was by this time got into the seventh year of his reign<sup>i</sup>, *Judæa* when *Judæa* was shaken with such an earthquake, as had never <sup>greatly</sup> been felt before, and which destroyed great numbers of cattle, <sup>maged by</sup> and many thousand persons, who perished under the ruins of <sup>an earth-</sup> their houses, (H). His troops indeed escaped the common ruin, <sup>quake.</sup> because he kept them encamped in the open field : nevertheless, the flood of the great loss which the kingdom sustained by this calamity, <sup>2317.</sup> obliged him to send an embassy to sue to the *Arabians* for peace. Bef. Chr. But by this time the account of his loss having been greatly magnified to them, they not only rejected his offers, but flew <sup>31.</sup> the ambassadors that brought them, and invaded *Judæa* with the utmost speed, expecting to have found it destitute of defence. It was with the greatest difficulty that *Herod* kept his men from <sup>vitioris</sup> abandoning him ; but having at length dispelled their fears, and <sup>over the</sup> offered the usual sacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other side of the *Jordan*, and there gave them two such signal

<sup>h</sup> *Antiq.* ubi *tupia*, c. 6.  
A. M. 3973.

<sup>i</sup> *Vid. Usser. annal. sub*

(F) Probably *Cana* in *Syria*, on the other side of the *Libanus* ; or *Cannath*, on the other side of *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Bostra* in *Arabia* (7).

encamping always on the mountains ; by which he got this double advantage, that he harassed the enemy, and injured his own troops to the trade of war.

(G) The *Maccabif* book adds, that *Athenion* was ordered to surround that monarch with his troops, as soon as he had engaged those of the *Arabians* (8). However that be, *Herod*, from that time, forbore coming to an engagement with them, and contented himself with making frequent incursions against them,

(H) Our historian, in one place, mentions but ten thousand slain (9) ; but, in another, he makes them to amount to three myriads, or thirty thousand men (1) : which last is the more likely of the two, and agrees much better with the description he gives of that calamity.

(7) *Ruf. b. loc. Hebr. Vrd. & Steph. Eyz. sub vte. Cannath.*  
(9) *An q. lib. xv. c. 7.*

(1) *Belli Judæe. l. i. c. 14.*

(8) *C. p. li.*

defeats, that he forced them in their turn to sue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to *Jerusalem*<sup>k</sup> (I).

**Antony's defeat at Actium.** But his happiness was soon after troubled by the defeat of *Antony* by *Augustus* at the battle of *Aetium*, by which he saw himself deprived of a most powerful as well as steady friend, and on the brink of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror's resentment.

**Year of the flood 2318.** The best expedient he could think on under this consternation, *Bef. Chr.* was, to send advice to *Antony*, to put *Cleopatra* to death, and

**30.** to seize on her kingdom and treasures; by which he might be enabled to raise new forces, and either make a fresh push for the empire, or, at the worst, obtain easier conditions of peace. He promised him, on those terms, to stick fast to his interest, and to furnish him with money, troops, and strong-holds, and

**He rejects Herod's advice to him.** all other assistance to carry on the war against his rival<sup>l</sup>. But *Antony* was still too great a slave to that princess, to consent to such an expedient; which when *Herod* perceived, he thought no more, but how to make his peace with the conqueror on the best terms he could.

**Herod's plot against Hyrcan.** He had still another dread upon him as great as the displeasure of *Cæsar*. *Hyrcan*, the only surviving male of the *Maccabean* race, had been formerly acknowledged king of *Judea*, and as such, had entered into alliances with the *Roman* senate. *Herod*, on the other hand, had been chiefly upheld in his throne by the interest of *Antony*; and *Alexandra*, ever watchful for all opportunities of being revenged on the usurper, had begun to try to gain some advantage from the late change of affairs against him. *Herod* therefore, who had his spies about him, thought it unsafe to go to *Augustus*, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a snare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death; which he

**Causes him to be beheaded.** did, by causing him to be beheaded in the eightieth year of his age (K). *Herod's*

<sup>k</sup> *Antiq. lib. xv c. 8, & 9. Bell. Iud. 1 i. c. 14.* See also, vol. ix. p. 469. & seq. <sup>l</sup> See his speech to *Augustus*, *bell. Jud. ubi sup. c. 15.*

(I) The first of these battles was fought near *Philadelphia*, in which five thousand *Arabians* were either killed upon the spot, or trod to death in their flight. *Herod* having afterwards closely besieged them in their camp, where they were ready to perish for want of water, they offered him at first fifty talents for their freedom; which being rejected, they in great numbers came to surrender themselves till the fifth day, on which the rest, in despair, and without hopes or prospect of success, attacked him, and had seven thousand killed; upon which they submitted to his conditions, one of which was, that he was declared by them governor or protector of their nation (2).

(K) So says the fourth book of the *Maccabees* (3). The trap

(2) *Antiq. ubi sup. & seq.*

(3) *Cap. liv.*

In Herod's next care, before he departed, was to secure his safety the best he could, in case he should miscarry in his address to Augustus. To that end, he committed his mother *Cyprus*, *Augustus*, and his sister *Salome*, to the care of his brother *Pheroras*, whom he sent into the castle of *Alexandrin*, with orders to the latter, to *His orders* seize on the Jewish crown, and defend it to the last, in case he to his brother *Antipater*, that it went ill with him. As for his wife *Mariamne*, *ther*. and his mother *Alexandra*, he sent them into the strong fortress of *Mossada*, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named *Joseph*, and of *Sobemus*, one of his chief confidants, with express orders, to put those two princesses to death, as soon as he received the news of his ill success at the emperor's court, and then to go and assist his brother with all his power. He embarked soon after for *Rhodes*, where *Augustus* then was; and, having obtained an audience from him, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem; and spoke to him with such seeming confidence, as if he was sure beforehand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to

into which he was drawn, was a masterpiece of his politic rival, who corrupted some of his and his daughter's confidants, to set on foot a kind of treasonable correspondence, whether real or counterfeited, with *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, wherein *Hyrcanus* desired to put himself again under his protection, and begged of him to send him some horsemen to conduct him from a private place near *Jerusalem*, to the lake *Aphaltites*, which was about ninety miles distant from that metropolis.

*Dositheus*, the agent of this correspondence, betrayed to *Herod* both this letter, and the answer, in which the *Arabian* king promised him a safe escort to convey him away. *Herod* summoned the pontiff before his council, and, having taxed him with it, and, upon his denial, shewed him the very letter, caused him to be condemned to die.

This last article, *Josephus* tells

us (4). he took as he found it in the commentary which *Herod* left behind him; but, at the same time, he relates the matter differently from other hands. We refer the reader for it to the place last quoted. However, this was the dismal end of that unfortunate prince, after a long series of unhappy vicissitudes. He was at first raised to the pontifical dignity by his mother *Alexandra*, and succeeded her soon after in the kingdom also; three months after which, he was deprived of both by his brother *Aristobulus*. He was restored to both by *Pompey*, and enjoyed them near forty years, till deposed again, and dispossessed, by *Ant. gonus*, who cut off his ears, and sent him prisoner into *Partibia*, from whence he unfortunately returned, at the pressing invitation of *Herod*, who owed his life, crown, and all his greatness, to him, and who regarded all his kindnesses with a violent death (5).

(4) *Antiq.* l. xv. cap. 9.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

*His speech to Augustus.* own his former attachment to *Antony's* interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessaries for the war ; and even the counsel he had given 'him, after his defeat, of killing *Cleopatra*, and seizing on her kingdom, and immense treasure, in order to obtain a more advantageous peace. All this, said he, concluding his speech, I thought myself bound in honour, gratitude, and friendship, to do for *Antony* ; but, since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and stedfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. As an earnest of which, he mentioned to him the timely succour he had lately given to *Q. Didius*, his governor in *Syria*, against *Antony's* gladiators (L). *Augustus* was very much taken, both with his speech, and gallant behaviour : he had likewise been acquainted with the succour he had sent to *Didius*, and thanked him for it, assuring him, that he

*I confirm ed in his royalty.* readily accepted of his friendship, and confirmed the kingdom to him ; in token of which, he ordered him to take up his diadem, and wear it before him. *Herod*, pleased with his good success, made some presents to *Augustus*, and his favourites, according to his usual profuseness ; and was from that time in greater esteem with him than any other tributary prince ; so that he returned to *Jerusalem* highly satisfied with these additions of honour and power : but all this was soon soured, by the ill reception he met with from his favourite *Mariamne*, and her exasperated mother <sup>m</sup>.

*Mets with new plagues at home.* FOR these two princesses, looking upon their confinement at *Massada* only as a more honourable imprisonment, and rememb bring with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle *Joseph* concerning them, did not doubt but he had given the same to their two new guardians. To be satisfied of it, they spared neither presents nor carelessness, till they got the fatal secret from *Sobemus* ; so that when *Herod* came to *Massada*, and was going to embrace the queen with his usual tenderness,

<sup>m</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 10.

(L) These were an abject race, whom *Antony* had brought up at *Cyricum*, to exhibit triumphal sports ; and these, when they heard of his defeat, determined to go into *Egypt* to his assistance. They had fought their way through several provinces in their march thither : *Didius* was

the first who put a stop to their progress, being privately assisted by *Herod* with some troops ; and at length prevailed upon them to quit their gladiatorial employment, after they had waited a long time in vain for *Antony's* joining them (7).

(7) Antiq. l. xv. c. 10.

and to acquaint her with his success, he was surprised to find Mariam-all his caresses answered with sighs and tears, and all other ne's *mem-*  
marks of grief and disdain. His resentment rose to such an *lancholy*  
height, that it extorted from him the bitterest *reproaches*, ac-*reception*  
accompanied with such threatenings, as would have alarmed *of him*.  
any woman but her. But his love, which was no less violent,  
seldom suffered those fallies of anger to be long-lived ; till his  
mother and sister, tired and affrighted to see him still floating  
between those opposite passions, found out a way to work her  
effectual ruin, by raising the vilest surmises and calumnies  
against her unspotted character.

IN the mean time, *Augustus* passing through *Syria* in his *His mag-*  
*way to Egypt*, *Herod*, who went to meet him as far as *Pto-nificent re-*  
*lemais*, entertained him and his army with incredible magni-*ception of*  
fidence ; and, besides a present that he made to him of eight *Augustus.*  
hundred talents, took care to furnish his army with bread,  
wine, and other provisions, as they marched through some  
barren deserts, where they might have been otherwise in dan-  
ger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him  
as far as *Pelusium* ; and that emperor was so charmed with his  
politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side,  
whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diver-  
sion. He gave him the same magnificent reception upon his  
return from *Egypt*, as he passed through *Syria* ; in recompence  
of which, *Augustus* made him a present of the four thousand *The empe-*  
*Gauls*, which had served as life-guards to *Cleopatra* ; and re-*ror's re-*  
stored to him the territories and revenues of *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *quital to*  
*Hippon*, and *Samaria*, in the inlands ; and those of *Gaza*, *him*.  
*Anthedon*, *Toppa*, and the tower of *Straton*, on the sea-side ; Year of  
which made a considerable enlargement both to his kingdom the flood  
and revenues. But, upon his return to *Jerusalem*, he re-  
lapsed into his former discontent and jealousies, on account  
of his beloved queen, whose aversion from him daily increased ;  
insomuch that she came at last to treat him with such con-  
tempt, and accompanied it with such bitter reflections, as  
easily convinced him, that she had conceived an irreconcile-  
able hatred against him. She gave him a mortifying instance  
of it soon after, and such an one as hastened her death, by  
giving her enemies an opportunity of taking the blackest means  
for pushing his fury against her to the highest pitch, even  
to the condemning her to death. We shall give the account  
of it in the note (M).

2319.  
Bef. Chr.

29.

Mariam-  
ne's aver-  
sion from  
him.

He

(M) *Herod*, who had, by this time, floated near a year be-  
tween the most violent affection and resentment, had withdrawn

himself into his chamber, to rest himself during the heat of the day : he sent for her, and, in the kindest manner, invited her

Tried and He ordered, accordingly, that excellent princess to be condemned publicly tried ; and, having packed a set of judges of his own creatures, he himself carried on the prosecution with such violence, that they easily understood they must condemn her death, though they all hoped and begged, that he would not precipitate their sentence, but confine her to some castle, till he had more maturely consulted with his own heart. But *Salome*, who knew how apt her brother was to relapse, and fearing some discovery might come out of her treachery to her, if her to death should be delayed, at length obtained an order from him for her execution, under pretence that the nation would rise in arms for her, if he suffered her to live any longer.

*Mariamne* received the fatal summons with an heroic courage, becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and marched to the place of execution with incredible serenity, till an accident beset her, which put her constancy to the severest trial. Her mother, the turbulent intriguing *Alexandra*, who expected nothing but to follow her in a short time, could think *nothing* to her. on no better expedient to avert the impending storm, than by trying to ingratiate herself to *Herod*, by insulting her unfortunate daughter all the way she was led to the fatal place ; and, not contented to load her with the bitterest reproaches for her ingratitude and faithlessness to the best of husbands, she made several offers to strike her, and to pull her by the

to lie down by him ; but she, instead of complying with this last request, returned his caresses with invincible scorn, upbraided him with all the other wrongs he had done to her and her family, and particularly the death of her father and brother ; which so exasperated that fierce monarch, that he was on the point of killing her with his own hands. *Salome* did not let this opportunity slip, of putting her hellish engines at work against that unfortunate princess. She had corrupted the king's cup-bearer beforehand, to be ready on the first call with one of the blackest accusations against her ; and now she sent him to *Herod*, with a poisoned cup in one hand, and a sum of money in the other, to acquaint him, that *Mariamne*

had bribed him with the one, to administer the other to him. The rage this new accusation threw him in, made him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidants to be put to the rack ; but all the confession he could extort from him was, that he believed the cruel orders he had left with *Sobemus*, had exasperated that princess against him. *Herod*, enraged that a person, in whom he reposed so great confidence, should dare, in spite of his express commands to the contrary, to disclose so important a secret, was easily persuaded, that there must have been some criminal conversation between them ; and therefore ordered that favourite to be put to immediate death.

hair.

hair. *Mariamne* bore all her pretended resentment, without *Her singe-*  
*betraying any other change in her countenance, than an in- lar beba-*  
*ward shame at so base an artifice ; which proved, however, viour.*  
*far from succeeding, as the sequel will shew. Mariamne sub-*  
*mitted to her death with the same constancy and intrepidity Her death.*  
*as she had lived* <sup>n</sup>, and with her ended all the happiness of her  
*tyrannic husband.*

*Herod's* rage being soon quenched with the blood of that *Herod's*  
*amiable princeſs*, his love broke out the more fiercely, and *remorse*,  
*filled him with such pungent remorse, that his life became a*  
*burden to him. In vain he tried to divert his grief with*  
*feastings, and other diversions ; Mariamne was still uppermost*  
*in his thoughts : he called aloud after her, and sometimes*  
*would order those of his attendance to fetch her to him. A*  
*grievous pestilence, which happened soon after, and swept* <sup>A grievous</sup>  
*away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a fresh load to* <sup>plague.</sup>  
*his misery ; because it was universally looked upon as a just* <sup>Year of</sup>  
*judgment on him for all the blood he had shed, and especially* <sup>2320.</sup>  
*the flood* <sup>Bef. Chr.</sup>  
*that of his injured queen. At first he withdrew himself into* <sup>28.</sup>  
*some of the neighbouring deserts, under pretence of hunting,*  
*but, really, to avoid the sight of men. At length, being* <sup>Herod</sup>  
*seized with a violent distemper in his bowels, he returned to* <sup>grows fu-</sup>  
*Samaria, where his physicians tried in vain to give him some* <sup>rious, and</sup>  
*ease ; their medicines did but increase his pain, through his* <sup>retries.</sup>  
*wilfulness, and irregular living. His constitution did, how-*  
*ever, get the better of his disease, but never could of his*  
*four and brutish humour, to which he abandoned himself*  
*more and more, as he recovered his health and strength. He*  
*grew, at length, to such an height of cruelty, that he spared*  
*neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage ; and went on sacri-*  
*ficing numbers of his relations and best friends to his passion,*  
*even to the day of his death.*

*Alexandra*, the base and unnatural mother of the virtuous *Alexandra Mariamne*, was one of the very first that fell a victim to his *intrigues* rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of *Herod's* death, <sup>against</sup> while he lay sick at *Samaria*, had made her set her wits to <sup>him</sup> work to corrupt the governors of the two principal fortresses of *Judea*, the one called *Antonia*, near the temple, and the other in the city of *Jerusalem*, to deliver them up into her hands (N), together with *Herod's* children, pretending there- by

<sup>n</sup> *Antiq. c. 11.*

(N) These two fortresses were justly looked upon as the two main keys of the kingdom, the one commanding the temple, and the other the city ; so that it was of the utmost consequence to the candidates for the crown to be masters of them, or, at least, of the first of them : for the *Jews* had such an invincible attach- ment

by to secure the kingdom for his sons by *Mariamne*, in case of their father's death. But her restless and intriguing genius was so well known to those governors, that, instead of complying with her request, they informed the king of it, who sent orders back to have her immediately put to death ; which was accordingly done without further tryal. The next was his brother-in-law *Cosrobares*, who was an *Idumean*, and had married *Salome* after *Herod* had put her first husband to death, as we have related above. This man, whom *Herod* had raised from an inferior rank (O) to the government of *Idumea*, had justly incurred his displeasure, by endeavouring to make himself and that province independent on him, and applying to *Cleopatra* for assistance. *Herod* would have put him to immediate death, had not *Salome* interposed ; but she being since fallen out with, and willing to get rid of him, first sent him a bill of divorce ; and, to justify that unlawful action to her brother (P), told him that she had discovered a treasonable design, which was carried on by her husband, in conjunction with *Lysimachus*, *Dositheus*, and *Antipater* ; and, as a proof of it, told him, that he privately kept the sons of *Babas* (Q) under his protection, contrary to his express commands ; all

Salome  
divorces  
her hus-  
band.  
  
Year of  
the flood  
2322.  
Bef. Chr.

26.

ment to the worship of the temple, that there was scarce any thing, even life itself, which they would not sacrifice to the liberty of coming to that sacred place at all proper times and solemnities.

(O) He was descended from the antient priest of *Chose*, a deity of the *Idumeans*, before they were forced by *Hyrcan I.* to embrace the *Jewish* religion. This deity is not unrightly supposed to be the *BNN*, or *seer*, prophet or lawgiver of the *Hebrews* (7), both the *Idumeans*, and *Arabs* of *Arabia Petraea*, worshiped *Moses*, and paid divine honours to his statue.

(P) According to the *Mosaic* law, the husbands alone were permitted to divorce their wives,

but not the wife the husband (9). However, *Salome*, relying on her brother's friendship, and her own politic head, assumed that prerogative ; which no *Jewish* woman, that we know of, had ever done before.

(Q) These had been great sticklers for the *Ammonian* race, and, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, strenuously opposed the opening of the gates to *Herod* ; for which that prince, upon his taking of the city, had given charge to *Cosrobares* to secure them ; but he had let them escape, and had excused the matter to *Herod*, who, finding now, that he had sent them into an asylum, and maintained them there, put him, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

(7) *Calmet. hist. Vet. Test. sub A. M. 3976.* (8) *Herod. 55.* (9) *Vid. Euseb. xxiv. 1, & seq. Matt. xix. 3, & seq. Mark x. 2, & seq. Masson. de ripud.*

which

which Herod having found true, he ordered every one of Costobares, &c.  
them to be put to death.

Herod, having by this time rid himself of the Asmonœan party to race, and of their most considerable partisans, began now to death. shew a greater disregard to the Jewish religion, than he had hitherto ventured to do, by abolishing several of its ceremonies, and introducing some foreign customs, which were forbidden by it. He began with building a stately theatre in the Herod in-city, and a spacious amphitheatre in its suburbs ; and ordered to produce public games to be celebrated in them every fifth year, in honour of Augustus ; and, to draw the greater concourse to games. them, he caused them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the most distant kingdoms ; and promised magnificent prizes to those who should gain the victory. Besides great numbers of the most expert musicians, players, coursers, gladiators, &c. which he had sent for thither, he caused also some of the fiercest wild beasts to be brought, and fought upon the stage ; all which did not a little Hated for, displease the zealous Jews, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expose men to the fury of wild beasts. But what Jews. exasperated them most, were the trophies with which he had caused those sumptuous places to be adorned, and which they, mistaking for statues, thought contrary to their law ; which forbids all kind of imagery, whether carved, or even painted. They therefore cried out against him, that he had profaned their city, and that they would never tamely bear such idolatrous monuments to be set up in it. Herod tried in vain to undeceive them by fair speeches ; he was forced at length to the flood lead some of the principal of them to the place, and to order the armour of the trophies to be taken down, and thereby to convince them, that there was nothing under them but bare posts. This demonstration did indeed satisfy them as to this point, and turned their outcries into laughter ; but the generality of the nation retained such an aversion against him, upon account of his other heathenish novelties, that they looked no longer upon him as a Jewish king, but as an heathen, and a tyrant.

TEN of the boldest of them took it at last into their heads, Conspired to enter the theatre with daggers hid under their cloaths, and against either to stab the king, or some of his retinue ; not doubting but even their perishing in the attempt would render the tyrant still more odious. They were not mistaken : for, Herod being informed of their design by one of his spies, and his horrid causing the assassins to be put to a most excruciating death, cruelties. the people were so exasperated against the informer, that they

Year of  
2323.  
Bef. Chr.

25.

cut and tore him to pieces, and cast his flesh to the dogs. *Herod* tried in vain to discover the authors of this affront : he was at last forced to order some women to be put to the rack, and to extort from them the names of the principal of them, whom he caused likewise to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This last act of cruelty drove the *Jews* into such desperate hatred against him, that he expected

*Samaria* nothing less than a general revolt : to prevent which, he set *rebuilt.* about fortifying *Jerusalem*, rebuilding *Samaria* (R), and ga-

Year of <sup>2335.</sup> *11*sioning several other fortresses in *Judea*, whose situation was the flood most likely to keep the country in awe <sup>P</sup>, and whose names

Bef. Chr. the reader may find at the end of the last note.

<sup>23.</sup> *Judea visited with famine and pestilence;* his reign, *Judea* was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence ; of which great multitudes daily died, for want of proper help and sustenance. *Herod*, whose treasury was exhausted by

<sup>P</sup> *Antiq.* l. xv. c. 11.

(R) We took notice, in a former section, that this city, which had been destroyed by *Hyrcan*, had been in part rebuilt by *Gabinius* governor of *Syria*, and called, from him, *Gabiniana* ; but, he being soon after turned out, it advanced no higher than a good large village. *Herod*, therefore, chose to finish that work, and to restore that place to its pristine splendor ; because, being but one day's journey, or thirty-five miles, distant from *Jerusalem*, he could easily make it a place of retreat, in case of necessity.

He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited six thousand foreigners to come and settle there, who, finding the soil very fertile, became very rich in a short time. He gave it the name of *Sebaste*, which signifies the same in *Greek*, as *Augustus* in *Latin*.

The other places, which he

fortified and garrisoned, were, the tower of *Straton*, which he called *Cæsarea*, in honour to the emperor ; and made it so strong, that it seemed to command the whole country. He built likewise another strong fortress in the midst of a plain, and put into it a garrison of horse. A third he built in *Galilee*, named *Gabala* ; and a fourth in *Elymonitus*, in *Perea* ; all which, being also well garrisoned and stored with arms and provisions, were a great check to the whole kingdom (1).

But he bestowed the most cost on his new *Sebaste*, to which he allowed a circuit of twenty stades, or two miles and an half. In the centre of it was a spacious square of about a stade and an half, and in the middle a stately temple. In a word, he spared no cost to render it one of the richest and most beautiful cities of his realm, and looked upon it as his favourite masterpiece (2)..

(1) *Antiq.* l. xv. c. 11.

(2) *Antiq.* l. xv. c. 13.

building so many cities and fortresses, and whose finances were reduced to the lowest ebb, through the famine and death of his subjects, was forced to melt down all his plate, and to send it down into *Egypt*, to procure a fresh supply of provisions, in order to stop the mouths of the people, who, as is usual in such calamities, threw all the odium of them upon him. The drought having likewise killed such quantities of their cattle, *and more* that they had not wool sufficient left to cloath themselves *tatty of* against the approaching winter, he took care also to procure *cattle*. A sufficient supply of it became ; and *Petronius*, the *Roman* prefect then in *Egypt*, notwithstanding the multitudes of people who applied to him from other provinces for the same things, so far befriended him, as to send him a sufficient quantity of them ; which *Herod* caused to be immediately *Relieved* distributed among his subjects, but to the *Jews* preferably to *by Herod's* any of the rest. This generosity did, for the present, change *generosity*. *their* hatred into admiration ; and his praises were, for a while, the main subject of their discourse : but as he soon relapsed into his cruel and savage humour, their love was as soon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death. However, his prudent liberality having stored the country with plenty of corn, and the long drought being succeeded by more refreshing seasons, they began to cultivate their lands again, and found them, to their great comfort, restored to their former fecundity <sup>q</sup>.

\* As soon as the land had recovered itself from the late *ca-* *The stately* lamity, *Herod* went on with his building (S) ; particularly *palace at* his stately palace near the temple of *Jerusalem*, in which the *Jerusalem* gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, seemed to *burst*. *over* one another. There were in it, among other apartments, two magnificent ones, to the one of which he gave

<sup>q</sup> *Antiq. I. xv. c. 12.*

(S) Amongst them, that of *Cæsarea*, mentioned in the last note, was the most magnificent next to *Sebastæ*. He bestowed twelve years in the finishing and adorning it. It stood on the coasts of *Phœnicia*, and was very convenient for trade ; but had, till then, a very dangerous harbour, so that no ships could be safe in it, when the wind was at south-west. *Herod* remedied this inconveniency, at an immense labour and charge, and made it one of the most convenient havens on that coast. He beautified also the place with stately buildings. The reader may see, in *Josephus* (3), a full account of this immense work, and of many others, in other places, erected by that prince ; which, joined to his profuse munificence, justly gained him the surname of *Great*.

(3) *Antiq. I. xv. c. 13.*

the -

*Herod's  
gratitude  
to Augus-*

the name of *Augustus*, and to the other that of *Agrippa*. At the same time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himself with the emperor, by more substantial services than building of places to his honour; for, *Gellius* having been sent with an army to attempt the conquest of *Arabia*, *Herod* failed not to send him very considerable succours, and, amongst the rest, five hundred of the stoutest of his guards: and, though that enterprize proved unsuccessful to the *Romans*, in a country where the air, water, and aliments, were as contrary to them as the temper of the people<sup>1</sup>, yet *Herod's* assistance proved so useful and seasonable to them, that *Cæsar* could not choose being highly pleased with it<sup>2</sup>.

*Marries a  
second Ma-*

This very year also he married another *Mariamne*, who was the daughter of a Jewish priest of *Alexandria*, named *Simon*, the son of *Boethus*, and a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raise her father up to a condition fit for such an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having dispossessed *Iesus* the son of *Phabæus* of that dignity.

*Palace of  
Herodion*

Soon after those nuptials, he went and built the magnificent palace of *Herodion*, on the place where he had formerly defeated the *Antigonians*. The situation of it was so inviting (T), that the *Jews*, and other people, gladly came and built round it; so that from a palace it soon became a considerable city<sup>3</sup> (U).

By this time *Herod* seemed to be at the height of all his wishes: his being in such high esteem with *Augustus*, made

<sup>1</sup> De hoc bell. vide STRAB. l. vi.      <sup>2</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16.      <sup>3</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, & l. xviii. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11. & 16. Vide & PLIN. l. v. c. 14.

(T) This stately building stood on a pleasant hill, about seven miles from *Jerusalem*; and had the prospect, as well as command, of the country round about. The gradual declivity of it was no less beautiful. The reader may see it described, as well as the city, by the authors quoted above.

(U) In a word, he spared no cost to leave every-where some monuments of his unmeasured magnificence, as well in *Judea*, as out of it; but, with this difference, that those in *Judea*

were not adorned, as the rest were, with temples, and other buildings, with statues, and other carvings, which he knew the *Jews* would never have borne with any patience; but, as for those which he built out of it, he gave himself all the scope, which either his pride, or desire of pleasing the *Romans*, could inspire him with; for all which he had a salvo ready, namely, that he did in all this only obey, and even much against his will, the orders of the emperor, who had a right to command him (4).

(4) Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

him

him either loved or feared by his subjects and neighbours ; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour still more, he sent his two favourite sons, whom he had by *Mariamne*, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. *Pollio*, his intimate friend, was ordered <sup>two sons</sup> to provide a stately house at *Rome* ; but the emperor took that to *Rome*. care off his hands, and assigned them apartments in his own palace : and so well pleased was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name Year of which of them he pleased to be his successor. He likewise the flood added several provinces to his kingdom, whose names, as <sup>2327.</sup> Bef. Chr. note " (W). <sup>21.</sup>

*Augustus*

" *Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.*

(W) These were the three districts of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis* or *Iturea*, and *Batanea*, which were situate between *Libanus* and *Perea*, on the other side *Jordan* (5).

They were given to him on this occasion : *Zenodus*, tetrarch of a small toparchy, had farmed those from *Varro* the then president of *Syria*, and suffered the inhabitants of it, who lived chiefly in rocks and caves, to make excursions into all the neighbouring countries impunely. A complaint of this had been sent by *Varro* to *Augustus* ; upon which, orders were brought back to him, at any rate, to extirpate those robbers : and, for the more effectual doing of it, the emperor commanded him to take those three toparchies from *Zenodus*, and to put them under *Herod*, who, with his usual success, soon ferreted them out, and cleared the country of them.

*Zenodus*, however, went to *Rome*, to complain of the injustice done him, in taking those districts from him ; but the em-

peror, who had reason to suspect, that he had made a gain by protecting a vermin which he ought to have suppressed, would not so much as hear him.

*Agrippa* being soon after sent into *Syria*, *Herod* went to meet him at *Mitylene* ; and, soon after his return, *Zenodus*, in hopes of meeting with better success with him, stirred up the *Gadarenes* to come and prefer sundry grievous complaints against him. But he found the new governor too well rooted in *Herod*'s interest to hear any accusation against him ; on the contrary, he sent them bound to *Jerusalem*, where *Herod*, hoping to gain them by fair usage, ordered them to be set at liberty.

*Zenodus*, thus disappointed again, went and sold the territory of *Auranitis* to the *Arabs* for fifty talents ; so that a war was like to have ensued between *Herod* and them, they being deaf to all his offers for ending the dispute in an amicable way ; when, *Augustus* coming in a lucky time, *Zenodus* tried

(5) *De Jis conf. Luc. iii. 1. Ioseph. antiqu. l. xvii. c. 7. S. Hieronym. & Euseb. loq. Hebr. &c al.*

**Augustus.** *Augustus* stopped not his kindness here ; but, looking upon *tua's great* the desperate exit of *Herod's* accusers (mentioned in the last favours to note) as a proof of his innocence and merit, appointed him *him.* his procurator in *Syria*, and forbid his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. At the same time *Herod* took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrarchy for his brother *Pheroras*, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending upon his successor's favour after his death (X). In acknowledgement for all these gifts, *Herod*, having accompanied the emperor to the seaport, built a sumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble, near the *Panium*, or place whence the *Jordan* has its origin \*. The vast number of edifices he built, and adorned with carvings, and other imagery, which the *Jews* looked upon as destructive of religion and good manners, so exasperated them against him, that he was forced to remit them a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed was, that the last grievous dearth, which had greatly impoverished the land, required this largess from him ; but, at the bottom, it was the murmurs and private meetings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever, that extorted it from him, in hopes that it would, in some measure, allay the frowns of their spirits. However, to let them see, that he was neither insensible of their mutinous cabals, nor afraid to put a stop to them, he issued out an edict, expressly forbidding all public and private assemblies, whether on account of feasts, or any other pretence, under the severest penalties. But, as he not only had his spies every-where,

\* De hoc vide supra, vol. ii. p. 429, & seq.

his fortune once more, by bringing a fresh deputation from the *Gadarenes* with him to *Antioch*, there to renew their complaints against *Herod*, and to accuse him of oppression, tyranny, and other such crimes : and *Augustus* seemed to comply so far with their request, that he set a day for *Herod*, who was there also, to make his defence before them : but, when he came to do it, the emperor betrayed such visible favour and partiality towards him, that his accusers, fearing to be delivered up to his resentment,

chose to dispatch themselves out of the world that very night ; which they did, some by drowning, some by hanging themselves, and other such desperate ways. *Zenodus*, in particular, was so terrified by it, that he took a strong dose of poison, which quite corroded his bowels, and ended his life by the next morning (6).

(X) *Josephus* does not here tell us where this tetrarchy was situate ; but, by what we find in another place (7), it seems to have been beyond *Jordan*, and at some distance from *Jerusalem*.

(6) *Vide antiqu. l. xv. c. 13.*

(7) *Ibid. l. xvii. c. 5.*

but sometimes mixed himself among them in disguise, he quickly found all these precautions were like to prove to little purpose to keep the people in obedience. This made him *His ex-  
bethink himself of exacting an oath of fidelity from them ; Elion of an  
or Hillel, and Shammai, at the head of the whole sect of es- posed, and  
senians, and by all the chiefs of the pharisees, that he was set aside.*  
but this new imposition was so strenuously refused by *Pollio, oath op-*  
forced to set it aside, without venturing to shew any resent-  
ment against those that had opposed him in it, for fear of ex-  
asperating the whole nation against him x.

He fell, soon after, upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and, at the same time, to satisfy his invincible desire of eternizing his memory, by the number and magnificence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their *Proposes* temple, made him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding it *the re-* in a more stately manner, would not fail to recommend him, *building* not only to the present *Jews*, but also to posterity. The dif- *the tem-* ficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and *ple.* able to rear such a costly edifice, after he had pulled down the old one ; and this he did in a set speech, which he made to *His speech* their assembly, wherein, with his usual eloquence, he failed to *the af-* not to display his zeal for the glory of *GOD*, and for the *sembly* ; promoting of his religion. Among other things, he reminded them how vastly inferior that sacred place now was, to that which had been formerly built by *Solomon* (Y) ; but this, he told them, was rather to be imputed to the want of ability in those that returned from *Babylon*, than to their want of zeal : but, now that *GOD* was pleased, not only to raise him to the *Jewish* throne, but to bless him with peace and afflu- ence, and with the friendship of the *Romans*, he thought himself bound to make some singular acknowledgement to him for all these blessings ; and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple, in the manner he proposed, could not but be ac-

x *Antiq. I. xv. c. 13.*

(Y) *Josephus* makes him say here (8), that the present temple was lower by sixty cubits than that of *Solomon* ; which cannot be understood of the holy place, which, we are told (9), was but thirty cubits high ; whereas that built after the captivity was, by *Cyrus's* own grant, sixty cubits high (1). If, therefore, there

be no mistake crept into the text, both *Herod*, and the *Jewish* histo- rians, must probably speak of some of the galleries, which might be so much higher in the first than in the second temple. The reader may recur to what we have said on the subject at the beginning of this (2), and in the appendix to the first volume.

(8) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 14. (9) *1 Kings vi. 2.* (1) *Ezra vi. 3.* (2) See before, p. 189, & seq. vol. iv. p. 95, & seq. 193, & seq.

ceptable both to him and them : but, as he found them very much hesitating at the difficulty, length, and expensiveness of such a work, he was forced to engage not to move a stone from the old edifice, till he had prepared all the materials for the new. As soon as he had gained their consent (Z), he sent immediately ten thousand artificers to work, under the direction of a thousand priests, the best skilled in carving, masonry, &c. all whom he kept under his pay. One thousand carts were likewise employed in fetching of all the materials ; and, in a word, such a number of hands was engaged, and such expedition used, that he got every thing ready within the space of two years : after which they set about pulling down the old building, and, with the same dispatch, rearing the new one ; so that the holy place, or temple, properly so called, was finished in a year and an half's time ; during which, we are told <sup>y</sup>, it never rained in the day-time, but only in wondrous the night. The remainder took up a little above eight years ; by which time it was, if not wholly finished (A), yet made magnificence.

<sup>y</sup> *Antiq. l. xv. c. ult.*

(Z) This assembly seems to have been held about the time of the *Easter* solemnity, when there was the greatest concourse of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* ; for *Josephus* says it was in the eighteenth year of *Herod's* reign ; that is, as the learned *Usher* observes, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus* (3), which happened not till about the midsummer after his imprisonment ; according to which, reckoning the nineteenth year of *Herod* not beginning till the nineteenth year before Christ, the first six months must have belonged to the eighteenth year of his reign, which brings it to the passover feast above-mentioned (4). We must not, however, look upon this building as a new templi, and distinct from that of *Zerubbabel*, as that was from that of *Solomon*, but rather as the same rebuilt, enlarged, and adorned, upon the old

foundation, and with the same materials, as far as they could go. The very *Jews* themselves full looked upon it as the second temple, and that which was to exceed that of *Solomon* in glory, by the presence of the Messiah, according to the prophecy of *Haggai* ; but, as we cannot enlarge on this subject, we shall refer the curious reader to the elaborate preface of *Constantius l'Emperör*, prefixed to his comment on the book of *Middot*, where he will find that point discussed to his satisfaction (5).

(A) *Josephus* shews us, in another place (6), that the whole was still continued till the beginning of the Jewish war under *Gellius Florus*, when eighteen thousand workmen being dismissed, and like to be idle, the *Jews*, unwilling their treasure should be laid up to become a prey to the *Romans*, petitioned

(3) *Annal. sub A. M. 3987.* (4) *Vide Prid. connect. sub A. C. 19.* (5) *Vid. Calmet sub voc. Templi, Prid. ubi supra, &c.* (6) *Vide antiqu. l. xx. c. 8.*

fit for divine service, according to the king's first design. The temple, properly so called, or holy place, was but sixty cubits high<sup>1</sup>, and as many in breadth ; but in the front he added two wings, or shoulders, which projected twenty cubits more on each side ; which made a front of one hundred and twenty cubits in length, and as many in height, with a gate seventy cubits high, and twenty in breadth, but open, and without any doors<sup>2</sup>. The stones were white marble, twenty-five cubits in length, twelve in height, and nine in breadth, all wrought and polished with exquisite beauty ; the whole resembling a stately palace, whose middle being considerably raised above the extremities of each face, made it afford a beautiful vista, at a great distance, to those that came to that metropolis (B). Instead of doors, the gates closed with very costly veils, enriched with variety of flowering of gold, silver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious ; and on each side of the gates were planted two stately columns, from whose cornices hung golden festoons, and vines, with their clusters of grapes, leaves, &c. curiously wrought. As for the galleries that surrounded this sacred place, the porticos, towers, courts, and other embellishments of it, we do not design to swell this section with them, but give a short sketch of them in the note (C) ; and refer our readers for a fuller account

• — <sup>z</sup> Bell. Judaic. I vi c 6

the king (*Agrrippa*) to build the eastern porch, which inclosed the most outward parts of the temple ; but, the king having refused their suit, those men, for want of work, began to raise those seditions, which hastened the destruction both of the city and temple ; so that, it is plain, some part of that building had been still carried on till this time.

And hence that saying of the Jews to Christ, " Forty and-six years hath this temple been hitherto a building ;" for so the text ought to be read, according to the import of the aorist there used by the evangelist (7) ; and, indeed, so long a time had elapsed from the beginning of the

building to the first passover after Christ had entered into his ministry, at which time the Jews were objecting this to him (8).

(B) This superstructure, which was probably reared on the old foundation, without sufficient additions to it, proved, as *Josephus* tells us (9), too heavy for it, and sunk down about twenty cubits ; so that it was reduced to the height of one hundred. A project was set on foot for raising it again to its former height in *Nero's* time ; but, upon some account or other, it was set aside.

(C) We have already spoken, in a former volume (1), of the foundations of this stupendous

(7) *John* ii. 20. (8) *Vide Usser. sub A. M. 3987.* (9) *Antiq. I. xx. c. 8.*  
(1) *See before, vol. IV. p. 94, & seq.*

account to *Josephus*, the *Talmud*, and to such other writers as have been at the pains of compiling their several descriptions from them.

WHILST

work, some of whose walls were raised from the deep valley beneath, to the height of three hundred cubits, and upwards ; and some of the stones of it forty cubits long ; all fastened to each other with lead and iron, to be proof against time, wind, and weather. The platform was a regular square of a stade, or furlong, on each side ; and, in that description we gave of the superstructure (2), we confined ourselves to what the sacred writers had said of it, without introducing the vast additions that had been made since by *Herod*, and his successors.

Since then we have two accounts of *Herod's* temple, the one written by *Josephus* (3), who had been a curious viewer of it, the other by *Jebudah Hakkodess* (4), the compiler of the *Mishnah*, above one hundred and eighty years after its destruction by the *Romans* ; from these the authors quoted below (5) have rearred each their separate edifices, disposed, beautified, and adorned them more by the strength of their imagination, than by any superior knowlege they had of the authors they copied from ; tho', even with respect to these, whoever considers their swollen style, will be apt to look upon their accounts of that building rather as panegyrics than historical descriptions of it. However, if either is to be preferred to the other, *Josephus*, who had

both seen it, and described it soon after, if not before, its destruction, when he might have been contradicted by numbers, who had viewed it as well as he, is certainly more to be credited than the *Talmudists*, who wrote so long after, and when they were sure there was none left to gainsay them. From him, therefore, we shall endeavour to give the best and shortest sketch and plan of that stately work, which is as follows :

Each front of this square, which, as we hinted above, was a furlong in length, had a spacious gate or entrance, enriched with suitable ornaments ; but that on the west had four gates, the one of which led to the palace, the next to the city, and the two others to the suburbs and fields. This inclosure was surrounded on the outside with a strong and high wall of large stones, well cemented ; and on the inside had, on each front, a stately piazza, or gallery, supported by columns of such a bigness, that three men could but just embrace them, their circumference being about twenty-seven feet. There were, in all, one hundred and sixty-two of them, which supported a cedar cieling of excellent workmanship, and formed three galleries, the middlemost of which was the largest and highest, it being forty-five feet in breadth, and one hundred in height ; whereas those on each side were but

(2) Append. to vol. iv. p. 193, &c. seq.  
J. iv. c. 6. & alib. post  
(4) *Mishnah*.

(3) *Antiq. I. xx. c. 8. &c. bell. Judaic. Seph. Middot.*  
(5) *Villapand. Capell. L'Emperar, Grot, Le Clerc, Lamy, Pridaux, Whiston, Calmet, &c. &c. muk.*

WHILST the work of the temple was carrying on with Herod such surprising expedition, as raised the admiration of the *genses* to Rome.

thirty feet wide, and fifty in height.

The piazzas and court were paved with marble of various colours; and, at a small distance from the galleries, was a second inclosure, surrounded with a flight of beautiful marble rails, with stately columns at proper distances, on which were engraven certain admonitions in *Greek* and *Latin*, to forbid strangers, and those *Jews* that were not purified, to proceed farther under pain of death. This inclosure had but one gate on the east side, none on the west; but on the north and south it had three, placed at equal distances from each other.

A third inclosure surrounded the temple properly so called, and the altar of burnt offerings; and made what they called the court of the *Hebreus*, or *Israelites*. It was square, like the rest; but the wall, on the outside, was surrounded by a flight of fourteen steps, which hid a considerable part of it; and, on the top was a terrace of about twelve cubits in breadth, which went quite round the whole circumference. The east side had but one gate, the west none, and the north and south four, at equal distances. Each gate was ascended by five steps more, before one could reach the level of the inward court; so that the wall, which inclosed it, appeared without to be but twenty-five cubits high, tho' considerably higher on the outside. On the inside of each of those gates were raised

a couple of spacious square chambers, in form of a pavilion, thirty cubits wide, and forty in height, each supported by columns of twelve cubits in circumference.

This inclosure had likewise a double flight of galleries on the inside, supported by a double row of columns; but the western side was only one continued wall, without gates or galleries. The women had likewise their particular courts separate from that of the men, and one of the gates on the north and south leading to it.

The altar of burnt-offerings was likewise high and spacious, being forty cubits in breadth, and fifteen in height. The ascent to it was, according to the *Mosaic* law (6), smooth, and without steps; and the altar, of unhewn stones. It was surrounded, at a convenient distance, with a low wall or rail, which divided the court of the priests from that of the lay *Israelites*; so that these last were allowed to come thus far to bring their offerings and sacrifices; tho' none but the priests were allowed to come within that inclosure. The reader will more easily understand this description by the plan here subjoined, where may be seen all the particulars under each paragraph with proper references.

All that needs be added here, is, that Herod caused a new dedication of the whole to be performed with the utmost magnificence; and presented to it many rich trophies of his former victories, after the custom of the Jewish monarchs (7).

(6) *Exod.* xx. 21, 25. (7) *Antiq.* l. xv. c. vii. *Bell. Judaeit.* l. i. c. 16.  
l. viii. c. 6, &c. *alib. p. 57.*

Year of *Jews*, Herod made a voyage to *Rome*, to pay his compliments to the flood to the emperor, and a paternal visit to his two sons (D). On 2332. his arrival, *Augustus* received him with all the marks of *Bef. Chr.* friendship, entertained him in the most sumptuous manner,

16. and delivered his sons to him. Herod could not but be highly

~~~~~ pleased to behold them so greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by presents, answerable to the high sense he had of the obliga-

Brings back his two sons. tion ; and, after a short stay, took the two princes back with him into *Judea*. Here they were received with the loudest acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majestic port and behaviour ; which, joined to the excellent education they had received in *Italy*, had rendered them, in all respects, truly accomplished princes. He married them soon after to suitable matches ; *Alexander* to *Gla-phyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Ari-stobulus* to *Berenice* the daughter of his sister *Salome* ⁴.

Marries them. Salome grows jealous of them. *Her bellisif cabals against them.* BUT the admiration and love which the people expressed for these two excellent princes, failed not to raise the envy and jealousy of the restless *Salome*, and of those of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of *Mariamne*, as they had reason more than enough to fear their avenging that prince's death. To prevent so just and sad a catastrophe, they had recourse to their vile artifices, which had succeeded so well against that innocent princess. They began with spreading reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as still reeking with the blood of their mother ; not doubting but, when

Antiq. I. xvi. c. 2.

(D) Perhaps, also, he chose this time to be out of the hearing of some of the murmurings, which the zealous *Jews* raised against a law which he had lately made to suppress the frequent incursions and robberies which were committed in *Judea* (8). By this law, it seems, he condemned every man that was found breaking through the walls of any house, to be sold for a slave into foreign countries ; and this had greatly displeased the nation, because, contrary to that of *Moses*, it made their slavery perpetual ;

whereas, had they been only sold among their brethren, the sabbatic or the jubilee year would have put an end to it. Another objection raised against that law, was, that those slaves would, in all likelihood, be tempted to forsake the *Jewish* religion, and turn idolaters ; upon which account, it was still more universally exclaimed against. It is therefore likely, that *Herod*, who resolved at any rate to suppress those robbers, got out of the way, that he might not be importuned to repeal it.

(8) Antiq. I. xvi. c. 1.

the rumour reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and hasten their ruin. In the mean time *Agrrippa* being come to *Asia Proper*, *Agrippa's Herod* went to invite him into *Judaea*; where having shewed ^{splendid} him his new-built cities of *Sebaste*, *Alexandron*, *Casarea*, &c. ^{reception} he thence led him to *Jerusalem*^b. The people met them, at ^{Year of} *Judaea*. some distance from that metropolis, in their festival dress, and conducted them, with loud acclamations, into the city, where the flood ^{2333.} his reception was suitable to the magnificence of his host (E). ^{Bef. Chr.}

Herod, on his return to *Jerusalem*, assembled the *Jews*, ^{15.} and acquainted them with the succels of his arms, and those of *Agrippa*, against the *Bosporans*. He added, in order to lessen their discontent, that he remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made some satisfaction for the late murmurings, which his law against robbers, mentioned in the last note but one, had occasioned^c. But, whilst things went thus smoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with intestine jars, occasioned by the hatred which *Salome* bore to his two worthy sons. The truth is, they spake both of her, and of her brother *Pheroras*, in such resenting terms, as made them dread something worse from them. They even ventured to complain sometimes of the injustice done their mother, and, in their behaviour, shewed so little tenderness towards their father, that *Salome* found it an easy matter to ^{afraid of} _{his two sons.}

^b Antiq. l. xvi. c. 2, & 3. Vide & PHIL. Legat. ad Cai. p. 1033.
• Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(E) *Agrippa*, having sacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple, was forced to depart sooner than he would otherwise have done, by reason of the approaching winter; and *Herod* failed not to load him, and his retinue, with suitable presents, whilst the people accompanied him with loud huzzas, and strewed the way with flowers, and odoriferous herbs, where-ever he passed; insomuch that that prince ever after took a particular delight in expressing the pleasure of that journey, and extolling the magnificence of the temple and royal palace, and of the priestly ornaments, the stately buildings,

and generosity of *Herod*. *Philo* adds, that he made the *Jews* some considerable presents, and did every thing he could to oblige them, without hurting the interest of their king. On the spring following *Agrippa*, sailing with his fleet to the *Bosporus*, was agreeably surprised with *Herod's* coming to meet him with another at *Lebos*, wherein he had brought him some considerable reinforcements of men, arms, and provisions; all which so endeared him to that prince, that he never undertook any thing without his knowledge and advice, nor scarce any party of pleasure without his company (g).

(g) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 2.

Herod tries to suppress their rashness. alienate his affection from them. To suppress, in some measure, the presumption of the two brothers, *Herod caused Antipater*, another of his sons (F), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped such caresses on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiscreet in their speeches against their father, all which were still carried back to him, and very often aggravated; whilst *Antipater*, wholly employed to cultivate a good understanding with him, was careful never to let a word slip even against his two brothers, tho' he had taken care to place such about him as should do it more effectually.

AMONG many other marks of *Herod's* affection to this new favourite son, he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry *Mariamne*, and obtained of *Agrippa* the favour of his accompanying him to *Rome*, and of his being presented by him to the emperor: so that, by this time, every one began to look upon him as his father's successor. *Antipater* set out accordingly; but, to prevent his two rivals regaining their father's favour during his absence, he ceased not, both by his letters and by his agents, to turn his heart against them; till at length he began to look upon them as enemies, and resolved to take them with him to *Rome*, and to try them at *Cæsar's* tribunal^a. *Augustus* being gone by that

Herod accuses his two sons of high treason, Herod came to him, and thereupon charged his two sons of high treason, and required justice against them in such strong terms, as extorted a flood of tears from them; after which *Alexander* pleaded his own and his brother's cause with such becoming modesty, as easily convinced both the emperor, and the audience, of their innocence. *Augustus*, in a genteel manner, reproved *Herod* for his too rash belief, and reconciled them together; but it was no likely this peace should be long-lived.

Year of the flood 2335. *Herod* was too jealous, his sons too indiscreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable, not to give cause for fresh dissensions. *Herod* himself laid the foundation

Bef. Chr. 13. for a new and dangerous one, by a speech which he made to the Jewish assembly, upon his being returned with his sons to *Jerusalem*; for there, having acquainted them with his successe^s at *Rome*, he declared to them, that it was indeed his intention, that his sons should reign after him, and not till then; *Antipater* first, and then *Alexander*, and lastly *Aristobulus* (G); but

that,

^a *Antiq. I. xvi. c. 6, & 7.*

(F) This last son he had by another wife, whom *Josephus* calls *Doris* (1), and the fourth book of *Maccabees* (2) *Dosithea*.

(G) During his stay at *Rome*, *Augustus* had, it seems, not only renewed his former grant to him, of appointing any of his sons to

that, whilst he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This was indeed casting a bone of discord among his sons, and so it proved in the sequel ^c.

By this time the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been twelve years in building, being finished, *Herod* caused the dedication of *finished*. it to be performed with the greatest pomp and splendor, and Year of appointed games to be performed in it with the utmost solemnity the flood every fifth year. *Julia*, the emperor's wife, or, as the Jewish historian always calls her, *Livia*, contributed towards the splen- ^{2338.} *Bef. Chr.* didness of those sports five hundred talents out of her own *coffer*; and *Herod* entertained his guests there, who were very considerable, both in quality and number, with surprising magnificence ^d; insomuch that *Augustus* said of him, That his soul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deserved to have been king of all *Syria* and *Egypt* (H).

^e Antiq. lib. xvi. c. 8.

^f Ibid. c. 9, & seq.

Herod

be his successor, but had likewise given him the further liberty of dividing the kingdom amongst them in what proportion he should think fit.

He h^{as} likewise granted him one half ^g the revenue of the m^{any} ^{large} ^{rich} ^{towns}, and had appointed him ^{the} ^{other} ^{half}. Several other rich presents were also interchanged between those two monarchs, which shewed their great intimacy with each other (3).

(H) Besides the city of *Cæsarea*, which, by reason of its beauty, pleasant situation, and commodious harbour, became in time the residence of the *Roman* procurators, he built also those of *Antipatris*, in honour of his father; of *Cypron*, in honour of his mother, and *Phasaelis*, in honour of his brother; besides several other towers and castles of prodigious size and strength (4). On the next year, the Jews of *Asia* and *Cyrene*, having been greatly oppressed by the *Greeks*, especially on account of their religion and customs, sent a depu-

tation to *Augustus*, and obtained an effectual redress from that emperor. The purport of his decree in their favour, was as follows:

That they should be allowed to live according to their laws, and with the same privileges as they had enjoyed under the late *Cæsar* and *Hyrcan*; that their temple at *Jerusalem* should still receive their yearly tribute towards the repairs and worship of it; that the *Jews* should not be obliged to appear at the courts of judicature on the eve of the sabbath after the ninth hour (answering to three afternoon) nor on the sabbath; lastly, that whosoever should lay hands either on the temple-tribute, or on any of the sacred books of the *Jews*, should be punished as sacrilegious, and all his goods be confiscated to the *Roman* commonwealth.

This decree was ordered to be set up in a public place at *Ankyra*, which had been dedicated by the whole people of *Asia* to the honour of that monarch (5).

(3) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 8.

(4) Ibid. q. 28 seq.

(5) Ibid. c. 10.

Herod dis- Herod might have vie ved, with no small pleasure, both himself and the whole Jewish nation, respected and protected by the emperor and senate on the one hand, and by his friend *Agrippa* on the other; but his domestic jars, which daily increased by the hellish machinations of his brother and sister, and the emptiness of his coffers, which he had exhausted by his profuseness in buildings and feasts, made him too wretched to taste any pleasure in other things. To remove these two corroding sores, he betook himself to remedies more desperate than the disease.

Herod plunders David's sepulcre.

To supply his present necessities, he cast his eyes on the tombs of *David* and *Solomon*, out of which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that *Hyrcan* had formerly drawn some large sums; and those places, he thought, would prove a lasting fund for his extravagant expences. We shall not repeat what we have observed heretofore, concerning this pretended theft of the *Maccabite* pontiff ^g. All we shall add with respect to *Herod*, is, that he executed his design with the utmost privacy, and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with some few confidants, where, instead of the coined gold and silver he expected, he found only some quantity of rich vessels, curiously wrought, which he caused to be carried off. Not content with these, he ventured farther, to search into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but some sudden damp, or as *J. G. L.* calls it,

Frighted from pur- sing it. Year of the flood 2339. Ref Chr 9. *Herod*, to make some satisfaction for his sacrilege. *A* stately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the sepulcre ^h; but this was looked upon by the *Jews*, rather as a monument of his crime, than an expiation of it.

His cruelty to his sons. But his cruelty to his sons, and their friends, rendered him still more abhorred. His vile sister (*I*) had raised his jealousy against

^g Vide supra, p. 337, & seq. & (F). ^h Antiq. lib. xvi. c. 11.

King *Agrippa* made much such another decree in their favour, and ordered, that whoever stole any of the sacred treasure, or Jewish books, and took sanctuary in any temple or asylum, should be torn thence, and delivered up to the *Jews*, to be punished by them (6).

(I) One of her hellish projects, and which cost her dear, was to get *Pheroras* to tell young *Alexander*, that the king was become so desperately in love with his

wife *Glapbyra*, that nothing but his forcing her from him could satisfy his unruly passion. *Alexander* taking it for granted, went to his father, and, in the humblest manner, mixed with a flood of tears, expostulated the matter with him. *Herod*, surprised at such a black accusation, of which he was wholly innocent, sent for his brother, and asked him, How he could lay such a black perfidy to his charge.

(6) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 10.

against them to such an height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant, than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a slaughter-house. *Alexander* had been accused to him of having corrupted, by dint of presents and ^{and to their} promises, two of his favourite confidants, namely, his high steward and cup-bearer. *Herod* ordered them immediately to be put to the rack; whereupon they confessed their having indeed received some presents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill design against the king. This confession not satisfying his jealousy, they were tortured afresh and again, till he had extorted enough from them to justify his sending his son to prison, and loading him with irons. Here *Alexander*, the young prince being grown desperate, sent his father four different confessions, in which he owned all, and more than the ^{rate con-} _{fusion.} torture had extorted from the other two, and at the same time accused *Salome* and *Pheroras*, with two of the king's prime ministers and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot; and particularly, that *Salome* had even ventured to come to him in the dead of the night, and lying down by him, had used many cogent arguments to convince him, that they must expect neither peace nor happiness, till they had rid themselves of the tyrant i.

THIS ^{accusation}, which was only calculated to set all on fire, ^{Raises} had the desired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom ^{more bloody} to trust, flew into the greatest excesses of cruelty. There ^{scenes.} was now nothing to be heard of but racks, imprisonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilst the tyrant was so tormented with fears at home, that he often started out of his bed, as if pursued sword in hand by his sons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected when these fits of rage and dread would have run him mad, or hastened his son's execution; when *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and the father of *Glaphyra* came in a lucky minute, and, by his interposition, settled a calm again, at least for a time (K). *Pheroras*, hearing of this reconciliation,

² Antiq. ib. c. 12.

Pheroras threw all the blame on his sister, and pretended she was the person who had whispered the thing to him. *Salome* being sent for, denied the whole with her usual assurance; but the king reading her guilt in her looks, in spite of her protestations to the contrary, caused her and her brother to be banished the court, and highly commended his son's mo-

deration; but all this good understanding was soon after dashed by a more hellish accusation, which they brought against that young prince, and which we are going to relate.

(K) This discreet prince, who knew the violence of *Herod*'s temper, began at first with pitying his sad condition, and condemning the unnatural perfidy of his

conciliation, found no better expedient to obtain Herod's pardon, than by coming in a mourning dress, and, at his feet, Herod re-confessing himself the author of all the flanders raised against conciled to the two princes. Herod, thus reconciled to his sons, set bis sons. out with them for *Rome*, to acquaint the emperor with the Year of whole affair, after having accompanied *Archelaus* as far as *An-*
the flood *tioch* in his way homewards ^k. He was indeed under an obli-
2340. gation to go and clear his son at the *Roman* court, because he
Bef. Chr. had, after their second falling out, exhibited several grievous
8. complaints against him to the emperor.

DURING this and his last journey to *Rome*, the bands of *Banditti* robbers, whom he had driven out of *Trachonitis*, having taken infest Ju. shelter in *Arabia Petraea*, under the protection of *Obodas* the dza. king of it (L), had made such terrible inroads into *Judea*, that Herod, on his return, not being able to come at them there, put all their relations and friends to death he could lay his hands on; which made them more cruel and desperate than ever. By *The temple* this time the temple being finished, as was hinted above, Herod dedicated. caused the dedication of it to be performed with his usual magnificence, and on the following spring set about the suppressing of the *Trachonitish* robbers. He began with a law-suit against *Syllæus* for sixty talents which he had lent him; and having gained his cause before the prefects of *Syria*, *Satur*² and *Volumnius*, *Syllæus*, instead of paying the money, slipped away to *Rome*; whereupon Herod having got leave of those ~~two~~ ^{two} mili- Bef. Chr. tors to right himself by arms, marched into *Palaestina*, where defeated. defeated the robbers, demolished their castle, and returned to Herod out Jerusalem, without taking any further revenge. But this ex- of favour pdition was like to have cost him dear, through the treachery of

^k Ibid. c. 13.

son, threatening to take his daughter from him, and to leave him to his father's just resentment; but, in the end, he had the address, by degrees, to explode all these malicious accusations and extorted confessions, and not only to persuade him, that his son was innocent of any design upon his life or kingdom, but even to make him turn intercessor in his behalf.^{*}

(L) This prince had a favourite minister named *Syllæus*, who had formerly made his addresses to

Salome; but Herod refusing to give her to him, unless he turned Jew, and *Syllæus* not daring to consent to it, she had been given to *Alexas*, one of Herod's confidants. Hence arose a mutual hatred between them, which *Syllæus* improved, by persuading *Obodas* to protect those banditti, who accordingly assigned them the fortress of *Repta* for a place of retreat, from which they sallied out, and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in *Palaestina* and in *Cæleſyria* (7).

(7) *Antiq.* l. xvi. c. 11 & 13.

Syllæus,

Sylleus, who, upon the first hearing of it, went and complained to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the *gustus*. *Arabians* to such a degree, that *Augustus* sent him a very sharp reproof, and would have wholly cast him off, had not he been better informed soon after. *Herod* sent two embassies to that prince, and neither of them had been able to get an audience. At length he sent *Nicolas Damascen* thither, who finding how prejudiced the emperor was against his master, bethought himself of an happy expedient to explode all the accusations of *Sylleus*, by means of the ambassadors of the *Nabathean Arabs*, without discovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for him (M). *Augustus* being now satisfied of *Herod*'s innocence, and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the *Nabathean kingdom* from *Aretas*, and to have made him a present of it; but whilst he was deliberating about it, fresh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch against his sons, which diverted the emperor from pursuing his design.

For whilst these things had been agitating, *Salome* and *Pheroras* had again filled *Herod*'s head with new plots and assassinations intended against him by his sons; and though, upon inquiry, nothing could be proved against them, but a design of retiring into some other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the *Prefects* rest for granted upon this single evidence, and sent two of his new commissioners to *Rome*, with orders, that, if they found the emperor *plaints against him*, they should deliver his letter to him, and *gainst his obtain justice* against the two young princes. *Augustus* having *sons*, read the letter, and finding *Herod* desperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate sons, sent immediately orders to have them *Aug- stus's com- tried at Berytus*, before the governors of *Syria*, and other neighbouring provinces, and in particular before *Archelaus*; and, if *have them sent to tried*. they were found guilty, he gave their father leave to punish them.

(M) These were come to demand justice against *Sylleus*, who had by that time caused *Obodas* to be poisoned, and was there soliciting the emperor for that kingdom; but the *Nabateans* having set up a king of their own, sent this embassy to *Rome*, to have him confirmed there, and to have the assassin punished.

Damascen therefore having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in such a manner, as to clear *Herod*

of all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other design than that of accusing *Sylleus*. The thing succeeded to his wish, and *Damascen* putting himself at the head of their embassy, managed his accusation with such address, backing it with the suffrages of his *Nabathean* colleagues, that *Sylleus*, who was then present, could not disprove one single point; but was condemned to pay *Herod*'s debt, and then to lose his head (8).

(8) *Conf. antiqu. ubi supra*, c. 23 & L. xvii. c. 4. *Strab.* c. 16.

them

Year of them as he should think fit. Herod convened them accordingly, the flood except the Cappadocian king, whom he suspected of too great

2342. partiality to his sons ; and having left these two unfortunate Bef. Chr. princes under a strong guard at Platone, a small town of the

6. Sidonians, under pretence that they might be easily brought

Pleads his own cause against them. thence, if the judges did think it necessary ; he pleaded his own cause before an assembly of above five hundred persons ; but with such violence and brutish resentment, as rather raised their indignation against, than pity for him. He spared for neither

evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die, and concluded with telling them, that being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of *Judæa* ; but that he rather chose to have them tried before such an assembly, to avoid the imputation of injustice or cruelty. After a full hearing, *Saturnius*, who had been formerly consul, voted that they should be punished indeed, but not with death, and was seconded by his three sons, who were then his lieutenants ;

Gets them condemned to death, but they were over-ruled by *Volumnius*, who condemned them to death, and drew the rest of the judges after him. Only they left it to Herod to execute the sentence when and how he thought fit.

Damascen *Damascen*, on his return from *Rome*, tried in vain to dissuade him from too rashly depriving himself of two such sons, and leaving himself in his old age to the mercy of the ambitious

Tyro *Antipater*. *Tyro*, another old experienced soldier, came ~~to advise~~ on against his son Antipater. to beg of him, that he might be admitted to ~~freedom~~, on the same subject ; and, upon his permission, freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he assured him, entertained some treasonable designs against him, whilst the chiefs of the Jewish nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, highly pitied his two condemned sons, as less guilty than that brother.

Herod stopped him short there, to make him name those chiefs ; and, upon his so doing, caused them to be imprisoned. *Tyro* himself was, by the subtlety of *Salome*, accused by Herod's barber of having hired him to cut his throat. Herod had recourse to the rack, which he caused to be given to the accuser, and to *Tyro* and his son, a youth of about the age of *Alexander* ; and the latter, to save his father from the torture, confessed, that himself alone, without his father's privity, had resolved to kill him, and to save *Alexander*.

The two princes put to death. Scarce any-body believed his confession but Herod, who therefore caused his two sons to be conveyed to *Sebastæ*, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the *Maccabees* has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at *Alexandrian*, among their Asmonean ancestors¹.

¹ Antiq. ubi supra, c. 17. & l. vii. c. 9. 4 Macc. c. ult.

Antipater

Antipater having now no rival left but his father, and *Pheroras*; the latter, though highly obliged to his brother, having fallen out with him, they both entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. *Herod* had about this time sent *Glaphyra*, ^{against} *Alexander's* widow, back into *Cappadocia*, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers. There were still two sons left of hers, and two which *Aristobulus* had had by *Berenice*, all whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their fathers; and as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantageously matched, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But *Antipater*, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design ^m. It will not be amiss here, to give an account of that monarch's wives, and of their issue, in order to understand the sequel of this history. The reader will find both in the note (N).

IN

ⁿ *Antiq. I. xvii. c. 2 & 3.*

(N) *Herod* had nine wives, the first of whom, named *Doris*, was the mother of *Antipater*. The second, *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simeon*, the high-priest, by whom he had a son named *Herod*, called also *Philip*, who had married *Herodias*, on whose account the baptist was afterwards beheaded. The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his first cousin. He had no children by these two last.

The fifth was called *Martac*, a *Samaritan*, by whom he had *Arcobelaus* and *Antipas*; the former succeeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of *tetrarch*, and the latter, called also *Philip*, married *Salome*, the dancing daughter of *Herodias* above-mentioned.

The sixth, named *Cleopatra*, was a native of *Jerusalem*, by whom he had two sons, *Herod*

called also *Antipas*, and *Philip*. *Herod* having married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, during his life, was reproved for it by *John* the baptist, and caused him to be put to death.

Pallus was his seventh wife, by whom he had a son, named *Phasael*. The eighth was *Phædra*, by whom he had only one daughter, named *Roxana*; and by the last, called *Elpis*, he had another daughter called *Salome* (9).

As to his grandsons, by his beloved *Mariamne*, mother of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, lately put to death, they make likewise a considerable figure in history, and especially those of the latter in the gospel, and deserve here a particular mention.

Aristobulus left two sons, and a daughter whom he had by *Berenice* his wife, as we have seen a little higher, namely, *Agrippa*,

(9) *De his vide bell. Jud. I. i. 18. Antiq. I. xviii. c. 7. Vid. & Matth. xi. 2, &c seq. Mark vi. 14, &c seq. Luke ix. 7, &c seq.*

New Troubles in Herod more odious to the *Jews*, and more irreconcilable to his brother. An edict lately issued out, commanding the *Jewish* nation to swear allegiance to *Augustus*, and to the king, had been strenuously opposed by the pharisees to the number of seven thousand, as contrary to the *Mosaic law*^a; for which contumacy *Herod* had condemned them to a severe fine, which had been paid by *Pheroras*'s new wife (O). *Pheroras* was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court again whilst *Herod* lived; his being at that distance from the metropolis, was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having an hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason *Antipater* procured himself to be sent for to *Rome* to attend upon *Augustus*. Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were on work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after happened, which brought their whole treason to light^b.

Herod falls sick. *Herod*, who was fallen sick, and still retained a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders to him, and *Pheroras* had refused it, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He fell sick soon after, and *Herod* recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that

^a Vid. DEUT. xvii. 1.

^b JOSEPH. ubi sup.

Herod, and *Herodias*. *Agrippa*, at first put into prison by *Tiberius*, and afterwards made king of *Judaea* by *Caligula* (1), was he who put *James* the brother of *John* to death, imprisoned *Peter*, and was smitten with death at *Cæsarea* (2). *Herod* was made king of *Chalcis*, and is only known in St. Luke for his marriage with the dancing daughter of *Herodias*, as we hinted above.

As for *Agrippa*, he left a son of the same name, before whom and his sister *Berenice* St. Paul was admitted to plead his cause at *Cæsarea* (3), and another daughter, named *Druilla*, married to *Felix* governor of *Judea* (4).

(O) This generous deed of hers had therefore so ingratiated her to that sect, that they scrupled not to persuade the people, from a pretended prophetic spirit, that God was going to transfer the crown from the line of *Herod* to the posterity of his brother's wife. *Salome* failed not to acquaint *Herod* with it, who having put several of the ringleaders to death, commanded his brother to put his wife away, as the cause of this new sedition. *Pheroras*, upon his obstinate refusal to comply with his command, was forbid the court, and the rest of *Herod*'s family to have any further conversation with him.

(1) Bell. Jud. i. ii. c. 8. (2) ACTS xii. 1, & seq. ad fin. (3) ACTS xxv. in fin. xxvi. (4) Ibid. xxiv. 24.

he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation from him. *Pheroras* dying two days after his arrival, he ~~fit his br-~~^{Goes to vi-} caused him to be magnificently buried at *Jerusalem*. But his *ther*. death proved the beginning of *Antipater's* disgrace: for two of the deceased's freed-men came and demanded justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched him with some poison, which she had given him that very evening on which he was taken ill. *Herod* had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in particular, the women of *Pheroras's* family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced by the excess of the torture to cry out, that she prayed to God, that *Doris*, *Antipater's* mother, might bear her share of the torments, which she had been the cause of. At these words *Herod* having caused them to be more cruelly tortured, as well as one *Antipater*, an officer under Antipa-his treacherous son, the whole plot was unravelled; and upon ter's plot comparing their several depositions, and the intelligence which *Salome* had already given to the king, it was found, that the *bim dis-* poison, of which *Pheroras* died, had been procured from *Alex-* coured. *andria* by a friend of *Antipater*, from whom it was conveyed by *Antipater's* mother to *Pheroras*, in order to be given to the king up^s: the first opportunity. All which was upon further examination acknowledged by *Pheroras's* wife, who added, that she wou^d go and fetch it to him; and instead of doing so, flung herself down from an high gallery; but her fall not proving *Pherora's* mortal, he, upon *Herod's* promise of a general pardon, de-*wife's con-* posed further, that her husband being stung with remorse at his *ffusion*. receiving this last visit from him, had ordered her to fetch the poison, and to burn it before his face, which she had accordingly done, except a small dose that she had reserved for herself in case of necessity. The box, and rest of the poison being produced, and acknowledged by other witnesses, convinced *Herod* of his son's perfidy, not only to himself, but to the two sons of his favourite *Mariamne*. His other wife of that name was likewise accused of being in the same plot, and though nothing was proved against her, yet was she banished, her son *Herod* disinherited, and her father deposed from the high-priesthood (P).

(P) *Simon* was succeeded in that dignity by one *Mattbias* the son of *Theophilus*, a native of *Je-* *rusalem*. But this pontiff having on the following expiation-eve contracted some pollution (5), which incapacitated him from officiating on that grand solemnity,

a near relation of his, named *Joseph*, the son of *Ellemus*, was substituted in his room. *Mattbias* enjoyed his dignity but one year, after which he was deposed for being privy to an insurrection raised at *Jerusalem*, and succeeded by *Joazar* his brother-in-law (6).

(5) *Antiq. l. xvii. c. 8. Vid. &c vol. iii. p. 46, & seq. 73, & seq.*

(6) *Antiq.* *ubi supra.*

*John the
baptist
born.*

*Year of
the flood*

2342.

Bef. Chr.

6.

*His fa-
ther's vi-
sion.*

Doris was likewise stript of all her costly ornaments, which amounted to a large sum, and banished the court ^p.

But it is now time to leave for a while Herod in his sad distracted condition, and the nation in their feuds and resentments against him, and turn our eyes on more important matters; those great and inestimable blessings which Heaven was then ready to shower down, not only on the Jews, had they not rendered themselves unworthy of them, but on the whole world, who, we are told, were then in an universal expectation of them under the promised Messiah: for about this time the angel Gabriel, who had been formerly sent to manifest to Daniel the precise time of his coming, by a determinate number of weeks ^q(Q), was again sent to Zachary, a pious and upright

^p *Antiq. l. xvii. c. 4, 5, & 6. q Dan. ix. 24, & seq.*

(Q) This is justly allowed one of the noblest prophecies in the whole *Old Testament*, and one of the strongest proofs of Christianity against the Jews, since it determines the very time in which Christ was to come into the world, enter into his ministry, and be cut off for the sins of the people; soon after which was to follow the destruction of the Jews, or, as the prophet words it, their ceasing to be a nation or people, and the promulgation of the gospel, or of the new covenant, in and by that Messiah.

The whole prophecy runs as follows (7): *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finish (or restrain) the transgression, and make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy one. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks; and*

threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, and even in anxious (or perilous) times; and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end of it shall be with (or like) an inundation, and unto the end of the war desolation is determined: and he shall confirm the covenant with many during one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and he shall make it desolate on account of the overspreading of abominations, until the determined extermination be poured on the land (or people) that is become liable to that desolation.

It will not be expected, that we should here enter into a comment on this prophecy, much less into a dissertation on the various ways of computing the seventy weeks here mentioned. And yet, as the subject is of no small moment, the reader will doubtless be glad to hear at least how it is best calculated and made.

¹⁷ (7) *Dan. ix. 24, & seq.*

upright priest of the course of *Abiah*, whiist he stood offering the sacred incense in the temple, according to the priestly office¹, to

² Vid. Exod. xxx. 7, 8, & sup. vol. iii. p. 84, & seq.

out by the *Christians*, and by what subterfuges the *Jews* endeavour to evade the force of it.

The generality of the *Jews* do agree with us, that those prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic style; tho' some of them, in order to puzzle the cause, have pretended to understand them of weeks of *jubilees*, or of seven *sabbatic* (8), that is, forty-nine weeks each, amounting in all to 3430 years⁽⁹⁾. A good long epocha, and very proper to keep up the drooping hopes of the *Jews* about the *Messiah's* coming. Others stretch it still muc^r further, but finding themselves closely pinched by that c^rutation, have had recourse to various pitiful shifts to explode it. We shall give our readers a sketch of some of the best of them, by which he may guess at the rest.

Some of them pretend, that the words of the prophet, from the going forth of the command to restore and to build, are not to be understood from the issuing out of *Cyrus* or *Darius*'s decree; but from the time of those words being prophetically pronounced by *Jeremias* to *Zedekias* king of *Judah* (1), some years before the captivity (2); and to shew their wretched skill in chronology, conclude the epocha with us at the destruction of the

temple. Others, St. *Jerom* tells us (3), began it at *Darius* the *M^rdr*, and ended it with those above-mentioned at the destruction of *Jerusalem*; only they allowed the eight remaining weeks for the total dispersion of the *Jewish* nation completed under the emperor *Adrian*.

A third sort begin the seventy weeks at the destruction of the first temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and end it at the destruction of the second, by *Titus Vespasian* (4); shrinking thereby an epoch of six hundred and sixty years into this of four hundred and ninety, to make it agree with the seventy weeks, and thereby betraying still more their ignorance of chronology. This devastation of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, is according to this latter system to last till the overthrow of *Gog* and *Magog* by the *Messiah*; but when that will happen, they do not pretend to guess. For these reasons they are altogether at a loss how to explain this prophecy, so as to evade the consequences drawn from it by the *Christians* against them, and have fallen into various hypotheses, equally absurd and ridiculous, about the *Messiah*. Some think, that the sins of the nation have retarded his coming; others, that he came at the appointed time, but did not appear publicly; others, that he

(8) Concerning those jubilees, and sabbatic years, see before vol. iii. p. 35, &c seq.
 (9) Vid. N. De Lyra in Daniel. ix. (1) Jerem. xxiv. 8, & seq. xxxiv. 1, & seq. &c alib. pass. (2) Vid. Munster, in Dan. ix. not. g. (3) In Dan. ix. sup. citat.
 (4) Rabbini plurimi. Vid. int. ad. Abrabanel, Solon. Zarbi, & De Lyra in loco sup. citat.

to foretel him the birth of a son, the miraculous child of old age and barrenness; a son whom he should shortly have by his virtuous

is still hid in some obscure part of the world, waiting till they are fit to receive him; others have imagined two Messiahs, one humble, obscure, and rejected; and another as yet to come, glorious, warlike, victorious, and universally acknowledged. Lastly, and to name no more, from a sense of the manifest deficiency of all these evasive shifts, they have agreed to leave the dispute about the Messiah *in suspense* till better times, and have prohibited all further inquiries and calculations about it under a severe anathema (5).

The Christians are not exactly agreed either in the placing the beginning and end of these weeks, or in the calculations of those lunar or Jewish years. Both differences however are inconsiderable, if duly attended to; the former is intirely owing to our imperfect knowlege of the chronology of those times. Had we a sure guide in it, the point would not be long unsettled. But whilst in this uncertainty one author will place the beginning at the decree of *Cyrus*, another at that of *Darius*, a third at that of *Alexander Longimanus*, and each of them endeavours to stretch or shorten the chronology of each interval, as best suits with his hypothesis; it is no wonder there is so little agreement among them, and so little certainty to be gathered from the whole dispute.

(5) *Vid. int. al. Basnag. dissert. de 70 hebdomad.*
& seq. col. iii. p. 34. &c. (K.) p. 238. &c seq. & al. poff.
in Daniel. ubi supra.

(6) See vol. i. p. 252.
(7) Apud Hieron.
(8) Petwo. de doctr. temp. lib. XII. cap. 32. & seq.
Ration. tempor. part. ii. l. III. c. 10. Usser. sub A. M. 3550. Prid. Calmet, &c. al.

and

The difference arising from the various computations of the Jewish years is still more inconsiderable, since it can amount at most but to nine or ten years between those who make it longest, and those who make it shortest; and who can wonder at it, or urge it as an objection against this prophecy, that considers the variety of computations, of either of the Jews, which we have formerly spoken more fully (6), or of other nations, from which this epoch is to be calculated and rectified? Upon the whole then, these difficulties duly considered, an impartial reader will doubtless rest satisfied with that system, which best adjusts the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years of the prophecy, to the chronology of that epoch, according to the best light that can be had of it from the sacred and profane historians.

Waving therefore some minute differences between the authors that have written on that subject, the system most universally received by protestants as well as Roman catholics is, that of *Julius Africanus* (7), as it has been amended by some late eminent chronologers (8), who place the beginning of it, expressed in the words of the prophecy, *From the going forth of the commandment to rebuild, &c. at the beginning of its execution*, which was not done till *Nebemiah's* coming to *Jerusalem* to see it punctually performed,

virtuous wife *Elizabeth*, and who should be a *Nazarite*, and the forerunner and great harbinger of the world's Redeemer¹. Here
the

Luke i. 5, & seq.

and the end of it at the death of the Messiah; which interval makes up the four hundred and ninetieth year here foretold. For as to the first, it is plain, that *Nebemiah* found the work quite obstructed, and set aside, at his first arrival there, and that he set immediately about and finished it (9). This command, which was given in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*⁽¹⁾, is not however to be understood, according to them, of the twentieth year of his reigning alone, which would make the whole period too long by ten years; but of the twentieth of his reigning in partnership with his father (on a supposition that he was admitted into it by him, ten years before his death) which will be the tenth of his reigning alone.

This system, which seems clearly to remove all difficulties, is attended with only one, to wit, the silence of historians, and the unlikelihood of *Artaxerxes* being admitted so early into partnership with his father: and this objection, small as it is, has been however thought weighty enough to oblige the learned *Prideaux*⁽²⁾ to steer a new course, which our readers will perhaps better approve than the former. But as he has treated the subject in such a full and prolix manner, as would swell this note beyond due bounds, and the book itself is in every body's hands, and in our own language, we shall refer the

readers to it for the further clearing of this noble prophecy.

In the conclusion the prophet is told, that after the cutting off of the Messiah, the temple and city shall be destroyed by a strange nation, that shall come like an inundation against it, and that the desolation of the land shall be preceded by an overflowing of abominations; all which sufficiently prefigures the *Roman* eagles set up in the temple, prophetically also alluded to by Christ himself⁽³⁾, followed by the profanation, plundering and firing of that holy place. In the middle of the week, the sacrifices, oblations, &c. were to cease, not actually, for they did not do so till the destruction of the city, about forty years after; but they lost their efficacy, and became useless and insignificant after the grand sacrifice of the Saviour of the world, which they were to prefigure, and from which alone they received their efficacy. Lastly, those who had thus rejected, and put to death the Messiah, were to cease to be a people, be dispersed, desolate, &c. all which the *Jews* have sufficiently felt to their cost.

The destruction and lasting desolation of the city, but more particularly of the temple, was indeed to be the finishing stroke of the Christian evidence against the *Jews*. We have shewn in a former volume⁽⁴⁾, how these evade the pregnant prophecy

(1) *Graec. Nebem.* i. ii. & iii. *pass.* See also before, p. 21, & seq. (2) *Nebem.* v. 1.
(3) *Mursh.* xxiv. 15, & alib. (4) *Vid.*
ib. p. 317. (G).

Struck dumb.

The angel sent to the B. Virgin. Six months after this vision, the same heavenly messenger was sent to an obscure young virgin, named *Mary*, who dwelt then at *Nazareth*, with and under the guardianship of her espoused husband *Joseph*, both of them of the house and lineage of *David* (R), with the glad tidings, that she was chosen by

* MATTH. i. 18. LUKE i. 26, & seq. iii. 23, & seq.

of *Jacob*, that *the sceptre should not depart from Judah, &c.* (5) and the reader has now seen what wretched shifts they make to elude this of *Daniel's* week, at the expense of sense and chronology. There seemed therefore still wanting a more irrefragable proof, if not to convince, at least to silence that infatuated nation, with respect to this important article of the Messiah's being come at the appointed time, and of the vanity of those that still expect him; and this was the prophecy of his coming during the standing of the second temple, and rendering it more glorious by his presence than that of *Solomon*, notwithstanding its great disparity in other respects, concerning which the reader may look back to what has been said at the beginning of this chapter (6). When therefore this temple was destroyed, it ought to have convinced them, that he was really come, as his apostles and disciples affirmed, though there had been a new one immediately built. How much more when all attempts for the

rebuilding it have been hitherto frustrated? But of this we shall have a proper occasion to speak more fully in the sequel.

We beg leave here only to observe further, that if the total destruction of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, did not immediately follow the crucifixion of the Messiah, they became obnoxious to it from that time; and God seems only to have protracted the sentence during those forty years to give them time to repent of that atrocious fact, which, as St. Peter observes (7), they had committed through ignorance. Accordingly we find that vast numbers of them prevented it by a timely conversion (8), whilst the more obdurate for refusing to acknowledge that crime (9), and embrace the professed mercy, were thereupon dispersed throughout the world, to be, against their will, a standing evidence of the truth of the scriptures and prophecies, and of their own judicial blindness and punishment.

(R) We have taken notice in

(5) *Genesis xlvi. 10.* (6) See before, p. 183, & seq. (K). (7) *A&T* ill. 170.
(8) *Ibid.* ii. 36, & seq. iii. p. 22. (9) *Ibid.* ver. 23.

a former

the special favour of heaven, to be the happy mother of the promised Saviour of the world, to whom she should therefore give

a former volume, that the *Jews* had a law which expressly forbade heiresses to marry out of their own tribes (1). It is true, the Virgin *Mary* seems to have been far enough from being one of that sort, at least in possession, whatever she might be in reverie, or by virtue of the jubilee laws, according to which all lands and inheritances were to revolve to the original owner, or to his next heir or heiress (2). But there was still a much greater tie, which kept the virgins of the tribe of *Judah*, but especially those of the house of *David*, from marrying into another tribe or family, namely, the sure expectation they had that the Messiah was to be of that lineage, and to be born in *Bethlehem*, the city and patrimony of that monarch; and how careful every family was to preserve their genealogy, needs not to be repeated.

It is therefore in vain, that the *Jews* exclaim against the uncertainty of Christ's being of the seed of *David*, because *Joseph's* and not *Mary's* genealogy is deduced from him by the two evangelists, who is yet affirmed by them to have had no share in his conception. The certainty of the Virgin's descent from that house is rendered evident enough by what we observed above, especially if we add the testimony of the evangelists themselves, who call her miraculous child the son or descendant of *David*. If it be asked, why they chose rather to give us that of her husband?

it may be answered, that they conformed in it to the custom of the *Hebrews*, and even of the sacred writers, who deduce their genealogies from the male rather than the female line; for if Christ the son of *Mary* was the son or descendant of *David*, it must follow that his mother must be so too.

But the greatest difficulty is, to reconcile the variations of the two genealogies of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, and we much question whether the greater part of our readers would care to have all repeated that has been said on that subject, though in ever so succinct an epitome, especially considering that the point has not been so sufficiently cleared hitherto, as to leave no room for fresh cavils and objections. Yet that our silence might not be interpreted for a giving up of the cause, we shall subjoin a few observations we have been able to make, some of which, though entirely new, may yet furnish the curious inquirers into those abstruse matters with a better key to reconcile those two genealogies, if not to clear and confirm the one by the help of the other, than they have as yet met with; and as we design the following remarks chiefly for such of our studious readers, we shall content ourselves with giving them as hints for them to exert their talents upon, without confining ourselves so much to method, as we do in other notes.

First, then, we beg leave to

(1) *De loc vid. Numb. xxxvi. pass. &c. vol. iii. p. 434, (A).*
vid. ibid. pag. 35, & seq. 39, & seq.

(2) *Debet*

give the significant name of *Jesus*, or *Saviour*, according to the prophecies long since written of him. Those that relate to

observe, that the titles of father and son, as well as the terms *to beget*, and *be begotten*, in the language of scripture, do not always imply an immediate, but frequently a remote succession. Hence the phrase often used by *Moses*, *When thou shalt hereafter get children and childrens children* (3), and the name of father or son given to a predecessor or successor at the distance of two, three, or more generations, as will more fully appear by the sequel. This being premised, will serve as a basis to the following remarks on the subject of those two gospel genealogies.

1st, St. Matthew gives one genealogy, and St. Luke another, and both in some names vary from the *Old Testament*.

2^{dly}, St. Matthew, who begins his from *Abraham*, divides it into forty two successions, called by him generations; that is,

fourteen before } the regal go-
fourteen under } vernment.
fourteen after }

3^{dly}, The first fourteen are the same with those in the *Old Testament*, and in St. Luke.

4^{thly}, The next fourteen in St. Matthew contain the legal succession of the line of *Solomon*, until its extinction in *Jacobiah*, or *Cioniah*, and *Iehorachim* (4), when the line of *Nathan* the son of *David*, and brother of *Solomon*, took place.*

5^{thly}, The inheritance in the *Jewish* polity being unalienable farther than the jubilee, as was

before hinted, and then revolving to the next surviving heir, the latter, though at some distance from the former, was called the son, that is, properly the successor of the former. Thus *Salathiel*, who by St. Luke's genealogy appears to have been the descendant of *Nathan* the son of *David*, is by St. Matthew said to be begotten by *Jechoniah* (5), the last of the *Solomonic* line, because he was the next surviving heir of the house of *David* after *Jechoniah*'s death. Had not therefore *Solomon*'s line been set down, and the end thereof noted, it could not have appeared from St. Luke, how *Salathiel* came by his title of succession; for the line of *Nathan* could not have any claim to it, whilst that of *Solomon* subsisted, unless in an uncertain reversion; and this will account for the difference between St. Luke and St. Matthew, in these middle fourteen generations.

6^{thly}, But there is likewise in this latter succession a manifest variation as to the number from the books of the *Old Testament*. It has indeed been solved by saying, that the evangelist aiming only at the three round numbers of fourteen generations above-mentioned, had overlooked, or purposely past by some of the redundant ones; and this answer hath hitherto past for current.

But the difference seems to arise from something more material, than the bare aim at an equality of numbers. The hi-

(3) *Deut.* iv. 25, & alib. pass. xxiv. 8, & seq. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 9, & seq. *Matthew* 1. 12.

(4) *Conf. Jeremiah*. xxii. 24, ad fin. 2 *Kings* (5) *Conf. Luc.* iii. 27, ad 31 &

to this particular head, are as follow: *Bebold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emanuel,*
etc.

storical books set down all the kings in general that had reigned from *David* to *Jecboniah*; but St. *Matthew*, as a genealogist, seems to take notice only of those who had a legal title, and to omit the others. Of this latter sort we take *Abaziah* the son of *Jehoram* by *Atbuliah*, to have been, who is said to have been made king by the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* upon his father's death, because his elder brother had been killed by the *Philistines* (6), which seems to intimate, that they had chosen him in lieu of some infant son of his deceased brother; for had not this been the case, he would have succeeded of course, without the people's choice. In the same class we may put *Josb*, who succeeded his father *Abaziah*, and *Amaziah* the son of *Josb*, who might all succeed each other in prejudice to the elder branch, till this being extinct, made way for the younger in *Uzia* or *Ostas*, the son of *Amaziah*, who is therefore called by the evangelist the son (7), that is, as we have hinted above, the successor of *Jehoram*, tho' at the distance of the three generations above-mentioned.

Thus again *Zedkiab*, who was set up by the king of *Babylon* in prejudice of his elder brother *Jecboniah*, is likewise omitted by the evangelist. Now when these irregular successions are taken away, there will remain but the same fourteen which are mentioned in his genealogy.

7tly, The next variation between the two evangelists is in the last fourteen generations, and arises from the one's constant care of pointing out the passing of the inheritance, as far as it goes in the elder branch. They both agree as far as *Zerubbabel*, after which St. *Matthew* goes on with *Abiud*, and his heirs, down to *Ehazar*, where the line of *Abiud* ends; and then he sets down as his son and successor *Mattan* (8), who is by St. *Luke* mentioned under the name of *Mattat*, and was of the line of *Rhesa* (9) the son of *Zerubbabel*. So that he entered into the regular succession after the extinction of that of *Abiud*.

Thus again, *Mattat* or *Mattan* dying childless, *Eli* was obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to take his wife, and raise up seed to him, and by her begot *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, who, according to the same law, was still reputed as the son of the dead elder brother. For this reason St. *Matthew* rightly calls him the son of *Jacob*; whereas St. *Luke*, who did not proceed on the same method, calls him the son of *Eli*. The first gives us the name of his legal, the other of his natural father.

St. *Matthew* might in all probability have fetched his genealogy from the records of *Bethlehem*, the patrimony of *David*, and wherein therefore none were entered, but such as by a regular lineal descent were in actual pos-

(6) *Vid.* 1 *Chron.* xxii. 1. &c 2 *Kings* viii. 24, &c seq.
supra, vers. 8.
(7) *Ubi supra*, vers. 15.
vers. 27.

(7) *Mattb. ubi*
(9) *Luke* iii.

session of it, and where the younger branch, though in actual possession of the crown, could not be regularly inrolled, as long as there was any heir of the elder left alive, or till such a time as this latter failed. St. Luke, on the other hand, who, as he tells us in the preface of his gospel, proposed to supply such defects as he found in those who had written the history of *Jesus Christ* before him, fearing lest these omissions should cause some confusion, for want of pointing out when the younger succeeded their elder branch, had recourse to the book of the *Chronicles*, where the series of the successions, both regular and irregular, legal and illegal, are exhibited: so that both had their genealogies from the most authentic, though different records, and scrupulously adhered each to his own, according to the scheme they had in view, and consequently, instead of clashing, do more probably clear and confirm each other.

There is still one difficulty left with respect to St. Luke's genealogy, to wit, his introducing of *Cainan* in the line of *Shem*, adding thereto one generation contrary to the Hebrew text in *Gensis* and the *Chronicles*, and all the versions of it, except the *Septuagint*, contrary to the concurring testimony of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and other Jewish doctors, as well as to that of the antient fathers; who all not only omit *Cainan's* name, but reckon only ten generations from *Noah* to *Abraham*, whereas with this there would be eleven.

This difference has given commentators more pains to reconcile, than we think it deserved, considering the likelihood there

is of its having been jumbled into St. Luke's text by the carelessness of the transcribers, there being another *Cainan* mentioned in the verse immediately following, which might be also, according to the old close way of writing, in the very next line. But allowing it to have been originally in St. Luke, it is plain, he must have had it out of the *Septuagint*, which version both he and the other sacred writers his cotemporaries used, and the copy which he then had might have been corrupted after the same careless manner; for it doth not appear that all the copies of that version had this name, else it would be found in all the Latin versions of it, as well as in *Josephus*, *Philo*, and the fathers; and then they must have reckoned eleven instead of ten generations.

The same may be said even on the supposition, that it w^s originally put in by the seventy interpreters; for as neither they, nor the transcribers of the Hebrew copy, which they took with them into Egypt, were infallible (at least we think we have made it appear they were not, when we spoke of their version) how easily might that word have crept into the text by their inadvertency!

But if all this will not satisfy the scrupulous, what we have observed above of the distinction of natural and legal parents, will easily remove the difficulty; so that *Arphaxad* might be the natural father of *Sala*, and the legal one of *Cainan*, or vice versa. There is therefore no need of having recourse, as some have done to injurious suppositions against the Jews, as if they had purposely

&c ^u(S).—*Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace* ^w(T); with some others of the same nature,

^u ISAIAH viii. 14.

^w Ibid. ix. 6.

purposely scratched out the name of *Cainan* in their Hebrew copies, that they might take occasion to decry the Septuagint version; much less to other more violent means, to account for so small a variation, which, for aught appears to the contrary, was occasioned by the mere oversight of a transcriber, and the mote probably, of St. Luke's own copy, than of either original or Greek version.

(S) This prophecy hath of late been so learnedly defended against cavilers, that we shall need only refer our readers to the authors. and, as to the difficulty th at is raised, how the prophecy of a child, thus miraculously born, could be a satisfaction to *Abazar*, to whom it was addressed, unless it was fulfilled in his time, we have answered it in a former volume, to which the reader may, if he pleases, have recourse (1).

(T) Our readers may, perhaps, be willing to know what answer or evasion the Jews make use of against such pregnant prophecies; and it will not be amiss here to give them a specimen of them out of one of their subtlest and boldest champions (2), by which he may guess at the rest.

First then, to the former of these prophecies, where the miraculous child is called *Jesus* or *Saviour*, because he was to save his people from their sins, they in general, and this in particular,

answer to this effect: Who has told you, that the sin of *Adam* has intailed any guilt on his posterity? Was not that of his son *Cain*, who murdered his brother, a thousand times greater than the biting of an apple? And yet no such thing is said of his posterity being tainted with it. Besides, where is any mention made, that the Messiah was to save his people from their sins? And if there was, how did Jesus save us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him? In vain do you tell us of a Redeemer of souls: we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a Messiah that shall deliver us from slavery, and make us again a flourishing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the second prophecy, the sarcastic author, above quoted, gives the following answer, in a kind of triumphing tone. We will join issue with you, tho', according to your interpretation, it should have been written, *his names* (instead of *his name, shall be called*); but, waving that, how can his (*Jesus's*) name be called Wonderful Counsellor? Did not *Judas* rather defeat his counsell, when he betrayed him unknown to him? He could not be the *Gibbor*, or Mighty one, seeing he was put to death: he could not be the *בָּבָשׂ אָבִי-בָּד*, the Everlasting Father, or Father

(1) Vol. iv. p. 154, &c (K).

(2) Ausl. Ibr. Nizzahon. Vid. Murphy in &c. &c not. in vers. Hebr. evang. S. Matth. c. i.

nature, which are not quite so manifest, nor so universally agreed on (U). But the surprised virgin was so far from calling to mind those prophecies, that she looked on her virginity, which it is most likely she had resolved to preserve under the guardianship of an aged religious husband, as an obstacle to the accomplishment of the angel's word, till, assured at length by him of the miraculous conception of that divine child, with an humble confidence, she wholly submitted herself to the will of heaven. The angel having, at the same time, acquainted her with the pregnancy of her cousin *Elizabeth* in her old age, she went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her husband upon it. At the first embracing of these three holy persons, whose ecstatic joy can only be guessed, from the pathetic account which the evangelist has left us of it*, *Elizabeth*, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, felt her child give a leap in her womb, from which she began to conceive an higher notion of her visiter, and which she expressed in terms of the deepest respect and gratitude *Mary*, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what she had heard, testified her humble sense for all the divine favours she saw herself blest with, in that most heavenly canticle, which the same evangelist has preserved to us; and, after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation

* LUKE i 40, & seq.

of eternity, because he was cut off in the midst of his days. Lastly, he could not be called the Prince of peace, because he enjoyed none himself, neither have wars ever ceased since his time, yea, himself says, that he did not come to bring peace, but war, upon earth

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal נָתַן וְיֹאכֶל, he shall call, refers to God, and, consequently, that all those titles there mentioned relate to him, and not to the child there spoken of. But this evasion is so ungrammatical, and contrary to the plain import, in a vast number of parallel places, that others of them have disowned it.

(U) Of this kind is that of *Jeremiah* (3): *The Lord will*

(3) Cap. xxxii. 22.

create a new thing upon the earth a female (or woman) shall even pass a n n, which the context plainly shews to illude to the days of the Messiah, and most probably, from the natural sense of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the Jews not only take them in a very different sense, but exclaim against us for urging this text to them

Another text hitherto misunderstood, and worse translated, and which we think to be prophetic of the birth of Christ of a virgin, is that of the *Proverbs*, chap. xxxi: verse 19. *The way of the man*, not with the maid, as our version renders it, but *in the virgin*; but this we have had occasion to explain in a former volume, to which we refer the reader (4).

(4) Vol. iii. p. 143, (H).

at Nazareth. During her stay there, Elizabeth, being delivered of the promised son, gave him the name of John (V), as his father had been commanded by the angel; and Zacharias, having testified his consent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately loosed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghost; which broke out into an eucharistic and prophetic hymn, which inspired the wondering bystanders, with singular hopes concerning this new-born child (W).

The virgin Mary, who was returned, from her visit to Zacheus the charias, to Nazareth, the place of her abode, began now to give signs of her pregnancy, as made her aged spouse, who had wholly abstained from matrimonial converse with her, conceive some strong suspicion of her. He was thereupon contriving some means to give her a private divorce, without exposing her to the rigour of the law; when he was apprised by an angel,

v LUKE i. ver. 27, ad fin.

(V) In the Hebrew יְהוּנָן, Jocheurnan, a name very expressive of that gracious dispensation, which heaven was going to display by the gospel, of which this child was appointed the harbinger.

(W) During this time, that part of Judea, which is called Traebonitis, from two ranges of mountains, called by an ancient geographer *Ura henei* (5), and which was very rocky and mountainous, had been the receptacle of a great number of banditti, and freebooters, who, as we have already intimated, lived chiefly upon the plunder which they got by their constant excursions, sometimes towards Judaea, sometimes towards Arbia. What was still worse, they infested the roads that led from the Palaestine territories to Jerusalem, and hindered the concourse of the Jews of those quarters to the annual feasts. Herod, who had already been at a vast deal of pains to ferrit them out of their

dens and lurking holes, some of which Josephus tells us were large enough to lodge 1000 men (6), bethought himself at length of a way of suppressing them effectually. He began with enlarging and fortifying a village, which was conveniently situated in the heart of the country, and became in time a considerable town. Thither he invited a certain Jewish cap'ain, named Zamari, who was gone at the head of 500 well armed men to settle in a castle in the neighbourhood of Arbia; and gave him and his men many encouragements and immunities, that they came and fixed their abode there, and soon cleared all that country of that plundering vermin (7). Zamari, who was both valiant and religious, did not only signalize himself in this province, but left a noble offspring like himself, whose very names were sufficient to deter the rest of that gang from settling there any more.

(5) Strab. geogr. l. xvi. De hac vnd. & Calmet, Prid. &c. af. Jos. sp. bell. Iud. l. i. c. 7. Euseb. in loc. sub voc. Kanath. Hieron. loc. Hebr.

(7) Antiq. l. xviii. c. 27.

(6) Ibid. ibid.

that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that he ought not to hesitate one moment, to take her and her child under his patronage, since that miraculous Son was appointed by God to be the Saviour of his people. Joseph immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery ², if not, of his death. In the mean time Bethlehem, the city of David, and not the obscure city of Nazareth, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Messiah ³, the divine wisdom so ordered it, that the decree of Augustus for taking a fresh survey of the Roman empire, and the number and estimate of all persons, estates, riches, &c (X). should reach Judea about this time; which obliged the pregnant virgin and her husband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all those that were of the house and lineage of David. The great

² MATT. i. 18, & seq.

³ MIC. v. 2.

(X) When this way of surveying came in vogue in the Roman empire, how and by whom it was performed, shall be shewn in the Roman history. We need here only take notice, that Augustus caused three of these to be made in his time, of which this was the second; it had been begun somewhat above seven years before the vulgar, or christian æra, that is, above three years before the birth of Christ; and it might well be all that time going through the provinces of Cælestia, Phœnicia, and part of Judea, before it came to Bethlehem (8), since that which had been made by David, of the single province of Judea (though it doth not appear, that the commissioners were to take an estimate of the estates, but only the number of fighting men), had taken up near ten months, though they were recalled before they had gone through with it (9).

It may not be amiss to observe further, concerning this decree of Augustus, that there is a kind of dissonance between St. Luke

and Josephus; the former calling it a decree for taxing the empire, and the other affirming, that no tax was paid in Judea during Herod and his son Archelaus's reign, and that it did not begin till the deposition of the latter, when that province was put under a Roman governor or president. This was not till twelve years after, when Cyrenius, as he is called by the Greeks and the evangelists, or, in the Romano style, Pub. Sulp. Quirinius, was sent president of Syria (1).

The difference is easily reconciled; the decree issued out by Augustus was in order to have the empire taxed according to the estimate made by this survey. Judea, though then subject to Rome, was excepted by the favour of the emperor, till the deposition of Archelaus, when it began to take place there under that new president. This sense, which seems the obvious one of the evangelist, doth in no way really clash with the Jewish historian (2).

(8) Conf. Sueton. in Octavia, &c Læs. ii. 1, & seq.
See also vol. iv. p. 83, & seq. & nos.

(9) 2 Sam. xxiv. 2, &c.

(1) Antig. l. xviii. c. 1.

(2) De hoc vid. Ufer, Prid. Galat., & al.

concourse of people coming to that place, put this poor little family under two inconveniences ; to wit, a long stay, and the want of a lodging : yet was this also conducted by a special providence, that he, who was to be the pattern of humility, should begin and end his race in the same low and dejected path. Ac-*Christ* cordingly, when the pregnant Virgin found herself near the time ^{born in a} of her delivery, she was forced to take up with the mean habita-*stable*. *Christ's* tion of a stable ; where, having brought forth her Godlike Son, she wrapped him up in swaddling-cloaths, and for want of better accommodation, laid him in a manger ; but this humble rising of the Sun of righteousness did soon break out into its peculiar lustre, when an angel, at the head of an heavenly host, *Christ's* proclaimed his wonderous birth to the watching shepherds, and ^{birth pro-} celebrated it with that noble hymn ^b, *Glory be to God on high, claimed by on earth peace, good will towards men (Y) !*

THE child's parents, according to the *Mosaic* law, circumcised him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of *Jesus*, as they had been directed by the angel ^c (Z).

ANOTHER

^b LUKE ii. 8, ad 12.

^c Ibid. verf. 21. MATT. i. 21.

(Y) And here began the first part of the character of that divine child, hinted above out of the prophet, to be displayed, *And he shall be called Wonderful ; wonderfully conceived, wonderfully born, and as wonderfully manifested.* Accordingly, the angel having declared to the shepherds, that on that day was born in the city of *David* a Saviour, which is *Christ* the *Lord*, gives them these wonderful signs to discover him by : *Ye shall find the babe wrapped up in swaddling-cloaths, and lying in a manger (3) ;* and the shepherds going to the place, and finding all things as had been told them, became themselves the publishers of the joyful news, and began to fill the neighbourhood with hopes of their long-expected and now assured deliverance.

(Z) This wonderful birth of the Saviour of the world happened, according to the best com-

putation we have, that of our most excellent *Ufer*, in the four thousandth year of the world ; and exactly falls in with an old tradition of the *Jews*, mentioned in a former volume, that the world should last two thousand years before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah, according to the six days of the *Mosaic* creation ; after which was to follow the seventh, or millennium (4).

Accordingly, we find that there was about this time an universal expectation of him among all the *Jews*, and even among the heathens, who might have it probably from them ; the sacred books having, by this time, been a considerable while translated into *Greek*, as we have seen in a former section *. Neither is it improbable, they might still retain a kind of traditional notion of him, from the prophecy of *Balaam*, concerning

(3) Luke ii, 8, & seq.

(4) Vol. iii. p. 39.

* See p. 244, &c seq.

the

The temple of Janus ANOTHER remarkable occurrence, and very proper to usher in both this character of Wonderful, as well as the other of Prince of peace, was, that the temple of *Janus* was then shut up; which was never done, but when the empire enjoyed a profound peace⁴, as it did at this time, and continued to do twelve whole years (A). But the most signal manifestation of this new-born Saviour, and which put the whole city of *Jerusalem* into an

* See the authors quoted under the following note.

the wonderful star that was to arise out of *Jacob* (5); and this may be the reason why these so readily embraced Christianity, whilst the *Jews*, blinded with pride, and soothed into the hopes of a conquering deliverer, rejected both him and his doctrine, and have endeavoured to persuade their disciples, if not themselves, that his coming was for some secret reason, much probably for the sins of their nation, deferred or retarded till a more proper time.

According to this notion, they still expect, that he will appear in the pomp and grandeur of a conquering and victorious monarch, who shall free them from all foreign yoke, and bring them, and all other nations, under that of the *Jews*, for this is the intent they put on all those prophecies which set forth the glories of his kingdom: and these being the chief blessings they expected from him, and on which they set the highest value, what more likely cause could be assigned for his delay, than that of their sins?

But, could they have opened their eyes to the opposite part of his character, which is here as plainly and expressly foretold, and in the very same chapter of the same prophet (6), namely, that

of his humiliation and sufferings, of his being rejected, reproached, blasphemed, and persecuted, even to death; they must have concluded, that nothing less than the sins could be the cause of his coming being so long suspended. On the contrary, they would have seen, that since a person of his glorious, benevolent, and irreproachable character, was to be so cruelly treated, so unjustly and so inhumanly butchered, by his own people, no time could be fitter for his coming, than when their nation was risen to the height of ingratitude and injustice, of infatuation and inhumanity, as it really was, when those prophecies were fulfilled in him.

(A) This was the fifth time of its being shut since the foundation of *Rome*; the first time was under *Vam*; the second at the end of the *Punic war*; the third under *Cæsar*, *Julius*, after the defeat of *Marc Antonij*, and death of *Caecilia*, twenty-nine years before the birth of Christ; the fourth, four years after, or twenty-five years before Christ, on the reduction of the *Cantibrians* or *Cantabrians in Spain*; and the fifth at this time of our Saviour's birth, and under the same emperor (7).

(5) *Numb. xxii. 17.* (6) *Isaias lvi. paff. ad. & Ps. xxii. paff. & alibi. paff.*

(7) *De his vid. Plutarch. in Numa. Liv. lib. i. Flor. lib. ii. Dio. Coss. lib. li. & pl. Oros. I. vi. c. 20, & seq.*

uproar, was the arrival of the *magi*, or wise men, from the *Wise men east* (B), to that metropolis, under the guidance of a miraculous *star, the east*.

(B) It would, doubtless, prove an inquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning these wise men, who they were, what part of the world they came from, what time of the year they arrived at *Jerusalem*, how many they were; and many more such questions, which have been started to little purpose, and to which no satisfactory light can be given. However, to spare our curious readers the trouble of consulting the various accounts that have been given of them, we shall here subjoin the most that can be found concerning them.

1st, It is generally agreed, that they were of the sect of the *mages*, of whom we have given an account in former volume (8), persons wholly addicted to the study of philosophy, astronomy, and divination, and are supposed by some to have been the disciples or descendants of *Balaam*, whom we have mentioned a little higher, on account of his notable prophecy of the *Messiah*. This will not appear improbable, if we consider that both they, and their supposed master, are said to come from the east (9). Now the latter is said to have been sent for from the city of *Pethor* (1), which is there affirmed to have been situate on the banks of the river of the land of the children of his people, or, as the targum of *Onkelos* renders the place, on the river *Euphrates*, and elsewhere is said by *Mosis* to have been a city of *Mesopotamia*.

Arabia D, seems most probably to be the place they came from, for that generally bears the name of eastern in the sacred writings. Another ancient author, whom we shall have occasion to mention under the next note, tells us, that they were *Chaldeans* by birth, and by profession great astronomers, and, that it was by the help of this art, that they understood what this new risen star presignified, which made them take their journey into *Judea*, where the new *King* was born. Now (1) id appropos so called, being situate along the river *Lycus*, is still nearer *Judea* than the other two above mentioned.

This will also give us some light into another question concerning them, to wit How long they were coming from their country to *Jerusalem* for, if they came from the latter, they might easily reach it on their camel or draydares, the usual, but expeditious carriage, of those parts, in and about a fortnight, and if from the former, through the latter, one week or ten days more might suffice for, from the supposition above-mentioned, of their coming from *Mesopotamia*, and the banks of the *Euphrates*, the greatest distance from that river to *Jerusalem* will not much exceed six hundred miles. What further seems to confirm this conjecture is, the prophecy of the kings of

(8) Vol. v p. 155, & sq. & p. 387, (L).
& Multo. ii. i.

(1) *Numa.* xxii. 5.

(9) *Conf Numb.* xxii. 7.
(2) *Deut.* xxvi. 4.

Sabea and *Saba*, or *Arabia*, bringing their gifts to the king *Messiah*; for of him is this psalm (3) allowed by *Jews* and *Christians* to have been written.

Some antient authors indeed, who have fetched them from the remotest parts of *Persia*, have allowed them two years travel; and found their supposition on the inquiry which *Herod* made of the exact time of the star's appearing to them, and his destroying all the male infants from two years and under (4); but what quite overturns this conjecture, and proves that they must have been at *Bethlehem* within less than forty days after his birth, is, that this was the place where they found him; whereas, after his parents had presented him to the *Lord* at *Jerusalem*, which was to be done at the end of forty days, they are said to have gone and dwelt at *Nazareth*, their usual habitation (5).

Besides, if they had been two years in coming, the star must be also supposed to have appeared to them so long before, and to have directed them all that time; which is absurd, as we shall further shew under the next note. *Herod* therefore, by slaying all the males under two years, might only do it for his greater security, and from some doubt, either that the *magi* might not have observed the first appearance of the star, or that they had purposely concealed it from him, out of a forecast they had of his bloody design against the child. We have seen already through his history, that he was never

sparing of the lives of his subjects, whenever his jealousy or resentment rendered them obnoxious to him.

Neither sacred nor antient ecclesiastical writers tell us, how many in number, or of what quality, they were; but this has not hindered some, more recent, fixing these, and many more minute circumstances, even as far as their names, age, complexion, dress, retinue, and such-like. As for their number, the most received opinion is, that they were but three, and this notion seems founded on the three kinds of presents they brought with them, as if each of them had presented a different one. But this is said without foundation. An old apocryphal book has multiplied them to twelve; and adds, that they were chosen from their whole nation, and went every night on the high mountains to watch the appearance of the star (6).

Those that gave them the title of kings, found their opinion partly on the text above-quoted out of the psalmist, and partly on a notion, which *Tertullian* had taken (7), on what ground is hard to guess, that all those eastern nations were governed by kings chosen out the seed of the *mages*. To their royal crown the *Armenians* (8) have added that of martyrdom, which they pretend they suffered in that country. The great constable of *Armenia*, in his letter to the king of *France* (St. *Louis*), adds, that they came thither from the province of *Tangut* (9). All this is said on the authority of a tradition

(3) *Psalm lxxii. 10.*

(4) *De his vid. Calmet. comment. in Matth.*
(5) Luke ii. 39. (6) Auct. op. imperf. in Matth. bomil. ii.

Muratori. l. iii. & lib. cont. Iudeos.

tom. iii.

(7) *Cont. vid. Chardin's travels into Persia,*

(8) Specieg. ap. Calmet. sub supra.

star (C), which ceased not to go before them, till it had brought them to the place and person they were in search of. However,

as

tion they have among them, and not from any authentic records; so that we may oppose to it that of the city of *Cologne*, which pretends that they died there in their way home, and shews not only their tomb, but their three heads, in the cathedral of that city. Their epitaph, which is in *Latin* verse, gives them the names of *Gaspar, Melchior, and Baltazar.*

We shall add one tradition more concerning them, which is, it seems, as slily believed in some parts of the *Indies*, as the two last are in *Armenia* and *Germany*. We have it on the credit of *Jerom Osorius*, bishop of *Algarba* in *Portugal*, who assures us he had it from persons of undoubted credit, well yersed in the antient monuments of those countries, and is to this effect:

Ghipimal, king of *Cranganor*, in the kingdom of *Calecut*, having undertaken some long voyage by way of expiation for an incest he had committed, came into *Carmania*, where he met with two *mages* going into *Judea* to pay their homage to a miraculous child newly born of a virgin. The king begged leave to accompany them, and on his return caused a stately church to be built in honour of the Virgin and her Son, and in which he caused her image to be set up, holding the child in her arms. We shall stop here, seeing there is no going further in search of them, without danger of being still more bewildered.

However, before we dismiss this note, it will be very proper

to take notice, once for all, that, from the very earliest times of Christianity, there started up a number of heretics, who, the better to colour their impious tenets, trumped up divers false gospels and writings, under the names of some of the apostles, or most famous disciples of Christ, and stuffed them with such variety of miraculous circumstances and stories, as obliged the heads of the church to condemn and explode them, as they justly deserved. But though the books vanished, except their names, and some few fragments of them, yet the memory of those additiontious stories and miracles was not so easily extinguished among the vulgar, who were ignorant of their foul origin; but was propagated by a kind of popular tradition, which was afterwards too indiscriminately received by the writers of the fourth, fifth, &c. centuries, especially where they thought it served to clear a text, or supplied those circumstances of men and things, which had been omitted by the sacred writers; but hath been long since justly rejected by most Christians of all churches.

(C) We have likewise a great variety of conjectures, concerning this wonderful star, according as men are inclined, either to lessen or to multiply miracles. Of this second sort are those who think it to have been a mere comet, only with some peculiar lustre, or some other index, well understood by the wise men (2); and others, who make no more

(1) *Orig. Maled. Crat. Le Clerc in Matt. ii. Whiston, &c. al.*

as they looked upon him as the king of the *Xhaw*, they must repaired to the metropolis, where he was most likely to be either born,

of it than a meteor, vastly below the orb of the moon (2); though either of these can hardly be admitted, without the interposition of a miracle, since the supposition of an extraordinary lustre in the former, and the long and regular motion of the latter, contrary to all that we understand of meteors, seems to have required a supernatural hand. Since, therefore, a miracle must be admitted, and it is plain, God was never less sparing of them, than upon this glorious juncture; others have, with greater probability, believed it to have been a luminous body, created on purpose; others, that it was the very light which had appeared to the shepherds, which, having been seen at a distance by the wise men like a star, came lastly to appear to them in a more resplendent manner (3). Some think it was an angel in that figure (4); others have run still greater lengths, making it to have been the Holy Ghost, appearing in that visible shape, and have attributed such an unusual brightness to it, as even eclipsed the sun: if so, it is a wonder no contemporary authors, either sacred or profane, should have said something of it.

And this will, in a great measure, explode the notion of those we mentioned in the foregoing note, who make the wise men to have been two years in coming to *Jerusalem*, and the star to have gone all that time before them; since its long continuance,

and irregular motion, with respect to other heavenly bodies, could not but awaken the attention and wonder of all those countries, in which it must have been seen. But this difficulty has been removed, by pretending, that it appeared either to none but to the *magi*, or only two or three times, enough for those who were watchful observers of it, but overlooked by all the rest. But this is said without foundation, or even shadow of probability; and the question the *magi* at *Jerusalem* seems much rather to imply, that it had been seen at least in all the countries between *Judaea* and their own.

We will not take upon us to say, which of all these hypotheses is the most probable, since the sacred historian has left us in the dark, and the rest of ancient historians are quite silent about it. We shall only subjoin here, what the *Platonic* philosopher *Chalcidius* says of it (5): It is not easy indeed to guess at the time in which he lived; but that he was a Christian, the very passage itself plainly shews: "Let us now turn our thoughts (says he) to another and more holy history, and such an one as is more worthy of our admiration; I mean that which mentions the appearance of a star, not of the nature of those which portended either sickness or mortality, but which manifested the descent of God upon earth, to dwell among

(2) *Calmet, ubi suprad.*
(3) *Lev. Mag. in Matis. Ligibifore, &c al.*
(4) *Chrysoff. Theophylact, &c al.*

(5) *J. Comm. in Timaeum Platon. p. 19.*

born, or dead, of. This was first inquiry after him. Herod and the whole city were moved; and the grand Highpriest, being consulted about the place of his birth, directed them to Bethlehem, the city mentioned by the prophet above quoted. Whatever hopes the rest of the Jews might conceive from this wonderful phenomenon, and the tidings of the new-born Messiah, Herod, who dreamt of nothing but an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and resolved from that instant to nip him in the bud. To this end he Herod, caused the magi to be privately brought to him; and, having fear and carefully sifted them, concerning the time of the star's appearance, and other circumstances, which might serve his bloody design, he dismissed them with these words; *Go and search diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewise and pay my homage to him.* They set out accordingly, and were not a little overjoyed, when, upon leaving Jerusalem, they beheld the same star still going before them, till it stood and shot its rays perpendicularly upon the house where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the Divine babe with suitable reverence; and, having ^{Wise men} laid open their treasures, they offered him the presents of gold, ^{gifts to} frankincense, and myrrh (E); and, being warned not to go back ^{Christ.}

to

" men, and to bless them with
" his choicest favours. Some of
" the magi, or wise men of
" Chaldea, having observed
" this star in the night, and
" being thoroughly versed in
" astronomy, went immediately
" in search of this new-born
" God; and, having found him,
" presented him with gifts suit-
" able to his divine character." The reader will find in the subsequent note, what may have been probably the meaning of this last expression.

(E) The piety of some ancient times, when allegory was in greatest vogue, and mysteries were diligently looked for in every part of holy writ, hath led men into such lengths, as it would be dangerous to follow in

these days. Particularly in these presents, which the wise men offered to the holy Jesus, they have pretended to find out, either his three distinct offices of King, Priest, and Prophet, or his divinity, royalty, and manhood (6); or, lastly, the divine virtues he was endowed with, and was to communicate to his true followers; to wit, purity by the myrrh, which is an excellent ingredient to preserve from corruption; incense, the smoke or perfume of which is said to be the prayers of the faithful (7); and charity or beneficence, the most acceptable perfume that can be offered to the Deity, and implied in the gold.

Others, grieving to see their fellow-christians feed their piec-

(6) *Ambro. in Luke ii. 6. Ldy Serm. de Epiphon. Theop. in Matth. ii. Bern. &c. mult.* (7) *De his vid. Bern. sub A. C. i. seqq. 40. & Galmet. sub voc. Magis.*

*His pa-
rents pre-
sent him in
the tem-
ple.*

to *Jerusalem*, they returned home another way^c. As soon as the child was forty days old, the time prescribed for the purification of women after the birth of a son^f, his parents brought him to *Jerusalem* to be presented to the *Lord* in the temple, and to be redeemed, according to the law concerning the first-born^z, with the price of five shekels, or of a lamb, or a pair of doves, or young pigeons; which last was the price appointed for the meaner sort. And to such low condition was the family of *David* reduced by this time, and so poor were the parents of the world's inestimable Redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the lowest price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named *Simeon* (F), a person of consummate piety, and endowed

^c MATTH. ii. 1, & seq. ^f LEVIT. xii. 2, & 6. ^z EXOD. xiii. 2. NUMB. xviii. 15. See also before, vol. iii. p. 60, & (F).

with such far-fetched notions, have sought a nearer meaning, by running into another extreme, and concluded, that nothing else seems intended by those gifts, than the supplying the present and future indigencies of the child and his parents, who were shortly to be forced to take a long journey into *Egypt*. So that the gold was to defray their expences, the myrrh to preserve the babe's tender limbs in his travels, and the incense to dispel the common damps, and ill smell, either of his stable, or of those caravanzeras or inns, in which they would be obliged to lodge.

But there is a middle way between those extremes, which is, that the *mags* offered these presents to the new-born Monarch, as they looked on him merely as the future king of the *Jews*, and without any regard to his divinity, of which it doth not sufficiently appear that they were apprised. Only they supposed, by the wonderful phenomena that preceded and accompanied his

birth, that he was likely to prove such a glorious monarch, as that his reign would eclipse those of all his ancestors; but whether, on account of his greater power, conquests, or for what other reason, it is not likely they could know, without a particular revelation.

(F) The shortness of the evangelist's account concerning this venerable person, has been abundantly supplied by the pious and fruitful fancies of later writers, who have each contributed their mite towards the raising of his character. He has been by many (1) affirmed to have been a priest, and to have been then performing his function, in receiving the child in his arms, according to the custom of redeeming the first-born. There is, indeed, nothing can make this incredible or improbable, if we except the silence of St. *Luke*, who, it is not likely, would have overlooked his being a priest, if he had been really such.

Some have affirmed him to have been the same with *Simon*, surnamed *The Just*, disciple of

(3) *Allat, differt. de Script. Simeon. sub init.*

endowed with the spirit of prophecy ; to whom it had been revealed, that he should not see death before he had beheld the promised Messiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghost Simeon^r to the temple at the same time, he took the babe in his arms ; *ecstatic* and, having foretold to his mother the sorrows with which her *prophecy of pious soul would in time be pierced, on account of the many bim,* blasphemies and persecutions which this Divine Son was to be exposed to, and being now assured, that nothing could add to his happiness, but the joys of a future life, sung his own requiem in a short ecstatic hymn, and restored the babe to his parents. His testimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old prophetess, named *Anna*, who had dedicated the remainder of her life, from her widowhood, to the service of God, and of his temple ; and, coming at that instant to the place, began likewise from thenceforth to publish this new-born Saviour to all the faithful *Israelites*^b.

WHAT bloody expedient the jealous *Herod* pitched upon to frustrate all these predictions, by ridding himself of this so dreaded child, and how he was disappointed in it by a peculiar providence, will be seen in the next section : and we shall close this, according to our promise, with a short view of the sects at this *The rati-* time reigning in *Judea*, that the reader may see how it came *riuous sects* to pass, that a Messiah, so plainly and frequently foretold from *then reign-* the beginning, so miraculously conceived and born, proclaimed *ing among* *the Jews.*

^a LUKE ii. 22, ad 38.

the famous *Hillel*, often mentioned in this history, who was also the master of that *Gamaliel*, at whose feet St. *Paul* had been brought up (9) ; and that whilst he was endeavouring after an exposition of the prophecy, quoted a little higher, *A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son*, this revelation was made to him, that he should not die before he had seen it fulfilled. So that when he came to see the miraculous mother and child, he broke out into that divine and prophetic ecstasy mentioned by the evangelist, and died soon after. *Epiphanius* adds (1), that the noble testimony he gave to this new-born Saviour, to exasperated the stub-

born *Jews*, that they denied him common burial.

Another set, which makes him one of the seventy interpreters of the *Greek* version, mentioned in a former section (2), tell us, that when he came to translate the prophecy, just now mentioned, he found his faith stagger ; but that his doubts were happily dispelled by this revelation, that he should see the accomplishment of it before he died (3). So that at that rate he must have lived to a good old age, since, at the lowest, that version was made above two hundred years before Christ, and those interpreters were scarcely chosen out of the youngest tribe.

(9) *Acti.* xxii. 3.
p. 239, & seq. & nos.

(1) *De vir. & mort. prophet.*
(3) *De bus vid. Alex. ubi supra.*

by angels, attested by prophets, and confirmed by innumerable miracles, the infallible seals of heaven, came yet to be rejected and persecuted even to death, and beyond, by those who were the keepers and expounders of those oracles, which foretold and typified him, and eye-witnesses of all his stupendous works. For though we are writing the history of the *Jews*, and not of the Christians, yet, forasmuch as the destruction of their temple, *One of the city, and commonwealth, was owing to their refusing to accept of knowledge the Messiah, after he had fulfilled in his own person all that the prophets had written of him*¹; it will be necessary to examine, by what prejudices and infatuation they brought this total and lasting desolation upon their country and nation; and, upon a review of the doctrines peculiar to each sect, it will be found, that their invincible attachment, each to their own tenets, were the main causes and hasteners of it (G).

Josephus's account of pharisees; 2. sadducees; 3. essenians; and, 4. the *Galileans*, or the faction of *Judas Galileus*^k. The evangelists add that of the *Herodians* to the two former, and mention nothing of the two last, probably because they did not oppose the gospel with that inveteracy which the others did. How powerful and numerous the pharisaic sect was among the meaner, and what

¹ LUKE c. ult ver. 25, & seq. ACTS iii. 12, ad 22, & alib. plur.
^k Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & seq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. pass.

(G) For, on the one hand, that erroneous and pernicious opinion, which every one of them obstinately held of a temporal Messiah, and conquering deliverer, was attended with two very fatal consequences, namely, the rejecting the true one, whom they saw appear in a quite opposite character; and their seeking him in those impostors, who flattered them in their delusion, and ripened them into an open rebellion. Such was *Judas Galileus*, the head of the *Gaulomites* sect or faction, which proved the mother of infinite mischiefs to that infatuated nation, and hastened their total ruin; to say nothing of several other pretenders to the character either of the Messiah, or of his forerunner, which

drew full vast multitudes after them. On the other hand, the irreconcileable hatred which every sect bore, either to each other, on account of their different tenets, or against Christianity, which was still more opposite to their own, did so weaken and distract the whole body, that, instead of joining their united counsel and strength against their oppressors, they did as much strengthen them by their mutual feuds and persecutions, as they exasperated them by their seditious and hostile behaviour, and made their own ruin so much the easier to complete. All which will be better seen by the sequel, especially by a short view of each of those sects.

perpetual wars each waged against the other, has been already frequently hinted, and will now be better understood, by a short review of their different tenets.

I. THE rise of the pharisees is very much unknown : they *Pharisees*, claim, indeed, their famous doctor *Hillel*, often mentioned in their origin this chapter, for their father, as he is supposed by some to have given. lived during the pontificate of *Jonathan*, about an hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, but by others later ; and more justly too, since, if he be the *Pollio* mentioned by *Josephus*, along with the famous *Simeon*, he must have lived about the time of *Herod*, long before whom the pharisaic sect was in high repute. It is therefore likely, they claim him rather as an ornament, than as the author of their sect (H).

We have formerly had occasion to mention one of their favourite tenets, namely, that of an oral tradition conveyed down *oral tradition* from *Moses*, and to which they attributed the same divine authority as to the sacred books¹. This being strenuously opposed by the sadducees, as well as the *Samaritans*, and the *Caraites* (a sect of which we shall give some account at the close of this section), made these equally detested by them. But none more incurred their hatred and resentment than our Saviour, who took all proper occasions of reproving them for the unjustifiable preference which they gave this pretended tradition to the written word of GOD, and for condemning those as apostates worthy of death, who paid not the same, or even a greater regard to the former than to the latter.

ANOTHER tenet of theirs, in opposition to the sadducees, was, *Belief of that of the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, resurrection, and future rewards*. But, as to this last, they first excluded all that were notoriously wicked from having any share in it, and sent them immediately after their death into everlasting punishment (I).

A THIRD

¹ See before, vol iii. p. 5, (B), & seq.

(H) As to the pharisees, it is probable, they did not begin to distinguish themselves, till the opposite sect of the sadducees started up, and made them, by degrees, run into the other extreme. This seems evident, from the etymon of their name, whether we derive it, with the generality of critics, from the Hebrew, פְּרִיסָה, to divide or separate, or,

with others (4), from another sense of that word, signifying recompence or retribution, in opposition to their antagonists, who denied and derided it, at least as to a future life.

(I) *Josephus*, who was himself a strict as well as learned pharisee, affirms, that those spirits, which they called devils, were no other than the souls of

(4) *Vid. Beiträge h. d. Jüdf.,* 1. II. ch. 78. seq. 2.

Fatality. A THIRD tenet was, that all things were subject to fate (or, as some expressed it, to the heavens), except the fear of God. It is not easy to guess what they meant by it: *Josephus* ^m, indeed, will have it, that they designed to reconcile, by this unaccountable jumble, the fatality or predestination of the essenes with the free-will of the sadducees. If so, this is not the only absurdity, or even contradiction, which they held: but our learned bishop *Bull* seems to have proved, that they attributed all to fate, or to that chain of causes, to which the Creator had subjected all things from the beginning ⁿ; among which the influence of the heavenly bodies was looked upon to be one of the principal (K).

BUT

^m JOSEPH. ubi supra. Vid. & antiqu. l. xiii. c. 9, & xviii. c. 1, 2.
ⁿ Harmon. apost. dissert. poster. c. 15.

such wicked men, who, still retaining their mischievous propensity, were ever seeking to annoy those of the living by obfessions, &c. In the next place, this resurrection, in those that were admitted to it, was no more than a transmigration from one body to another, more or less happy, according to their behaviour in their former state. Thus the disciples asked our Saviour, Who had sinned, the blind man before them, or his parents, that he should be punished with blindness (5): and thus Herod, and the multitude, supposed Christ to be either John the baptist, Elias, or some other prophet risen from the dead (6). When, therefore, that Divine Master came to preach to them a more glorious resurrection, this proud sect could not but look upon it as a derogation from what they thought their superior authority and judgment; which was therefore the more offensive to them, as coming from so mean, illiterate, and contemptible a person.

(K) This seems hinted at by St. James, in the beginning of his epistle to his new converts, where he explodes that pharisaical leaven by the most beautiful opposition of the immutability of God, the giver of all good, to the mutability of the planets, which, according to that notion, must necessarily vary their aspects from a benign to a malevolent one, and *vice versa*, even by the natural change of their courses (7).

Here was then a new source of dislike to Christ's doctrine, which affirms men to be the authors of their own unbelief, disobedience, obstinacy, and so answerable for that, and all the train of evils which it brings after it (8). It must be owned, however, that some critics have given a different sense to *Josephus*'s words, and, whilst one makes the Jews from it to fall into the worship of angels, as having the government of those heavenly bodies (9), others have endeavoured to dis- culpate them even from their

(5) John ix. 2. Matt. iv. 2. xvi. 14, & alib. (7) James, c. i. 13, 16, 17. Vid. & B. k. vindication int. al. Matt. xxiii. 37. (8) Videl.

(9) Baronius op. Bajusag. bish. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 18, fol. 7.

BUT their most distinguished character, and that which *Tradition* rendered them most obnoxious to the just censures of Christ, *nat cens.* was their supererogatory attachment to the ceremonial law, *sens.* their frequent washings, fastings, and prayings, their public alms-deeds, hunting after proselytes, scrupulous tythings, affected gravity of dress, gesture, and mortified looks; their building the tombs of the prophets, to tell the world, that they were more righteous than their ancestors, who murdered them, though themselves were then plotting the death of the best and greatest of all the prophets; their over-scrupulous observance of the sabbath, to the exclusion of works of the greatest charity, and many more of the like nature; whilst they were wholly negligent of the moral and eternal law of mercy and justice, of charity, humility, and the like indispensable virtues. The best of them, contenting themselves with abstaining from the finishing act of any sin, indulged themselves in all the thoughts, desires, and complacencies, which came short of it; whilst others, more hardened in their vices, made no scruple, not only to covet, but to devour poor widows houses; to commit the vilest of oppressions, injustices, and cruelties, and to encourage it in their own disciples, under the specious cloak of religion and sanctity. Well might Christ then compare them to whitened sepulcres, beautiful indeed without, but within full of rottenness and corruption. *THE*
(2).

• MATT. xxiii. 27, & alib.

known attachment to astrology, by pretending, that by the heavens is meant no more than the eternal decrees of God, which, are yet supposed very consistent with the notion of a freedom of will (1). Both sides had an end to serve, and seem to argue according to their different notions; which it is not our business to enter further into, much less to reconcile the pharisees notion, if it was really theirs, of a freedom of will, with the absolute and eternal decree of the Supreme Being. Sure it seems, from the address of the proud pharisee with, God, *I thank thee* (2), that he looked upon him as the original source of all those fanfied

virtues he there boasts of, whatever chanel he might suppose they flowed to him from: and doth not this at least intimate, that he looked upon the want of those virtues in the despised publican to be owing to his being deprived, by the same arbitrary will or decree, of that superior grace which produced them in him? All which is contrary likewise to the doctrine of Christ; which teaches us, that God distributes to every man sufficient share of it to profit withal, and increases it according to the improvement they make of it.

(L) Hence that fatal and judicial infatuation, which made them overlook all the miracles

(1) *Bajtag. ubi supra*, scđ. 7, & seq.

(2) *Luke xviii. 11.*

Expectation of a temporal Messiah. THE last erroneous notion we shall mention of theirs, which was indeed common to the other sects, but more exactly tallied with the haughty, rapacious, and cruel temper of the pharisees, was their expectation of a glorious conquering Messiah, who was to bring the whole world under the Jewish yoke; insomuch that there was scarce a kennel-raker among them, that did not expect to be made governor of some opulent province under him (M).

Sadducees deny the resurrection, &c. II. THE sadducean sect was no less opposite to the doctrine of Christ. We have already given some account, in a former section ², of their rise, and of their favourite tenet, that there was neither resurrection, reward, or punishment, nor even life, after this. They added, that GOD was the only immaterial being; in consequence of which, they admitted neither angels, nor any spiritual substances, but him. Whether this was the original doctrine of *Saddoc* their founder, as the talmudists and *Josephus* affirm; or whether these, and some of their other epicurean principles, were afterwards gradually introduced by his loose disciples, in order to rid themselves of the dread of a sad hereafter, as some moderns think; it is plain this tenet was very ripe with them in our Saviour's time; which made them take several opportunities of opposing and ridiculing his doctrine of the resurrection ³.

Affirm a self-sufficiency. ANOTHER of their tenets, equally opposite to the pharisees, and to the doctrine of Christ, was, that man was ~~mad~~ absolute master of all his actions, and stood in no need of any

² Page 238, & seq.

³ MATT. xxii. 23, & seq. & alib. plur.

which he wrought before their eyes, because he chose to do some of them on the sabbath; as if healing the sick, giving ears to the deaf, eyes to the blind, life to the dead, &c. was a violation instead of an hallowing of that day; and must denominate him a profane person, a sabbath-breaker, a false prophet, and seducer, or any other odious name, rather than what those miraculous works, long before foretold by the prophets, demonstrated him to be, the Messiah, and Redeemer of mankind.

(M) How unlikely then was

it, that a meek and humble Jesus, whose doctrine breathed nothing but humility, peace, disinterestedness, sincerity, contempt of the world, and worldly things, and universal love and beneficence, should ever be relished by that proud, covetous, and hypocritical sect, or even by the rest of the populace, as long as these their demagogues so strenuously opposed it! But we shall enlarge no further upon them: those who are desirous to know more, may consult the authors quoted below (3).

(3) *Lighthfoot, Dryfus, Serrarius, Calmet, pref. in comm. in Marc. & Prid. connect. sub A. C. 107.*

affiance to choose or act¹. For this reason they were always most severe in their sentences, whenever they sat as judges. Josephus adds, in another place², that they looked upon the Deity as above intermeddling with human affairs; which is, in effect, denying a providence, and consequently all religion (N).

THEY rejected all the pretended oral traditions of the *Rejet all pharisees*, and stuck close to the text of the sacred books; *oral traditions, &c.* and gave the preference to those of *Moses* above the rest. All the Jews did so, and do to this day; and, had they absolutely denied the authority of the latter, it is not likely they could have escaped being severely reprobated for it, either by our Saviour and his apostles, or even by Josephus, who gives them such a foul character in other points; and yet he owns³, that they received *τὰ γεγραμμένα*, the written books; which expression is too general, and too much in their favour, to have flowed from his pen, could he have charged them with rejecting any of them⁴ (O).

SOME

¹ Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. ² Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. ³ Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. ⁴ Vid. Le CLERC. histot. eccles. proleg. sect. 1. sect. 3.

(N) But this favours too much ~~of~~ the pharisaic scandal; and it can hardly be supposed, that men of such principles should not only continue uncensured and uncondemned by the sanhedrin, but be permitted to have access to the temple, to propose their questions and objections, and perform their devotions there, as freely as any pharisee; and, which is still more surprising, should be suffered to fill the highest dignities in church and state. Besides, such principles seem altogether incompatible with their allowed belief of the *Mosaic* books, though they had rejected all the rest, as they are by some supposed to have done (4). But *Scatiger*, we think, has sufficiently cleared them of even this last imputation (5), which

has no other foundation, than that our Saviour chose to confute them only from the pentateuch.

(O) Those who will have them to receive only the pentateuch, add another argument to that above-mentioned, and equally inconclusive; to wit, that the other sacred books did too plainly impugn their particular doctrines: but must not they, for the same reason, have rejected those of *Moses*? Are there not numberless instances of angels and spirits? and are there not likewise several pregnant proofs in them, if not of a resurrection, at least of the rewards and punishments of a future life (6)? The very pharisees themselves laid down, as a fundamental principle, that it was not enough to believe the

(4) Hieron. in Mattb. Orig. cont. Celsi l. i. Serrar. tribaref. l. ii. Prid. ubi supra. (5) Euseb. tribaref. cont. Serrar. c. 16. (6) Vid. Scatig. ubi supra.

Other par- **SOME** other pretended erroneous tenets they are charged, ticular te- by *Josephus* and the talmudists^v, to have held, particularly that of condemning polygamy, as forbid by the *Mosaic* law; but, as they were not opposite to the Christian doctrine, nor an obstacle to their receiving it, we shall pass them by. Those we have already mentioned were more than sufficient to frighten them from it. The notion of a future life, universal judgment, eternal rewards and punishments, to men, whom a contrary doctrine had long soothed into luxury, and an overgrown fondness for all earthly happiness, which they looked upon as the only reward they were to expect for their obedience, must, of necessity, appear strange and frightful; and, as such, could not but meet with the strongest opposition from them; especially if we add, what *Josephus* observes, that they were, for the generality, men of the greatest quality and opulence, and, consequently, too apt to prefer the pleasures and grandeur of this life to those of another. The Jewish historian concludes their character, in opposition to those of his own sect, with telling us, that they were a set of men churlish and morose towards each other, and cruel and savage to all besides ^w (P).

III. THE

^v Glossar. in sanhedr. Vid. & MENASS. BEN ISRAEL, lib. i. de resurrect. mort. c. 6. ^w Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, in fin.

resurrection, unless one believed also that it was contained in the law; so they called the pentateuch.

Add to all this, that the reading of all the other books in the temple and synagogues having been introduced long before, as we have elsewhere observed (7), it is not likely they would have abstained at it; and yet we do not find, that they abstained themselves from it, either upon that, or any other account. What, therefore, the learned *Menasse* last-quoted says of them, seems most probably to have been their case, namely, that they did not reject them, but only expounded them in a different sense from the other Jews.

(P) Some have looked upon this sect to have been quite cut off at the total destruction of Jerusalem (8). It is true, indeed, that they were very much weakened and thinned by the Romans, on account of their riches and credit; but their doctrines, so pleasing to flesh and blood, were not likely to continue long without fresh advocates. Accordingly, we find them so well revived and numerous in Egypt, even from the middle of the third or beginning of the fourth century, that *Ammonius*, *Origen's* master, thought it high time to write against them, or rather against the Jews, for suffering them to propagate their irreligious principles. Some, we are

(7) See before, p. 220, & seq. & alib. paff. (8) Vid. *Simon. hist. crit. V. T. Prid. connect. ubi supra.*

told,

III. THE *Herodians* are so little known, that we need not Herodi-wonder at the vast variety of opinions, which both the ancient fathers, and the moderns, have entertained concerning them, and of which the bare mention would swell us beyond our bounds (Q) : for it is plain, from the evangelists, that they made a considerable sect or party in our Saviour's time ; that they differed from those of the pharisees, sadducees, and essenians ; and that they held some particular tenets of a dangerous nature, since Christ thought fit to forewarn his disciples against their leaven ^x. It is true, some have confounded them with the sadducees ^y, because St. Matthew, in a parallel place ^z, mentions them instead of the *Herodians*. But, as they are often mentioned elsewhere, in contradistinction to them ^a, it is likely, that one evangelist only supplies what the other has omitted. Hence it follows likewise, that they were not a kind of Jewish confraternity instituted in honour of *Herod*, and like the *Roman* sodales, augustales, &c. (which were not instituted in that empire till a long time after *Herod's* death) as some have imagined ^b, but a real sect, distinct from the rest in their principles and interests (R).

How-

* MARK viii. 15. ^y HAMM. LE CLERC, & al. in loc. sup.
citat. HARDWYN. num. ^z MATT. xvi. 6. ^a Conf. loc. sup.
citat. cum MATT. xxxii. 16, & alib ^b SCALIG. anim. in chron.
Euseb. 1882. CASAUBON. proleg. in exercit. Baronian.

told, are still to be met with in Africa, and elsewhere, who deny a future life, and hold all the other tenets of that sect (9). Perhaps, were they less odious to the sober part of mankind, we should find them more numerous than they appear. However, bad as they are, we are told, by a Jewish chronologer (1), of a learned Spanish rabbi, named Asarag, who, in the twelfth century, wrote a book in defence of that sect; wherein he affirmed, that the purity of the Jewish religion was only to be found among them, whilst the pharisees clogged it with an infinity of needless and intolerable ceremonies.

(Q) *Josephus*, as we have hinted above, makes no mention of them; and, if the most general notion be right, that they were a set of men who cried up *Hered* as the Messiah, we need not be surprised, that this flattering historian should pass by a sect which applied those prophecies to that Jewish monarch, with which himself was complimenting his favourite emperor *Titus Vespasian*, as we shall see in the sequel. How *Pbik* comes likewise to be silent of them, is past our finding out.

(R) There is likewise a different opinion concerning them, among those who affirm them to have believed Herod to be the

(9) *Vid. Basnage, ubi supra, I. ii. c. 25, pass.* Calmet, *dissert. de scđt. Jud. in prof. in evang. Marc. &c al. sup. utat.* (1) *Gantz Thesmaeb David.*

(1) *Gesus Tzemach David.* Messiah;

HOWEVER, other critics have, with greater probability, reduced that sect into a kind of *Herodian* faction, set up in opposition to the pharisees and zealots; and, that the *Herodians* maintained the lawfulness of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings that were set over them by the *Romans*, which was absolutely denied by the latter. The former likewise excused several unlawful innovations which had been made by *Herod the Great*, and his successors, as the effects of necessity rather than choice; whereas the latter decried them as heathenish, idolatrous, and the effects of a base complaisance for the *Roman* emperors. Another critic, often quoted in this chapter^c for his new genealogies of the *Herodian* family, pretends, they were a

^c HARD. ap. BASNAQ. sect. 11, & seq.

Messiah; namely, which of the kings of that name they gave that title to (2). Some thought it was to *Herod I.* surnamed *the Great*, on account of his superior prowess, riches, magnificence, and of his kingdom's extending even beyond *Palestine*, which was more than any of his successors could boast of. They add, that he caused all the genealogies and records concerning the family of *David* to be destroyed, to prevent their being urged in opposition to his own lineage. But all this is easily confuted by the single consideration, that, if he had been the person whom they took for the Messiah, his dreadful death, which was looked upon as a judgment from heaven, to say nothing of his wicked and hateful reign, would long before have convinced them of their error; whereas we find them still very numerous, famed, and zealous for their sect, in our Saviour's time, above thirty years after that monarch's death. Those, therefore, who think that his son *Herod*, surnamed *Antipas*, the same who took the infamous

Herodias from his brother *Philip*, and caused *John* the baptist to be beheaded on her account, to have been the Messiah, cried up by this sect, seem to judge with more probability. It is true, his dominions were confined within much narrower bounds than his father's; but then it is as plain, notwithstanding all *Josephus*'s panegyrics on him, that his ambition was as unlimited; witness his joining in the conspiracy with *Sejanus*, and the vast magazines he had filled with arms, and of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is not, therefore, improbable, that this prince, no less politic than ambitious, who is, on that account, called a fox by a more impartial judge (3), might take the advantage of the universal expectation which the *Jews* were then in of the Messiah, to form a party or sect of parasites, who should give it out, that he was the glorious person they looked for; and that nation did not want for men at that time base enough to flatter his ambition with that sacred title.

(a) Vid. Prud. conn. in fin. part. ii. l. v. Calmet. dissert. de sect. Juâtor &c al.

(3) Luk. xiii. 32. Bajnag. hist. des Juifs, tom. ii. part ii. ch 24.

sect of platonic philosophers, whom *Antipater* had brought from *Athens*; and adds, that they held pretty much the same doctrine as the sadducees, or rather, that those in *Judea* were the same with them. The reader may see that sanguine author sufficiently confuted by *Basnage*, in the place above-quoted. *Beza*, on the contrary, infers, that they agreed with the pharisees in denying the lawfulness of the tribute, from the insinuating question they came to put to our Saviour⁴. But it is rather plain, that their design, and more especially that of the pharisees, who sent them to him, was of another nature (S).

IV. THE next was that of the *Gaulonites*, so named from *Judas Gaulon-das* the *Gaulonite*^c, or *Galilean*, as he is called by St. *Luke*^f. It began to appear soon after the banishment of *Archelaus*, when his territories were made a *Roman* province, and the government given to *Coponius*. For the *Jews* looking upon this as an open attempt to reduce them into slavery, *Judas* took the advantage of their discontent to put himself at their head, and to rouse them for an insurrection. *Augustus* furnished him with a plausible pretence for it, by issuing out his edict to have the whole province of *Syria* new-surveyed, and taxed, about this time. *Judas*, therefore, who was a man of uncommon ambition, took occasion from it to display all his eloquence to convince the *Jews*, that such a submission was no less than base idolatry, and setting men upon the level

^a In *MATTH.* xxii. 16.

^b Vid. *antiq.* I. xviii. c. 1, 2.

^c *Acts* v. 37.

(S) These had been, just before, determining at any rate to entangle him in his answers, that they might find some matter to accuse him, because he had been setting forth a parable that touched them to the quick. They therefore sent their own disciples, in company with the *Herodians*, to entrap him with the question in dispute between them, *Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar* (4)? If he answered in the affirmative, they could object against him, that he was an impostor, and not, what he pretended, the *Messiah*, who was to free them from all foreign yoke and

impost; and upon this they could commence a criminal process against him, which would make them amends for his having given the preference to their antagonists. And if he answered in the negative, they gained a victory over them, and at the same time exposed him to their resentment, or rather to that of the civil power, which, they knew, would not fail to crush both the doctrine, and its Divine Preacher, especially at such a juncture, when there was another new faction started up into a sect, which began to appear somewhat dangerous.

(4) *Vid. Matth.* xxii. 16. a ver. 2, ad 17.

with GOD, who was the only LORD and Sovereign that could challenge their obedience and subjection. The party which he drew after him became, in a little time, so considerable, that they put every thing into confusion, and laid the foundation for those great mischiefs which ensued, and which will be seen in the sequel (T).

Effenians. V. THE effenians, though not taken notice of in the New Testament, did yet make a considerable sect among the Jews, and are very much celebrated by *Josephus*^a, *Philo*^b, *Pliny*^c; and by some of the fathers, and other Christian writers, both antient and modern^d; and, if they were the same with the hassidim, or asdanim ^e, as some have thought, we may add also, by the books of *Maccabees*, and other Jewish writers (U).

Tr

^a Antiq. l. iii. c. 9, 12, 18. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. pass.

^b Tract. quod omnis probus liber. ^c Hist. lib. v. c. 7. ^d EPIPH. haeres. 29. de Nazar. c. 4. SUID. sub voc. τρόποντα. SERRAR. tri-haeres. l. iii. c. 1, & al. inf. citat. ^e Vid. vol. iii. p. 235 (P).

(T) This sect, as well as that of the *Herodians*, lasted no longer than till the destruction of *Jerusalem*: a learned author, lately quoted, thinks them to have been the same sect, only called by different names by *Josephus* and the evangelists (5); but what has been said above concerning that of the *Herodians*, we think, sufficiently shews the contrary. Had their sect been the same, they ought to have been more properly called anti-herodians, since that monarch's authority was equally proclaimed against by their chief, as that of the *Romans*; and if their doctrine, against which our Saviour forewarns his disciples, had been the same with that of the *Gaulonites*, would it not have been equally absurd to have called it the leaven of *Herod*? *Josephus* tells us, that it differed in no point but this from that of the pharisees; and the evangelists introduce the pharisees and *Herodians* as coming by

one consent to inquire of Christ concerning the lawfulness of the tribute: from all which it seems at least very probable, that they were only two different parties, who split themselves into two extremes from the pharisaic sect; whilst these last kept, as it were, in a medium between the base complaisance of the *Herodians*, and the seditious spirit of the *Gaulonites*; not perhaps so much out of a conscientious principle, much less out of any love either to *Herod*, or to the *Romans*, as from a fear of their power and resentment.

(U) But this last is a mere conjecture, founded only on a fancied conformity between some of their principles, and austere way of living. The far greater part of the effenian sect was chiefly in *Egypt*; there was but a small number of them in *Judaea*, probably by reason of the grievous persecutions, and intestine broils, that raged almost perpetually in

(5) Vid. Prid. & Beaufag. ubi supra.

IT would be next to impossible to trace out their origin, or *Their origin even the etymology of their name, with any certainty (W) gin.* *Pliny*, in the place above-quoted, tells us, from what authority is not easy to guess, that they were of several thousand years standing ; and, what increased his wonder, that they had subsisted so long without procreation. But he was in part mistaken, because, though one branch of them condemned all intercourse with women, as apt to extinguish devotion, there was another sort who declared as much against celibacy, as tending to extinguish the race of mankind, as we shall see in the sequel. But, to come to more authentic evidence, the first esenians we read of are in the fourth book of *Maccabees*, under the name of *hasdanim*¹, and in *Josephus*², where both agree, that they were already settled in *Judaea* in the time of *Jonathan*, the brother and suc-

¹ Cap. vi. ² Antiq. I. xiii. c. 9, & 19. Bell. Jud. I. i. c. 3, & 7.

it (6). And this may be one reason why the evangelists make no mention of it ; to which we may add another, namely, that their eremitic life, which secluded them from places of great resort, and their overweening pretence to a superior sanctity, which inspired them with a contempt for the rest of the world, might make them less curious about Christ's person and doctrine. They might think, that if he was really the Messiah, he would not fail to come to seek them ; and if he was not, he had already enemies enough to oppose him, and it was beneath them to leave their beloved solitude, and contemplative life, merely to declare themselves against him. What wonder then, that the sacred writers should overlook a proud, recluse, and remote sect, which neither embraced nor opposed the gospel, and whose affectation to a greater and supererogatory degree of holiness stood condemned by the frequent censures which

Christ pronounced against that of the pharisees ?

(W) *Josephus* has evaded giving us the etymology of that name, most probably because he knew not well where to fetch it from ; and *Pbilo*, who derives it from the Greek ὁσιος, holy, owns it to be ungrammatical ; but this has not hindered other critics from aiming at it. *Epiphanius* (7) has gone the farthest for it of any, when he derives it from *Jesse* the father of *David*, or, as it is to be read, according to the Hebrew, יִשְׂרָאֵל, *yisra'el* or *yisbai*. *Salmasius* derives it from the city of *Effa*, mentioned by *Josephus*, as the place where *Zeno* had deposited his treasure (8).

If the reader be curious about such things, he need but read *Serrarius* (9), where he will find at least a dozen different opinions concerning the derivation of that word ; enough, we think, to give him a disgust to etymological conjectures.

(6) See *Pbilo* & *Josephb. ubi supra.* (7) *Heres* 29. *de Nazar.* c. 4. (8) *Ant. I. xiii. c. 23.* (9) *Tribarof. I. iii. c. 1.* *Vid.* *G. Calmet. dissert. de sc̄. Jud. cessor*

cessor of *Judas Maccabeus*, about an hundred and fifty years before Christ. We have had occasion to mention, out of these two authors, one *Judas*, a prophet of that sect, who foretold the death of *Antigonus*, brother to *Aristobulus*, then king of the Jews, and which came to pass accordingly, tho' to the great surprize of even the prophet himself ¹. And it is not improbable, that this anchoritic sect took its rise a little before the time of the *Maccabees*, when the faithful Jews were obliged to live in deserts and caves, to avoid persecution. As for those who suppose them to have been a branch o' the *Rechabites*, who flourished so long before the Babylonish captivity ², and of whom we have spoken largely in a former volume ³; we can only say, they guess very much in the dark (X).

THE essenians distinguished themselves in their rules, and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwise called *therapeutes*: the first sort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, such as the exercise of some handicraft, or the cultivation of some spot of ground, where they sowed and planted such roots, herbs, corn, &c. as served for their food; and the latter, between prayer, and contemplation or study. In this last they confined themselves to that of the sacred books, and morality, without troubling themselves with any other branch of philosophy. A late learned author ⁴ has indeed ranked them among the pyrrhonian or sceptic philosophers ⁵; and it is true, they were very modest in their affirmations in points of divinity, and condemned the dogmatic assurance of

¹ See before, sect. 3 p. 347, & not (U). ² Vid *Suid ubi supra.*
P Vol. iv. p. 136, (S). ³ *Herr. foibleste l'entendement,*
l. i. c. 14. sect. 61.

(X) We have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Those who allowed the former, were yet very sparing of matrimonial intercourse, and wholly abstained from it on the night before the sabbath, and other festivals, on fast-days, and the like; and, at other times, they were no less careful to wash, and use other purifications, after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewise disallow all servitude, and thought the distinction of

master and servant to be against the law of nature; for which reason they never indulged themselves the use of the latter: and, when any of them was, either through old age, sickness, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himself, he received all proper assistance from the younger, who all expressed an uncommon readiness, or even emulation, to perform that duty to him. But the other sort allowed themselves servants for all inferior offices (1).

(1) *Jof. & Plin. ubi supra.*

the other sects ; but, that they ever deigned to dive into the writings of the academy, or other philosophers, seems improbable, from the singular contempt they shewed of all the other Jewish sects ; how much more of those of the heathens (Y) ?

BOTH the contemplative and laborious had their synagogues, their stated hours for prayer, for reading and expounding the sacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder sort, who were seated at the upper end, according to their seniority, whilst the younger, who were permitted to read the proper parashas, or lessons, were placed at the lower end. Their expositions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they seem to have outvied all their Jewish brethren. But they paid the greatest regard to the five books of Moses, and looked upon that lawgiver as the head of all the inspired penmen ; insomuch that they condemned to immediate death whosoever spoke disrepectfully either of him, or his writings. Upon this account they studied, read, and expounded him more than all the rest ; and seem to have chiefly drawn all their divinity from the pentateuch. The doctrines and expositions of the elders were received with implicit faith ; and, in their practice, they conformed, with an entire submission, to all the rules of their sect. To give a full account of them, were to copy out Josephus and Philo, who have written more largely about them, and to whom we choose rather to refer our readers, who want a fuller detail. As for us, we shall content ourselves with giving them a short sketch, out of these two authors (Z), of their faith and practice, as far as they differed from the other sects ; and, as they are, in some measure, foreign to the history of the Jews,

(Y) For, with respect to even the former, they refused to converse with them, for fear of contracting some pollution ; and this notion they carried so far, as even to absent themselves from going to the temple, and contented themselves with sending their offerings to it by other hands.

(Z) It will not be amiss to observe to our readers, that their accounts of this sect differ in some particulars, which may be probably owing to the difference there was between those of Ju-

dæa, and those of Egypt. Josephus, we may reasonably suppose, was better acquainted with the former, and Philo, who was of Alexandria, with the latter ; and both may have described them according to the particular informations they had received concerning each.

However, Philo agrees with Josephus, that those of Judea amounted to but about four thousand ; but he makes those of Egypt to be vastly more numerous.

we shall content ourselves with mentioning them in the note (A).

THOSE

(A) With respect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, like the pharisees; but seem to have had no notion of the resurrection. They looked upon the souls of men as composed of a most subtle aether, which, immediately after their separation from the body, or from their cage or prison, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to a place of endless happiness or misery: that those of the good took their flight over the ocean, into some warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilst those of the wicked were conveyed into some cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexprefable endless weight of misery. Some other Pythagorean notions are likewise attributed to them (2), neither with certainty, nor of great moment. One thing, however, is remarkable, that, among their offerings which they made to the temple, they never sent any living creatures to be sacrificed there. But, whether they did it with any regard to the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration, or from any other motive, we will not determine; much less pretend to reconcile this abstinence from bloody sacrifices with their pretended regard to the Mosaic law and writings, where they are absolutely enjoined.

They were likewise entirely averse from the sadducean doctrine of free-will, and attributed all

to an eternal fatality, or chain of causes, little short of that of Spinoza; so that they seem to have run into the other extreme, whilst the pharisees appear to have kept a kind of medium between them. The essenians were averse to all kinds of oaths; and affirmed, that a man's good life ought to be such, as that he may be credited in every thing without them. The therapeutic sort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raising their minds so far above the earth, as to be able to see from thence what is done in heaven. When they attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of angels; give them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given; and pry so far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets. We have had occasion to mention some of them already at the beginning of this article, and in the course of this chapter. All we need add, is, that when they had once gained this name, they failed not to be highly respected, not only by their own fraternity, but by both kings and people. We have seen, in a former section, even Herod shew a more than ordinary regard for the whole sect, for the sake of one of them, who had foretold his accession to the Jewish crown; and at a time when they were strenuously opposing his favourite scheme of obliging the whole nation to swear allegiance to him.

In their practice they outdid all the other sects in austerity. If

(2) *Antiq. I. xii. c. 9. &c. I. xv. c. 13, ad fin.*

THOSE of *Judea* lived, according to *Pliny* and *Josephus*, in a desert in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*, about twenty miles south of *Jerusalem*.

THIS

^r Vid. *antiq.* l. xiii. c. 9, & 19. l. xv. c. 13, ad fin.

we may credit *Pbilo*, it was a fundamental maxim with them, upon their entrance into the therapeutic life, to renounce the world, and all their worldly properties, which they, it seems, generously divided among their friends and relations, whom they left behind them in it. They never eat till after sunset, and the best of their food was coarse bread, with some salt, and hyssop, or some such stomachic herbs. Some of them, he tells us, would eat but every third, and others every sixth day ; and all of them very sparingly even of that poor cheer they were allowed. Their cloathing was made of coarse wool, plam, but white. They condemned all sorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their bed were hard, and their sleep short. In a word, as they looked upon all these austeries as the most effectual means to procure the favour of heaven, and the esteem of the brotherhood, to say nothing of that of the world, they never thought they could carry them to excess. Their heads or superiors were generally chosen according to seniority, unless there started up some of the brotherhood more conspicuous for learning, piety, prophetic spirit, or any other distinguishing merit. But some there were so very contemplative, that they never stirred out of their cell, nor even looked out at a window during the whole week. These spent their time in

reading of the sacred books, and writing comments upon them.

On the sabbath-day they repaired to their synagogues early in the morning, and continued the whole day there in prayers, singing of psalms, reading, or in expounding the sacred books ; at which time they kept themselves in the profoundest silence. The feast of pentecost was observed by them with greater solemnity than other festivals ; in memory, it seems, of the *Israelites* passing the *Red Sea*, and of that solemn eucharistical hymn which was alternately sung by the choirs of men and women, with *Aaron* and *Miriam* at their head : in imitation of which, both sexes, during this feast, went early to the synagogue in their white habit, newly washed ; and, after the usual prayers, reading, &c. the men and women, each in their separete choir, set themselves a singing and dancing, moving regularly backwards and forwards to the right and left, to and from each other, till at length their devotion was raised to such a pitch, that they forgot the difference of sexes, and both choirs intermingled, and continued dancing and singing the whole night. On the next morning they faced about towards the sun-rising, their usual position at prayers, paid their adoration to the Supreme Being, wished each other a good day, and retired each to their respective cells. To all this we may add, that they had some other

THIS city, which we have spoken of in a former volume^s, being generally supposed to have been the place of John the baptist's birth, it is not improbable, that he was sent thither to be brought up among them, and lived with them till the time of his manifesting himself to the Jewish nation^t. But as for those who have imagined, that Christ and his disciples had also been of that sect, because they pretend to see some conformity between some of his precepts, and way of living, and those of the essenians, they are not worth confuting, since there runs rather a manifest opposition almost through the whole, as we shall have further occasion to hint in the sequel. However, those who will not be at the trouble to compare them, may see that wild notion fully confuted by the authors quoted below^u, as well as another, no less improbable, though less absurd, that the Egyptian therapeutes were a society of Christian hermits, instituted by St. Mark, when he founded the church of Alexandria^v. For Philo, who was at least cotemporary with the evangelist, if not older, speaks of them^w as a fraternity of a much longer standing, and as of Jews, and zealous disciples of Moses, and stricter observers of the sabbath than any other Jewish sect; having among them hymns and writings, composed in former times, by those who had been the principal leaders and heads of their sect; dispersed not only through Egypt, but among the Greeks and Barbarians, &c. Nothing of all which could have been said of such a society of Christian hermits, supposing St. Mark had really instituted any thing like it. But we find no traces of any such institution, till the beginning of the second century, when those ascetics, who had formerly fled from persecution, finding the sweets of their solitude, began to erect themselves into bodies, the earliest of which, that we read of, was, according to the three learned authors above-quoted, in or about the year of Christ 113 (B).

WE

^s Vol. ii. p. 477, (A). ^t Vid. LUKE i. ver. ult. ^u BASNAG. hist. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 22, & seq. PRID. connect. part ii. sub fin. l. v. CALMET. sub voc. Essenien. & Therapeut. & al. ^v EUSEB. eccl hist. l. ii. c. 17. BELLARM. BARON. Vid. & MONTFAUC. dissert. de Christ. therapeut. ap. BASNAG. ubi supra. ^w Lib. sup. citat.

more secret rites, or mysteries, relating to their sect, which, like the Pythagoreans, they were bound never to divulge, and which it were, therefore, in vain to inquire after.

(B) Others have believed, that the essenians and therapeutes afterwards renounced Judaism, and were converted to Christianity (3); and it is not improbable, that many of them did so: but that

(3) Drus, Trigland, Basnag, Prid, Calmet, & al. ubi supra.

We have now gone through all the Jewish *sects* that made any figure in our Saviour's time, and might here put an end to this digression, if it may be called such; but forasmuch as there is still one in being, and very considerable, as we have hinted in a former volume ², who derive their origin from the famous *Ezra*, and the great synagogue, and are opposed to the rest in some of their fundamentals, it will not be amiss to speak something of them, before we conclude this section. They are called *Caraim* or *Caraites* (C); that is, *Scripturists*, or persons wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly versed in the sacred writings.

IT is not easy to determine when this sect first began. We *The Ca-*
have hinted above, what claim they lay to antiquity and autho-
rity. They boast even a catalogue or register of the learned,
who have written or taught either for or against their sect from
the time of *Ezras* ³. Some of those that are dispersed in *Poland*,

² Vol. iii. p. 7, & not.
c. 16.

³ BASNAG. ubi supra, part ii.

the bulk of the sect embraced Christianity, and became, as it were, absorbed into the societies of the Christian ascetics, is hard to affirm. If it be asked, What became of them, and of all their written writings and comments, if this was not the case; it may be answered, that those who persevered in their old sect, underwent the same fate with the rest of the *Jews*, and in a much greater number, as being become more odious to the *Romans* on account of their extreme constancy under those grievous persecutions which they raised against them. This might probably be also the cause why their books were more universally destroyed than those of the other *Jews*; though even of these we have nothing left but the *Chaldee* paraphrase, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. We shall have occasion in the sequel to shew, that the *Essenians* flourished still under the emperor

Trajan, though much degenerated from their primitive purity of life and doctrine, under their new demagogue *Elxai*. Under *Iustinian* they were still known by the pompous title of angels or angelic, and inhabitants of heaven; but as their lives were found to fall infinitely short of those beings, whose names they assumed, the people saw through the cheat, and this was in all likelihood their last blast upon their going out, for we hear no more of them from that time.

(C) □ x p from the verb *kara*, to read (4). As they rejected all the other writings but those of the *Jewish* canon, and the pretended oral tradition so much extolled by the *Pharisees*; it is perhaps upon this account, that the *Robbinists*, their bitterest enemies, have imputed most of the *Sadducean* errors to them (5), tho' this be the only point in which they agreed with them.

(4) *Vide Buxtorf. lexic. sub voce נָבִי.*
cafris, edit. a Buxtorf.

(5) *Vide Abraban. append. in Ha-*

pretend to carry it still higher, and that they were descended from the ten tribes carried away by *Shalmaneser*. The *Rabbiniti* seem however to allow them to have been a sect at least as old as the time of *Alexander the Great*, when they tell us, that *Jaddua* the then high-priest wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the *Caraites* could not imitate ; but this may be put in the number of their fabulous miracles, of which they are never sparing, whenever any competition between the other sects and their own is in question , witness those which they urge against the *Samaritans*, of which we have spoken in a former section ^b. We shall give in the note some of the different opinions concerning their origin (D), whilst we stick here to the most

^b See before, p 229, sub not

(D) The learned *Wolf of Hamburg* has given us the origin of the *Caraites*, written from the memoirs of one of that sect, named *Mordci*, in which this last affirms, that *Alland r Ju* having put to death all the learned *Jews* of his time, *Simeon*, the son of *Simeon*, and brother of the queen, was privately conveyed into *Egypt*, where he invented the system of the pretended *Judaic* oral tradition, and being returned to *Judea*, began to teach it publicly, pretending that he was informed with all those discoveries which God had made to *Moses*, and were from him conveyed through a series of hands and *ages* down to his time. This system was embraced by some, and as strenuously opposed by others, who affirmed, that the whole will of God was contained in the sacred writings. From these last came the sect of the *Caraites*, as that of the *Rabbiniti* or *Tzadikim* did from the former. The same author adds, that *Yisus* the son of *Sabba*, became eminent among the former, and *Hillel* among the latter (6)

Another author (7) thinks, that those two sects split themselves soon after the death of the prophets, upon a dispute about works of supererogation, one sort maintaining the necessity of them from tradition, and the other denying it on the authority of the sacred writings. These were the *Caraites*, who thenceupon pretended to be descended from the prophets *Haggai*, *Melachi*, &c. But whatever was the occasion of their division, they conceived such an irreconcileable hatred against each other, that they think no name or language bad enough. Among other epithets, the *Rabbiniti* call their opponents *mamzuzi*, or *bahais*, a term of the greatest reproach among the *Jesusites* (8), and the *Caraites*, in return, give them the title of *bridled asses*, on account of their broad phylacteries, and other superfluous trinkets, which these place a great deal of religion in, and the others detest. The former interpret the words of *Moses* (9), *Thou shalt bin' l them* (the divine precepts) for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets

(6) *Vuln. nostri Carætum.*
Vid. *Calmus* sub voce *Caraitæ*.

(7) *Trigland* *dissertat de Caræt Delphi* 1703.

(8) *De bus vte vol. iii. p. 117, (L).*

between

most probable; which is, that they were the successors of the Scribes so often mentioned by the evangelists (E), such as were those

between thine eyes, &c. literally; and the others only as a precept enjoining them to have a constant regard to, and remembrance of them. We have observed in a former volume, that their mutual hatred is such, that no consideration can move them to intermarry (1). A modern *Rabbinist* adds, that if a *Carante* had a mind to turn *T_{raditionis}*, these would even refuse to admit him (2), and it is a common saying among the latter, that before a *Carante* be admitted among them, he should have first turned *fewi*, and then Christian, else they could not believe his conversion sincere.

(E) The scribes, in *Hebreo* סופרים *sopherim*, or writers, are mentioned for the first time in the song of *Deborah* (3), though some have put *Moses* at the head of that tribe. They are often spoken of in the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles* and *Ezra*, as persons in the highest dignities of the Jewish commonwealth. It is not unlikely that *David* appointed some such order, when he regulated the classes of the priests, levites, &c. (4), since there must have been proper secretaries, or *sopherim*, in church, in state, in the army, revenues, &c. And as writing was not so universally practised in those days, they who excelled in it had a fair claim for such an office; but these being manifestly different from those mentioned in the gospel, we shall push our inquiry about them no further.

After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the Scripture was revised by *Ezra*, and his inspired associates, mentioned in a former section (5), it is very probable the multiplying and propagating, as well as the revising the copies of it, which were then very scarce, was committed to these *sopherim* or *scribes*, who, by a constant converse with those writings, attained to a still greater knowledge of them, and so came at length to set up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of *scribe* had that likewise added of *doctor* or *teacher* of the law. Accordingly we find one of them called by the former name in one evangelist (6), and by the latter in another (7); and both they and the *Pbassees* are said by our Saviour to sit in *Moses's seat* (8).

These therefore cannot be said to have made a separate sect, as some antiquits have imagined (9), but to have been some of one, some of another; since it is obvious, that every one of them must have had their doctors and expounders, and all justly enough liable to those severe censures which our Saviour pronounced against them for putting each their several glosses on the text, inferring new and detrimental doctrines from it, and imposing them on their disciples with as much arrogance as if they had been all infallible or inspired. However, since we find these *scribes*, and lawyers, or doctors of

(1) *Vol. iii. p. 7.*

(2) *Vid. Leo. de modern. carom. Jud. part. v. c. 1.*

(3) *Judg. v. 14.*

(4) *Vid. int. al. i Cbr. n. xxiv. 6. xvii. 32.*

(5) *Vid. p. 129, &c seq.*

(6) *Mark xii. 28.*

(7) *Matth. xxii. 35.*

(8) *Ibid. xxiii. 2.*

(9) *Epiph. baref. Autb. of the recognit. &c.*

those whom *Herod the Great* consulted about the place where the Messiah was to be born^c. These therefore, it is very likely, after the *Pharisaic* sect came to have clogged the *Jewish* religion with such a vast number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdensome, if not intolerable, became so out of conceit with them, that they resolved to throw them all off, and to stick close to the text, for which they had the name of *Caraites* or *Scripturists*, either given them out of contempt, or took it by way of distinction from the *Traditionists*. The difficulty is to find out the time when, and the persons by whom, this breach was at first made; and doubtless the testimony of the *Caraites* themselves, who go either as far back as *Ezra*, or, at the latest, as the times of *Hyran*, or *Alexander Yannaeus*, will appear too suspicious. But that of the *Avvudists*, who allow them, some as antient as *Saddoc*, or at least as *Herod the Great*, may be less liable to suspicion, and where is the difficulty of supposing, that whilst the *Sadducees* distinguished themselves from the rest, as well by their *Epicurean* doctrines, as by their rejection of the *Pharisaic* traditions, another more moderate sect might close in with them in this last, without running into those other extremes of the *Sadducean* heresy, which, they saw, were manifestly destructive of all religion, and so compose a new sect, differing from them in all points but that, and from the *Pharisees* in that only one (F)? However, they seem to have been more moderate, than-

^c MATTH. ii. 4. VId BASNAG ubi supra

the law to be often mentioned with the *Pharisees* (1), it is likely they were more numerous in that sect than in any other, or rather perhaps, if we consider how nearly such men were in church and state, and of how long standing they must consequently have been, they may be looked upon as the root or trunk from which all the others sprang and divided themselves, according to their respective views, and as interest, education, pride, and such like motives led them

(F) The *Rabbinic* writers do accordingly accuse the *Caraites* for having been more favourable to Jesus Christ than any other

sect, and the evangelist seems to confirm it, when he introduces a scribe (2) applauding our Saviour's answer concerning the first and chief command, and agreeing with him, that the love of God, above all things, and of our neighbours as ourselves, was of more worth than all burnt-offerings, &c

It is true, he seems to be called a *Pharisee* in a parallel place (3); but Basnage has judiciously observed (4), that the pronoun *them* did not refer to the *Pharisees* mentioned in the foregoing verse, who being confuted just before, were then gone to take counsel together, but to the multitude in

(1) VId Matth. ubi supra, &c alib pass. Act. xxiii. 9. (2) Mark xii. 28.
(3) Matth. xxii. 35, & seq. (4) Ubi supra, c. 17. sect. 10.

than to have absolutely rejected all traditions and writings. They, on the contrary, used them as helps, whenever they found them judicious and well-founded, and only denied them that blind and implicit obedience which the Pharisees insisted on; but whether those sects divided themselves so early as the reign of Hyrcan, or Alexander Jannæus, or whether in thatious rupture between Shammai and Hillel, about one hundred years before Christ, or about what time after^d; whether first in Judea or Egypt (G),

18

^d De hoc vid MORIN exercit biblic lib n exercit vi & seq. VID & ORIC in MATI*H* XIII 32. EPIPHAN h[ab]et xi HIERON in ISAI. VIII. 14, & al.

the verse before that, who gladly heard Christ's nervous answers to those ensnaring sectaries. We may add, that the answer there given by the scribi, was more like that of a sober Carait, than of a superstitious, hypocritical Pharisee.

That there seems to have been a manifest difference between these last and the scribes and lawyers, the above quoted authority shews from another evangelist, who introduces the last of these hearing patiently the woes which Christ pronounced against the Pharisees, but when he came to join the scribes with them, he complained loudly of it (5). Our Saviour's answer to him confirms it still more, when he added, *It is also unto you, lawyers*, and laid a new charge against them, different from that of the Pharisees.

(G) Iustini tells us (6), that in the reign of Ptolerry Philometer, the Jews in Egypt were divided into two parties, the one of which expounded the Mosaic law allegorically, and the other literally; which latter was part of the Caraitis character. We might further allege, the book

Hachosim, to which the Rabbies give a very great antiquity, and which introduces the king of Cyprus as a great admirer of the Caraitic sect, because they were more zealous for the law, till his Robbinic teacher acquainted him with the variety of opinions that were among them, for want of admitting the oral tradition, which fixed the sense of the sacred writings. We have elsewhere indeed had occasion to observe, that this book is far enough from being so ancient as they make it (7); but it shews however, how little relation Morinus had to make them so recent as the eighth century, upon the testimony of some partial Rollis, as most that of a number of others of more ancient date, some of whom own them to have appeared even in the time of the Antonines, others of the Simeonites, and others of Herod (8), to say nothing of that of the fathers above quoted.

If it be objected, that Josephus has said nothing of them, when he spoke of the other sects which reigned in his time, the argument will equally hold against the Herodians, who yet seem to have

(5) Luke xi. 44, & seq.
supra, vol iii. p 220, & seq. (A)

(6) *Præp. evangeli. I* vni. c. 20.

(7) Vide

Druſi, tribas, Bajnag, Galmet, Frid. Et. ubi supra.

(8) Vide Trigland, de Carait c. 13.

is at least but conjecture; and we hope we have given it the best light we are able to get.

We shall in the following note give a short summary of their particular tenets, as they are opposed to those of the other sects (H); and only observe here, that these differences had intailed such

been very considerable. That historian might have his reasons for passing them by in silence. Had he spoken well of them, he would have disengaged his own sect, seeing he was a *Pbarifee*; had he spoke ill of them, the *Herodians* might have exposed him to the resentment of that family, and even of the *Romans*, in whose behalf we have seen they divided themselves from the *Pbarisees* and *Gaulonites*; and as to the *Caraïtes*, they might not be so guilty in his own eyes as they appeared to the opposite sects. *Josephus* had too much sense to run all the lengths, and swallow all the fabulous fancies of the *Traditionists*, though, like a thorough-paced statesman, he outwardly joined with the most prevailing side.

(H) 1. They look upon the canonical books of the Old Testament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the *Pbarisees*, as the wicked intentions of an incroaching and designing set of men; for which reason they have the utmost abhorrence for the *Talmud*.

2. They expound Scripture by Scripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the assistance of reason, and the writings and comments of other doctors, tho' without paying too implicit a regard to the latter.

3. They commonly read the Scriptures in their synagogues in

the original, esteeming it next to impossible to come at their true meaning from any translation of them; for this reason they are careful to instruct their children betimes in that sacred tongue; and if they suffer any version of them, it is only for the use of those of the meaner sort, who are not acquainted with the Hebrew.

4. Their prayers are likewise in that tongue, as being the most holy and energetic, and the only one in which the incomunicable name of God can be properly pronounced; for they are not so scrupulous in this respect as the other Jews, who always read it *Adonai*, but pronounce it *Jebo-wab*, as we do (9); tho' in their writings, prayer-books, &c. they choose to write it only with a *vau* between two *jods*. In their prayers, wherein they express a much greater fervency and devotion than the rest, they always turn their faces towards *Jerusalem*.

5. They expect, like the rest of the Jews, the reign of the Messiah to be a temporal and glorious one, and attribute his long delay, partly to the slowness of *Saturn's* motion, which they make the ruling planet of the sabbath (1), and of the Jewish nation, and to their sins, which have provoked God to suspend the sending of him at the promised time: for this reason they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the severest anathemas.

6. They entertain the highest

(9) See before, vol. iii. p. 358, & seq. sub not. (1) De hoc vide vol. iii. p. 230, & seq. sub (M).

and

such an irreconcileable hatred between those two sects, as came *Hated of* little short of persecution. They not only charge each other *the Caravans* with heresy, with perverting the Scriptures, and corrupting *rites and* religion; but pronounce the bitterest anathemas they can meet *Talmudists* with in the sacred books against each other, and that publicly *dists.* and solemnly; so that where either of them, especially the *Pharisees*, are most numerous or powerful, the others must hear themselves cursed, without daring to resist or complain (I). This mutual

and justest notions of the Deity, and of his perfections and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extensive and unlimited as his knowledge; and at the same time allow, that man has a freedom to determine himself; but that God gave unto every one a portion of his universal grace to assist him in his right choice; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and constitutions, but chiefly by the stars, makes that grace very necessary. They have a four-fold distinction of this disposition of the soul, the one of sickness, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death. This distinction seems to have been alluded to by our Saviour in several places of the gospel; as where he speaks of the dead burying the dead; that not the whole, but the sick, have need of a physician, and some others of the like nature.

7. Their morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the austere *Ephesians* and the epicurean *Sadducee*. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abstemiousness, whether of eating, drinking, or any other lawful pleasures.

8. They believe a future life of rewards and punishments, ac-

cording to mens good or bad actions in this; that the souls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will subsist there as the angels do.

9. We have already hinted, that they condemned the phylacteries of the *Pharisees*. They had no less an abhorrence for all kind of pictures, that were used either by heathens, or afterwards by Christians, for a religious use, or, as they term it, to be worshipped; and condemned the other sects for being remiss enough in that point, to make a traffick of them for gain.

10. They rejected the astronomical calculations as introduced after the captivity for settling the new moons and other festivals of the year; such as we have had occasion to mention more than once in the course of this chapter (2): whereas the *Traditionists* denied their being an innovation, and pretended, that they had been invented by *Moses*, and had been as much in vogue before as since their return from *Babylon*. Some others of less moment we omit as not worth mentioning.

(1) The late Mr. *Ludolph*, who had been much conversant among them, told several of his acquaintance both in *England* and

(2) *Vid int. al. p. 304. not. (Y).*



mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents to the children, and much more by the masters to the disciples, over whom they usurp such an uncontrollable authority, that it is next to blasphemy and rebellion to contradict or disobey them.

AMONG the *Caraites*, above all other sects, the disciples have such profound respect for their doctors, that they neither sit down before them till they are bid, nor go from them without their leave : and then they go backwards, keeping their faces still turned towards them. They never speak to or of them, without the title of lord, master, or some such-like term of submission. The doctors, on the other hand, who are avise to the *Pharisaic* pride, treat them with gentleness and humanity, and for the generality, teach their scholars *gratis*; so that one may say, upon the whole, the *Caraites* are by far the most religious, rational, and, 'bating their carnal notion of the Messiah's reign, the best disposed to embrace the gospel of any other sect; and we may reasonably suppose, that among the many thousands of that stubborn nation, whom the apostles converted to Christianity, the far greater number of them flocked to it from that quarter; whilst the proud *Pharisee*, full of their own super-sufficient knowledge and righteousness, and intoxicated with an invincible fondness for their own traditions; and the carnal *Sadducees*, contented with the enjoyments of this life, and regardless, if not averse to the thoughts of a future, spared no pains or artifice, cruelty or injustice, to oppose a doctrine so grating and contrary to theirs. This being therefore the state of the *Jews* at the coming of the Messiah, we need not wonder at the reception which both he and his doctrine met with from them; especially when, instead of that glorious, warlike conqueror they had been made to expect, they saw him in the humble guise of the poor, illiterate son of an obscure carpenter.

Hallum, that he saved the life him away privately, had been of a poor *Carite* at *Frankfort*, in danger of being either torn who, if he had not protected in pieces, or of being starved him, taken him home, and sent there (3).

(3) *Baſnag. ul. ſupra*, c. 7. ſect. 25.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the Jews, from the Birth to the Death of CHRIST.

*Herod's
distracted
state re-
sumed.* THE reader may remember, that we left *Herod* in the most distracted state that can be well imagined; his conscience stung with the most lively grief for the murder of his beloved and virtuous *Mariamne*, and of her two worthy sons; his life and

and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious *Antipater*, and ungrateful *Pheroras*; his reign stained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days imbibed by the treacherous intrigues of an hellish sister; his person and family hated by the whole Jewish nation; and last of all his crown and all his glories on the eve of being obscured by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the promised and long expected Messiah and Saviour of the world. To all these *New* plagues we must add some fresh intelligences, which came ^{proofs of} tumbling in upon that wretched monarch; and which, by *as his danger* furing him still more, not only of the treasonable designs of the *unnatural Antipater*, but also of the bitter complaints which his ^{and} other two sons, then at the *Roman* court, vented against them ^{wretch-edness.} both, rendered him more than ever completely miserable. Had these two princes continued in their duty to him, they would have been a support and comfort, tho' his favourite one had proved the traitor they had represented him; but whom could he trust, when there was not one of his family left, that did not in some measure declare himself an enemy to him? This was the dreadful view in which he beheld himself and his unnatural offspring; not that those two young princes were really so divested of all filial affection, as they were represented to him by *Anti-Antipater* and his instruments; but it had been his and their constant ^{care and study,} by such vile misrepresentations, to render them ^{bals a-} more and more suspected by the jealous king. Their letters ^{gainst his} were generally filled with the pretended injurious ^{two br-} reflections ^{ther.} which those two sons whispered against him; such as having unjustly murdered those of *Marianne*, and their dread of being recalled into *Judea* to be made to undergo the same fate (A).

IT is indeed surprising, that none of his friends in *Judea* should have sent him some private intelligence of what had passed at that dreadful scene, and warned him to secure himself betimes from his father's resentment; but so intent was he on the means of ridding himself of him, and seizing on his crown, that he even furnished him with new proofs against himself, by sending a fresh supply of poison to his mother, by means of a

(A) *Antipater* indeed acted under closer covert, and whilst he seemed, as it were, unwilling to confirm all these accusations, pretended to excuse them as the effects of rashness and youth, which time and consideration would soon rectify; and indeed so taken up was he either in cultivating these discords, or in procuring

himself friends at *Rome* and *Jerusalem* by his profuse liberality, that he seems to have been wholly ignorant of the discoveries which the rack had extorted from his agents in *Judea*, especially upon the death of *Pheroras*, of which we gave an account in the last section.

Batillus's confession on the rack.

freed-man of his, in case the old one should in any ways have miscarried. *Batillus*, that was the servant's name, was no sooner arrived at *Jerusalem*, than *Herod*, who by this time had unravelled the whole plot, caused him to be apprehended, and put to the rack; upon which he confessed the purport of his errand from *Rome*. *Herod*, the better to conceal his resentment against his treacherous son, immediately sent him a letter, in which he seemed to complain only of some ill treatment from his mother; and charged him at the same time to make what haste he could to *Jerusalem*, that his absence might no longer give his enemies an handle to obstruct his interest in the succession. He concluded with a promise, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all past miscarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he should desire^a.

Antipater sent for to Jerusalem.

Antipater, still ignorant of what had passed in *Judaea*, and thinking his father by this time poisoned, and in his grave, was set out for *Judaea*, being as eager to reach *Jerusalem*, as his father to get him thither; but when he was come to *Tarentum*, he received a dispatch from some of his friends, which acquainted him with the particulars of *Phoras*'s death. The news gave him a terrible shock, not indeed much out of love to the deceased, as because he found by it, that he had misled his aim of poisoning the king. He pursued however his journey as far as *Celerderis*, a city in *Sicily*, where being taken with a qualm at the thoughts of the affront put upon his mother, who, as we observed in the last section, had been banished the court, and stripped of all her riches, which he looked upon as an ill omen; he stopped some time there, to consult with his friend, whether he had best proceed, or go back. At length some of them having flushed him with the sanguine hope, that his appearance at court would dispel all his father's suspicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at *Sebaste*. Here he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's disgrace; and instead of those acclamations and good wishes, with which numerous crowds had followed him to the ship, he heard nothing but the bitterest curses from the *Jews* against himself, as the bloody murderer of *Mariamne*'s two brave sons^b.

The children at Bethlehem massacred.

WHILST *Herod* was impatiently waiting his arrival, he had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, namely, the destroying of his new-born rival at *Bethlehem*, whom he supposed to be still there. Finding himself therefore disappointed by the wise men, from whom he expected a more particular information concerning him, that he might be sure of not missing his victim, he issued forth an order to have all the male infants massacred, not only in that city,

^a *Antiq.* l. xvii. c. 6.

^b *Ibid.* c. 7, sub init.

but in all the coasts round about, from two years old and under (B) ; and by that horrid slaughter verified the oracle long before delivered by one of the prophets, which the reader will find in the note (C). But Providence had already taken care to convey

the

c MATTH. ii. 16, & seq.

(B) An author of the fifth century tells us (1), that *Herod* had also a son there at nurse, who was massacred among the rest ; and that it was upon this occasion that *Augustus* made that reflection upon him, that it was better be *Herod's hog than his son*. But it is more likely, that the emperor hearing about the same time of the death of *Antipater*, which happened about six weeks after this horrid slaughter, and recollecting that also of his other two sons, might make him break out into that bitter sarcasm against such an unnatural father : besides, it is hardly probable, that *Herod*, old, crazed and distracted as he was, could have any children so young.

It is something surprising, that *Josephus*, who was in no case sparing of *Herod's* character, should yet have omitted such a material occurrence. The Christians have taxed him, and justly too, with partiality, as having concealed it, to avoid giving such a countenance to the evangelist, and such an ample testimony to the Messiah, as might offend his whole nation, and more particularly the *Phariseic* brotherhood, who had been his most inveterate enemies.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting those, who, preferring the authority of the Jewish historian to that of St. Matthew, have made use of the

one, among many other topics, to cry down the other. The controversy is too recent to say more of it ; especially as it is out of our province to enter into a dispute, which, we think, has been so sufficiently decided in favour of the evangelist.

As to what may be objected, that *Josephus* has not scrupled in another place to give Jesus Christ a most noble character ; we shall take a fitter opportunity of speaking of that pretended interpolation in the sequel of this section.

(C) The whole passage runs thus (2), tho' the evangelist has only quoted the first part, as enough to direct his readers to the rest, as was the custom before the Bible was divided into chapters and verses.

Thus says the LORD, A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping ; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not. Thus saith the LORD, Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears ; for thy labour shall be rewarded (or, as the original has it, *there is a reward laid up for thy labour*) ; *and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. For there is hope, saith the LORD, that, in thy latter end, thy children shall come again to their own border. I have heard Ephraim complain, saying, Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, &c.*

(1) *Macrobi. Saturn, I. ii. c. 4.*(2) *Jerom. xxxi. 15, & seq.*

There

the child far enough out of the reach of his butchers ; and his parents having been timely forewarned of his bloody design, had withdrawn themselves into Egypt, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant ; when, upon their return, fearing still some further attempt from his successor Archelaus, they were directed by the same heavenly monitor to turn off into Galilee, and to betake themselves to their old habitation at Nazareth. Here was likewise another prophecy fulfilled in the name of Nazarite or Nazaren, which was given him from his long abode in that obscure place^a (D).

Soon

^a MATTH 11 19, ad fin.

There was a necessity for taking the whole text thus far, in order to shew how this prophecy or promise of God was verified in the flight of the babies, and it is for want of attending to the whole, that some commentators have been forced to have recourse to a primitive or historical meaning, in the carrying away of the tribe, and a secondary in this more cruel bereaving of Rachel, or the Jewish state, of her beloved children, whilst others, not furnished with the solution, have run into downright scepticism where is the whole, thus connected, implies no more than this, that no affliction or suffering, either wrongfully, or for a good cause, shall miss of its sure reward at the latter end.

The words therefore of the evangelist (3) may, and we think, justly too, be thus prefaced and expounded. Then, or in that bitter weeping and lamentation of those doleful mothers, was fulfilled, or truly verified, that saying of the prophet Jeremiah; In Ramah, which, in the original, signifies an hired place, was heard bitter lamentation, &c. the mournful mothers refusing to

be comforted for their lost children, because they were now no more. But what says the Lord ? Refrain your cryings and tears ; for there is a recompence reserved for all your labours at your latter end, and the children you count for lost, shall surely return again. And when could such a comfortable promise be more truly verified, than when he, who brought life and immortality to light, came to assure us of it by so many irrefragable arguments, as well as by his own infallible word ?

The Jews themselves, especially those who believed the resurrection, might easily have understood this to have been the meaning both of the prophet and evangelist, since they tell us (4), that the reason why God did not double the number of Job's children, as he did that of his cattle, &c. when he restored him to his prosperous state, was, because those children, tho' dead, were not lost, as his other possessions were, but lived still with God, and would be raised up at the latter end.

(D) This prophecy has likewise been very much canvased, and hitherto in vain sought after, tho', by the evangelist's words, it

(3) "attb 11 17, E. 2.
Stunica, &c. ibid."

(4) R. ob. plw. comm. in Job. c. ult. Dieg. de

should

SOON after this massacre at *Bethlehem*, arrived *Antipater* at *Antipa-*
Schope, and from thence went directly to *Jerusalem*, where ter's ar-
Herod raval.

should be in more places than one, since he doth not there quote any one in particular, but the prophets in general. The question therefore is, whether it is said any-where, that the Messiah should be called *Nazare*? The answer is not in any version (except perhaps the *Chalde*e and the *Syrac*) but in the original *Hebreu*, where we shall find him called נצֵר *Notzer*; not indeed on account of his having received that appellation from any particular city, but by reason of his high character, office and descent. We shall content ourselves with giving two instances of it, which will however suffice as a clue to the rest.

The first is in *Exodus* (5), where the Lord is said to descend in the cloud, and to proclaim the name or attributes of the Lord, in the following words : *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in mercy and truth ; keeping mercy for thousand, forgiving iniquity, &c.* Where it is observable, that the first letter in the word נצֵר, keeping, is one of those which the Jews call *majuscula*, or large letters, such as occur only about thirty times in the whole Old Testament (6), and are, according to them, never used by the sacred writers, but to imply some great mystery to be contained in the word.

We shall not here dispute, whether the words in the passage above-quoted are those of God

there appearing, as ours and most versions understand it, or of *Mos*-*is* calling upon him there, tho' the latter seems to us most probable, from those that go immediately before, *Vajicra beben Jetrovah*, and he called on the name of the Lord. It is sufficient that the name of *Notzer* is given to the Divine Person there appearing, which could not be that of God the Father, whom no man hath seen at any time ; but of the Son, in that human appearance he often took both before and under the *Mosaic* dispensation ; and for further proof of which, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume (7); and all we shall add is, that none could have a better claim to this title of *Notzer chesed*, keeping or preserving mercy, than he that came to obtain it for us at no less a price than his own inestimable life.

The other place we shall mention, is in *Isaiah* (8), where the same Messiah is called a *Netzer*, or, a branch out of the old stem of *Jesse*, &c. where the word יָמִל or יְמִל which we translate stem, signifies the old stump of a tree, after the main body has been cut off ; and the *Netzer* the spontaneous shoot which springs from it ; and such was indeed the house of *David* at the time of Christ's birth, reduced to the lowest degree of poverty and obscurity, tho' at but fourteen generations distance from *Zerubbabel* ; but we must remember,

(5) C. xxxiv. 5, & seq.

(6) Vide int. al. vol. m. p. 219, &c (Z).

(7) Ubi

sup. p. 265, (T), &c aliib.

(8) C. xi. 1.

Herod had so closely concealed his designs concerning him, that he made no hesitation to go and offer himself at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but, upon his being entered, they were shut up again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himself at his feet, and to embrace his knees; but met with a stern repulse, and was immediately arrested; and, when he asked the reason of it, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to *Varus*, by whom he should be judged on the very next day (E). *Antipater* was accordingly brought the next

His trial for treason.
that the priests, the *Asmoneans*, and afterwards *Herod*, had held the kingdom and government of *Judea*; whose interest therefore it was to suppress that family, lest some of them should in time wrest it out of their hands. Neither was this done without the particular conduct of Providence, and in pursuance of those prophecies in which the low and humble state of the world's Redeemer is so lively described.

If then the Messiah is in *Genesis* and *Isaiah* emphatically called *Notzer* or *Netzer*, and that name is given him by the *Jews*, in their doing so, tho' by way of contempt, they did but fulfil those prophecies of him, tho' unwittingly, unwillingly, and in derision; and it is still more to his glory, that it was completed in him in that sublime sense in which he is called by that name in the law and the prophets. The *Jews* had two false notions concerning Christ, the one that he was born at *Nazareth*, and consequently that he was a *Galilean*; and the second, that out of *Galilee* there never arose any prophet (9). Since then he set up both for a prophet and for the Messiah, they thought, that the

name of *Nazarene* was sufficient to confute both those claims, and therefore gave it both to him and his followers; and these gladly embraced it, on account of its true and genuine signification, as he is called in *Mosei*'s writings the *Notzer*, or keeper or depositary of mercy, and by *Isaiah* the Sprout of the old withered stock of the house of *David*.

Some interpreters have imagined, that the evangelist alluded to the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former volume (1), or to *Joseph*, who is emphatically called by his father *nazar achauf* (2), *separate from his brethren*; or, as we have formerly explained that place (3), *crowned above his brethren*, and whom they look upon as a type of the Messiah. But all this is supposed, for want of attending to the different spelling of these two words, to wit, the first with a *v*, and signifies *to keep*, and the other with *'*, and signifies *to crown, separate, &c.* Now the former can be the only right one here, it being given him on account of his living at *Nazareth*; which word is written with the *tzaade*, and not the *zain*.
(E) *Quintilius Varus* had suc-

(9) *Vide* *Jobn* i. 46. vii. 41 & 52.
xlix. 26. (3) *Ibid.* pag. 324, & (R).

(1) *Vol.* iii. p. 63, & *seq.*

(2) *Gen.*
ceaded

next morning before him, and a numerous assembly, whom *Herod* had convened for that purpose. Upon his first appearing, he threw himself upon his knees, and begged that they would have pity on him, and not condemn him unheard. *Herod*, who was also present, only bid him stand up, that he might the better level his resentments at him. He upbraided him with his *Herod's* secret designs of poisoning him, and unravelled the whole conspiracy ^{bitter com-} lately discovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and ^{plaint a-} friends, and other evidences, whom he had also posted there ^{to gainst him}. He proved all his accusations; the last of which, and that which he vented with the greatest vehemence, was the death of his two brave sons, Of whom, said he, addressing himself to *Antipater*, thou hast been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty, and the base murderer, if they were innocent. His excessive grief, followed with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at the naming of those two unhappy princes, obliged him to stop short, and to beckon to *Nicolas Damascen* to go on, and open the rest of the accusation, and then proceed to the proofs of it.

Antipater, who knew but too well his own guilt, and the undoubted evidence which was there ready to prove it against him, prevented *Damascen's* going on, and began to plead his *His de-* own cause; the sum of which was the unlikelihood of his ever *fence*. entertaining any thoughts of such an horrid parricide, especially after the dreadful punishment of his two brothers for the like attempt. He loudly complained against the baseness of his accusers; but, *Damascen* being at length permitted to speak, gave such satisfactory evidence to the court, that there could be no room left to doubt of his being really guilty. *Varus* however told him for the last time, that if he had any thing to reply to invalidate the proofs alleged against him, he might now freely do it, seeing it was *Herod's* and his own earnest desire, that he might prove himself innocent. *Antipater*, for want of better evidence, had recourse to oaths and bitter curses, which he plentifully wished on himself, if he were guilty; but this being the usual refuge of the blackest criminals, the president, to stop his mouth at once, and bring the trial to a fair issue, ordered some of the poison which had been mentioned in the evidence, to be brought, and given to a condemned person before the court; which being done accordingly, the man died almost as soon as he had taken it. *Varus* immediately left the court *He is cast*.

succeded *Sextus Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, and being arrived at that province, was just then come to *Jerusalem*, to pay a visit to *Herod*, and was there-

upon desired by that monarch, that he would preside as judge at the trial of his rebellious and unnatural son.

and *Judea* to return to *Antioch*, without declaring his opinion to any but to *Herod*, who ordered his son to be shut up in a prison, and sent letters to *Augustus* to acquaint him with the whole tryal, charging at the same time the messenger to give that emperor all the further particulars of it by word of mouth^e.

New discov- PRESENTLY after, there was another discovery made, by an *coveries* of intercepted letter from *Antiphilus*, who was then in *Egypt*, and *Antipa-* directed to *Antipater*; the purport of which was as follows: *ter's trea-* “ I have sent you *Achme*'s letter (F): you know what risque *son.* “ I run by so doing, since I lay myself at the mercy of “ two most potent families, and my inveterate enemies. It “ concerns you therefore to look to it, that nothing miscarry.”

The busines was to find this letter of *Achme*, and the messenger pretended to be ignorant of any other, except that above-mentioned. At length, upon closer search, another was found sewed in the lining of his waistcoat, which, upon their reading of it, was to this effect: *Achme* to *Antipater*: *I have written to your father, according to your direction, and have inclosed in the packet the forged letter from Salome to the empress my mistress; and I doubt not but the king, upon his reading of it, will put her to death as a traitress.* This pretended letter of *Salome* was contrived by *Antipater*, and dressed up by *Achme*, who wrote to the king as follows. *Achme* to *king Herod*: *Out of a desire I have to serve you, by acquainting you with any thing that concerns your safety, I have herewith sent you a letter of Salome to the empress my mistress, in which she desires her leave to marry *Syllaeus* (G).* Pray tear it as soon as read, since the discovery of it would cost me my head.

Confront- Herod, upon reading and comparing the whole, caused his son to be brought before him, bound as he was, and shewed him the letters; and at the same time asked him, what he had to answer for himself. *Antipater*, at the sight of them, was thunderstruck, and could not utter a word; and, upon its being insisted on, that he should name his accomplice, he only mentioned *Antiphilus*.

Salome Salome, who was touched to the quick at this attempt against accused. her, after having expressed her innocence by many antick gestures,

• *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 7.*

(F) This *Achme* was, by nature, a *Jewess*, in the service of *Julia Augustus*'s wife; but had been corrupted by *Antipater* with large sums, to contrive this plot against his father, and his aunt *Salome* (4).

(G) *Syllaeus* was a *Nabatcean*, and *Herod*'s sworn enemy; and was soon after beheaded at *Rome*, for betraying *Aelius Gallus* into the *Arabian* expedition, and for some other crimes (5).

(4) *J. Sph. antiq. l. xvii. c. 7, ad fin.*

(5) *Ds hoc vide Strab. l. xvi.*

and dire imprecations, strenuously insisted to have the traitor executed out of hand. *Herod*, on the other side, was thinking at first, to have sent him to *Rome*, to have been tried before *Cæsar*; but, fearing, upon second thoughts, lest he should either be rescued by the way, or acquitted by his friends there, contented himself with sending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his son to his prison^f.

WHILST his ambassador were hastening to *Rome*, *Herod*, Herod's worn out with age, sickness, and numberless cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent disease, which, added to all his other misfortunes, made him so morose and choleric, that he became a burden to himself, and to every one about him. Finding his end approaching, he set about making his will, by which he appointed his youngest son his heir and successor, the misrepresentations and calumnies of *Antipater* having rendered his other two sons, *Achelaus* and *Philip*, obnoxious to him. He bequeathed, in legacies, a thousand talents to *Augustus*, five hundred to his empress, and left a considerable fortune to the unworthy *Salome*. The rest of his estate, lands, revenues, and money, he ordered to be divided between his children and grandchildren.

BUT, if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this disposal^g of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was soon after soured by a seditious tumult, which was raised about this time by *Judas* the son of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias* the son of *Margolothus*, two Jewish doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. These men, at the pleasing news of his being given over, unhappily took it into their heads to stir up a good number of their disciples, at the head of the city youth, to go and pull down all the structures which that monarch had built, contrary to their laws. These, with their two masters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day, that *Herod* was expired, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had set up a golden eagle of extraordinary bigness, and exquisite workmanship; and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers, as the greatest eye-sore of all. The king's commander in chief, expecting it to be the beginning of a sedition, ran immediately to the place with a body of his troops, and was agreeably surprised to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately dispersed themselves at his arrival. Forty only of them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to stand their ground, were immediately seized, and brought to the dying king; and, upon their being asked what

^f *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 7, ad fin.*

Their intrepidity before Herod. motive had induced them to such an attempt on the temple, boldly answered him, that they had long since resolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it so long.

They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any punishment he could inflict on them, since what they had done, was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of GOD.

Herod's speech to the assembly at Jericho. THIS affront having raised, in some measure, his drooping spirits, he ordered them to be sent in chains to *Jericho*, whither he also caused himself to be conveyed in a litter, by reason of his extreme weakness. Here he assembled the heads of the *Jews*, and, in a set speech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the sumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of GOD during his whole reign, and

for which he expected to have endeared both his person and memory to the whole nation; but that, to his great grief, he found it quite the reverse, since they had dared, even during his life, and in the face of the sun, offer such an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to GOD, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; so that they had even turned their malice into an open sacrilege. The assembly could easily have told him, that his pretended dedication of a figure, forbidden by the second commandment, was no other than a piece of idolatrous complaisance to the *Romans*; but, being afraid to rouse his cruelty too far, they contented themselves with disclaiming the fact, and allowing it to deserve an exemplary punishment.

Herod, somewhat softened by this answer, contented himself with deposing the high-priest *Mattathias*, formerly men-

tioned, whom he suspected to have been a private encourager

of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother *Joazar*;

The zealots after burnt alive. after which he caused *Mattathias* the ringleader, and the rest of the prisoners, to be burnt alive, and forgave all the rest.

live. THIS indignity, however, gave him reason enough to think

what mourning the Jewish nation was like to make for him;

and as his disease became more and more loathsome and intolerable (H), and made him still more desperate and inhuman, he

bethought

* Antiq. ubi supra, c. 9.

(H) This disease, which *Josephus* (6) doth not scruple to call a judicial one, was so complicated, and attended with such nauseous and frightful symptoms, that we believe our readers will hardly spare us the repetition of

them here. However, the king, still flattering himself with the hope of a cure, sent for physicians from all parts, who, having tried their art in vain, advised him at length to the hot waters of *Callirhoe*, on the other side

bethought himself of such an horrid expedient, to prevent their rejoicing at his death, as scarcely even entered into the heart of any tyrant. He issued out his summons for the heads of all the Herod's Jews to repair to Jericho on a set day, under pain of death; *last legacy* and, upon their arrival, ordered them all to be shut up in the *Circus*: and having sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Jews. *Alexas*, gave them strict charge to have them all butchered as soon as his breath was gone. By this means, added he, I shall not only damp the people's joy, but secure a real mourning at my death. About this time came back his messengers from Rome, with Augustus's approbation of Antipater's sentence, and the news that Achme had been there put to death for her treachery. Herod could not but feel a sensible joy at it, in spite of all his tortures; and, finding himself at that time very hungry, called for an apple and a knife; but his pains increasing at that instant, and he essaying to put an end to them with the knife, made a grandson of his, who tried to stop his hand, give a loud shriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believe that he was dead. The report of it soon reached Antipater's prison, who exprest such lively joy and hopes at the news, as hastened his execution; for his gaoler having acquainted the king with it, threw him into such a rage, that he dispatched one of his guard, on the very instant to put him to death^h. He outlived his son but five days, during which, Antipater he altered his will afresh, left his kingdom to Archelaus, made ^{put to} *Antipas* tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; and left to Philip the ^{deadth.} regions of Trachonitis, Gaulon, Batanea and Panias, which he erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To Salome, besides fifty thousand pieces in money, he gave the cities of Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis, with some considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the seventieth year of his age, the Herod's thirty-seventh after his advancement to the Jewish crown, and death. the thirty-fourth after the expulsion and death of Antigonusⁱ (I), and to the no small joy of all the Jews.

FOR

^h Antiq. l. xvii. c. 9, ad fin.ⁱ Ibid. c. 10, sub init.

Jordan, which empty themselves in the lake Asphaltites. Upon his coming thither, he was ordered to be set in a vessel of oil up to the neck, which, instead of reviving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought, by the outcries of his attendants. It was then that he first began to think his disease incurable; upon

which, he appointed a donative of fifty drachms per head to all his soldiers, and proportionably to his officers; and ordered himself to be conveyed to Jericho, where he soon after issued out that bloody edict we are going to mention in the text.

(I) Archbishop Usher dates his death on the 25th of November, the seventh month, called Chislev,

* For Salome and Alexas, bad as they were, and in spite of all the oaths and protestations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were so far from executing his last inhuman orders, that they even strove to smother the shameful *The impri-* secret from the nation. To this end they went immediately, *soned chief* after his being expired, to the hippodrome, where the heads of *released by* the Jews were detained, caused the gates to be flung open, and Salome.

Year of Christ 1 Before the vulgar æra 3 depart to their respective homes, he having no further occasion for their presence; which they accordingly did; soon after which, and not till then, they published the news of Herod's death. They then summoned the chief officers and soldiery to

the amphitheatre at Jericho, and read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their past services and fidelity to him, and desir'd them to shew it now to his son

Archelaus *Archelaus*, whom he had appointed his successor. His last will

proclaim was read to them at the same time, by Ptolemy, the then keeper

gd. of the royal seal, in which there was this remarkable clause,

That it was to b: of no force till ratified by Cæsar. The audience, however, taking it for granted, that that emperor would not fail to confirm it, sent out an universal shout, *Long live King Archelaus!* and both officers and soldiers promised him the same allegiance and attachment which they had shewn to his father.

Herod's *flately su* new king, to shew his gratitude to him, began with *xixral* preparing a funeral answerable to his greatness and dignity.

law (7) Another learned chronologer observes, that it gave the Jewish nation a joyful occasion for a festiv. l, as he died hated by all wise men (8).

Our learned prelate has there-
in followed the Jewish book last-
quoted, which places his death
on the seventh day of that month,
according to the Hebrew computa-
tion; but a late critic has since
pretended, that the old Megillah
had been long since lost, and this
new one foisted into the world
instead of it, and is therefore of
no authority (9). We shall con-
tent ourselves with referring
our readers to another learned
man (1), who has fully confuted
this assumption, it being quite

out of our province to enter fur-
ther into that dispute.

The Jewish historian sums up Herod's character in these remark-
able words (2) He was a man
inexorably cruel, and a slave to
his passions. His will was his
law; and yet no man, in the
general, more fortunate than he.
He mounted the throne from the
condition of a private man, fell
into many difficulties, but sur-
mounted them all, and lived at
last to a great age. As to his
domestic broils with his children
and family, how unhappy soever
he may have been in my opi-
nion, yet was he fortunate in his
own , for he still got the better
of his enemies.

(7) Sub A. 4007. (8) Vida Megillath Tabanith sub Cibylos.
(9) Bern Lamy, appar. cborol. p. i. c. 9. sect. 5. (1) Job Meyer, quem. in
Megill. Taban. p. 62, & seq. (2) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 19.

His body was laid on a sumptuous golden litter, enriched with variety of precious stones, wearing the royal crown on his head, and holding the sceptre in his hand. His sons and grandsons, of whom we have spoken in the last section *, his sister and her husband, accompanied with the rest of his relations, marched by his side, and were followed by all his officers, both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter, his guards led the van ; then came the *Thracians*, next the *Germans*, and, last of all, the *Gauls* or *Galatians* ; all of them armed, and in order of battle. The procession was closed with five hundred of the king's domestics, with aromatic perfumes ; and proceeded to his castle of *Herodion*, mentioned in the last section, which was about eight stades, or one thousand paces, distant from *Jericho* (K), and where they deposited his remains, according to his will ^k. They returned from thence to *Jerusalem*, where Archelaus having finished the seven days mourning for his father, according to the Jewish custom, gave the people a magnificent feast. He went next to the temple, cloathed in white, and in Arche-the midst of their loud acclamations ; and, being there seated on laus's his golden throne, gave the people thanks for the zcal they ex-speech to profled for him ; but added, that he would not assume the title ^{the Jews,} of king, till it had been confirmed to him by *Augustus*, tho' that, as well as the royal diadem, had been offered to him at *Jericho*, by the suffrages of the whole army. He concluded with assuring them, that as soon as he was confirmed by the emperor, his chief care and study should be to deseive the love they had so unanimously testified for him, and to make his reign more easy and happy, than that of his father had proved to the Jewish nation. This speech was followed with vollies of hurzas ; universal- after which, they began to try the sincerity of it, by a numberly applaud- ed.

* Pag. 449 (N). k Joseph. antiq ubi sup. & bell. Jud. 1. i c. ult.

(K) Or rather, as *Josephus* has it in another place (3), two hundred stades or furlongs ; for less than that it could hardly be, considering that it was but sixty from *Jerusalem*. Our learned *Uster* therefore supposes some error crept into the former, and that the historian there meant, that the cavalcade marched but eight stades a day (4).

Mention being also made of

Herodion upon one of the mountains of *Arabia* (5), Mr *Reland* justly concludes, that there must have been two castles of that name built by that monarch, the former in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* and *Tekoa* ; to wit, this where he was buried ; and the other, at a greater distance, and on the other side *Jordan* (6).

(3) Bell. Jud. 1. i. c. ult. in fin.

Jud. ibid. c. 16, & cib.

(4) Sub A. M. 4c02.

(5) Bell.

Palaest. illus. sub Herod. n.

of petitions suitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tribute, others for the total abolition of the customs, others again for the release of prisoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, *Archelaus* not thinking it adviseable to exasperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with suitable sacrifices, and a sumptuous entertainment, which he gave there to his friends.

A new tumult raised by some malcontents. THE Jews, however, soon resumed their rebellious course, in spite of all these grants. That afternoon was scarcely over, before a number of malcontents, who had been for some time holding secret cabals for railing new mutinies, broke loose in a body, and, for want of a more plausible pretence, came beating their breasts, bewailing the deaths of *Matthias*, and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded justice against those friends of the deceased king, who had had an hand in their deaths; particularly they desired, that the high-priesthood might be taken from *Joazar*, to whom it had been given upon that occasion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exasperate the new king; but as he was upon the point of departing for *Rome*, and was unwilling either to have his journey stopped by this tumult, or to

The master of the horse insulted. go away before it was quelled, he sent his master of the horse to appease them by fair words, and to remind them, that the king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor; but, before he could utter a word to them, they fell a pelting him with volleys of stones, so that he was forced to withdraw. He sent some fresh officers on the same errand, and they met with the same reception; insomuch that they wanted but number to have raised themselves into open rebellion. By this time the feast of the passover was come, which brought a great concourse of people from all parts to *Jerusalem*; during which solemnity, the malcontents never stirred from the temple, but chose to beg for subsistence of the comers, rather than leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were driven from it by main force!

The mutineers dispersed. *Archelaus*, who justly feared, lest these mutineers should spread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feast, sent an officer at the head of some troops, with express orders, either to disperse them, or to seize on such as stood their ground. They were scarcely come in sight of the revolters, before they found themselves briskly attacked by them, and by a greater number of strangers, whom their outcries had inspired with the same rebellious spirit: a bloody encounter followed, in which most of the soldiers were killed upon the spot, and the officer terribly wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life;

This fresh indignity obliged, at length, *Archelaus* to send his whole army against them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple, and to hinder the strangers from assisting them. After another obstinate fight, in which three thousand of the rebels were killed, the rest were soon put to flight, and betook themselves to the mountains; upon which the king published an order for all strangers to depart to their own homes, by which an end was put to the paschal solemnity for that year, the rebellion suspended for some time, and *Archelaus* left at liberty to prepare for his journey to *Rome*^m. He set out soon after accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother *Philip*, and took with him his mother *Mattace*, by nation a *Samaritan*, *Nicolas Damascen*, an old friend and counsellor of his late father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewise accompanied by his aunt *Salome*, with her children, and some other near relations, who pretended to assist him with their interest at the *Augustan* court, when their real design was to obstruct his confirmation, and to accuse him to the emperor of the massacre of his subjects lately committed in the temple.

WHEN *Archelaus* was come to *Cæsarea*, he was met there *Archelaus* by *Sabinus*, *Augustus's* intendant of *Syria*, who was hastening ^{goes to} into *Judea*, to take care of the rich legacies which *Herod* had ^{left at} bequeathed to that emperor. He had, however, been dissuaded ^{Year of} by *Varus*, in his way thither, from undertaking any thing further, ^{Christ 1.} till the emperor's will was known, and *Archelaus* confirmed in ^{Before the} his kingdom, so that he had been prevailed upon by that *Syrian* ^{vulgar} ^{era 3.} governor to stay in that city till he received further orders from *Rome*. He stayed, however, no longer there than till *Varus* was returned to *Antioch*, his capital; after which he went immediately to *Jerusalem*, lodged himself at the royal palace, and summoned the king's treasurers to give him an account, and to put him in possession of those treasures, but, as these had orders from *Archelaus*, not to part with them till his return, they refused to deliver them to *Sabinus*; alleging, they would preserve them for *Augustus*, till they received further directions from him. By this time *Archelaus*, and his retinue, were arrived at *Rome*; and among those, whom the subtle *Salome* had brought with her to oppose his election, was *Antipas*, another of *Herod's* sons, whom that monarch had appointed his successor by his ^{oppositis} ^{bin.} first will, and whom she designed to set up against his brother, under pretence, that that was of greater validity than his second (L). THERE

^m Antiq. ibid c 11. Bell. Jud. ubi supra

(L) *Antipas* had been persuaded to take this step, not only by *Salome*, but much more by *Irenæus*, an eloquent orator, and

one that was perfectly versed in all the affairs of state, had been admitted into the inmost secrets of *Herod's* court, and, being come

THERE was still another thing which very much weakened the interest of *Archelaus*, namely, his officers at *Jerusalem* refusing to deliver up *Herod's* legacies to *Sabinus*; of which both he and *Varus* had taken care to inform the *Roman* court. *Archelaus* was therefore forced, in his own vindication, to present a memorial to the emperor, in which he exhibited his title to the crown, the particulars of *Herod's* last will, together with an inventory of the treasure which that monarch had left behind him, to which he likewise added his royal signet with which that will was sealed. This memorial was soon followed by another from *Antipas*, in which were displayed such allegations as were most likely to invalidate *Herod's* last will, and his brother's title. *Augustus* having perused the writings on both sides, summoned a council of his friends, to examine their respective claims, and made *Caius* the son of *Agrrippa*, by his adopted daughter *Julia*, president of itⁿ. *Anipater*, the son of *Salome*, an eloquent speaker, and sworn enemy to *Archelaus*, opened with a speech full of the bitterest invectives against him; such as his having assumed the royal title and authority, without staying for the emperor's consent; his having caused three thousand Jews to be massacred in the temple by his own troops at the late passover festival; his having turned out several eminent officers, and put others in their room; his having presumed to sit on the royal throne, heard and adjudged causes, and granted considerable immunities, released all the prisoners whom his father had caused to be shut up in the *Circus*; all this by his own assumed authority, and in the quality of a Jewish monarch. He likewise accused him of unnatural contempt to the memory

ⁿ Idem ibid.

come with him to *Rome*, was most likely to represent that young prince's claim to the best advantage. With that orator, was also another great statesman, named *Ptolemy*, the brother of *Nicolas Damascen*, and one of the late king's counsellors. *Antipas* had likewise brought his mother *Cleopatra*, born at *Jerusalem*, with some other relations and friends; and these were scarcely come to *Rome* with him, before they found means to draw the greatest part of *Archelaus's* relations and partisans over to their side.

It seems by *Josephus's* account, as if *Archelaus's* party had taken some disgust at him, either from his severe manner of quelling the last tumult in *Judea*, or on some other pretence, whilst *Antipas*, and his friends, took care to inspire them with hopes of a milder government under him. But there was still a third party, who, liking neither of the brothers, nor indeed any of *Herod's* family, did what they could to make them both miscarry in their pretensions, in hopes of living solely and more quietly under the dominion of the *Romans* (7).

of his deceased father, from whom he had received such signal tokens of paternal love, and of his having spent the night which followed that monarch's death, in such feasting and jollity, as was like to have raised a sedition among the people, who could not behold such a flagrant instance of ingratitude, without the utmost detestation. He concluded with telling the court, that *Endeavor*, who best knew the opposite tempers of the two brothers, had not so much as dreamt of appointing him his successor, whilst he enjoyed his health and senses; but had expressly named *Herod's Antipas* to that dignity. But supposing that he had conceived a better opinion of *Archelaus* during his last sickness, he has shewn you now what a king he is like to prove; what use he is like to make of his power, since even whilst in the condition of a private man, he could send his troops into the very temple, to cut the throats of his subjects.

Damascen spoke next, and answered the greatest part of *Antipater's* accusations, by shewing, first, that, with respect to the pretended massacre in the temple, nothing less than such a sever-
ity could quell the sedition then kindled; that those men were only a band of rebellious fellows, and the first aggressors, not only in raising the tumult, but in murdering those officers whom the king had sent to appease them by the mildest means; and that he had acted nothing in this, or in any other instance, but by the advice of those who were now turned his accusers: that as to the alteration which *Herod* made in his will about the succession, he being in his perfect senses at that time, had doubtless very good reasons for what he did, and might probably have observed something in *Antipas's* behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother to him; and as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his submitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whose approbation it was to be of no force. As soon as he had made an Arch-
end of speaking, *Archelaus* went and threw himself at *Augustus's* feet in such humble guise, as moved his compassion towards him. *bumble be-*
Cæsar raised him up, pronounced him worthy of the *Jewish behaviour* crown, and promised to do nothing contrary to his father's will; *before Cæ-*
after which he dismissed the assembly without any further de-
cision, being desirous to take some time to consider, whether he should beftow the kingdom solely upon him, or divide it among *Herod's* children, seeing they all applied themselves alike to him for redress.

WHILE these things were transacting at *Rome*, the restles *A new in-*
Jews, had made a new insurrection in *Jerusalem*, which was *surrection*
however quenched by *Varus's* speedy arrival from *Antioch*, and at Jerusa-
the punishment of the ringleaders; but, upon his return to *Iem*,
Antioch, having left *Sabinus* with a *Roman legion* to keep that

* *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 11. *Bell. Jud. ubi supra.*

Sabinus's metropolis in awe, this general seeing himself superior to the attempt on Jews, made a bold push upon the fortresses of the city, and the Jewish treasures of the Herodian family, with a design to convert treasury them to his own use. He chose however a wrong time for such

an attempt; and the Jews, who came flocking thither to the approaching feast of pentecost, not perhaps so much out of devotion, as to oppose his designs, quickly divided themselves into

Closely besieged by the Jews. three bodies, one of which besieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilst the other two went and possessed themselves, the one of the Hippodrome, and the other of the temple on the east and north sides of it; so that he was inclosed on every side, and in danger of being overpowered by the Jews.

Rifles the treasury. These were the more exasperated against him, because he had forced his way into the treasury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents out of it, besides other rich plunder which his soldiers had carried off, in spite of all their opposition (M).

THESE two actions therefore could not but highly exasperate the Jewish nation, and make them double their vigour against him. Accordingly, whilst one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cause a defection from the Roman general, by promising an amnesty, and free leave to

(M) This desperate attempt had happened as follows: The Roman general, seeing himself hemmed in on all sides, and on the brink of being assaulted by the resolute Jews, sent an express to desire Varus to come immediately to his assistance; whilst himself getting up on the top of one of the towers of the castle, named Phasael, from thence beckoned to his troops to make a sally on the enemy. They did so, and had an obstinate skirmish with them, in which they killed a number of Jews. The rest, not at all discouraged at this loss, got up on the outer galleries of the temple, from which they galled the Romans with stones and arrows, whilst those of the enemy from below had quite lost their strength before they could reach them.

Tired at length, and ashamed to see the advantage the Jews

had over them, they brought vast quantities of wood and other combustible matter to the foot of the wall, and setting it on fire, plied it so briskly with fresh fuel, that the flame reached at length to the cornices of the gallery; which being of timber, and covered with paint and wax, on which the gilding was laid, were easily set on a blaze. A great number of the Jews on the battlements perished in the flames, whilst the rest casting themselves down headlong, either died by the fall, or by the enemy's sword; so that not one of these brave men was left alive, the Romans giving no quarter to any of them. As soon therefore as the flames were so far abated, that these could wade through them, they broke into the sacred treasury, from which they carried off the plunder above-mentioned.

march off unmolested, to as many as should leave the place. They added the like promise to *Sabinus*, upon the same conditions, and assured the *Roman* troops, that they had no other design in taking up arms, but to free themselves from the tyrannic yoke of the *Herodian* family. *Sabinus* would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the *Jews* would not permit him to rely on their promise, so that he chose rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from *Varus*. During this time new troubles were raised in other parts of *Judea*; among others two thousand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been discharged from the service, assembled themselves in a body, and fell upon *Archelaus's* forces commanded by his nephew *Archibab*; but this young general not daring to face them upon equal terms, knowing them to be old experienced soldiers, went and secured himself as well as he could in some fortresses, and other places of difficult access^p.

We have heretofore had occasion to mention one *Ezechias*, a captain of a gang of banditti, whom *Herod* had with much difficulty caught and put to death, with about forty of his troops. This man left a son named *Judas*, who seeing now the country *Arsacidion* labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to raise by revenge his father's death; and having got together a band of the *Judas*, most desperate free-booters at *Sephoris*, a city in *Gahlee*^q, after several incursions into the king's dominions, forced at length into the royal armoury, where he equipped his men *cap-à-pié*, and from thence into the treasury of every place where he came; and, being thus furnished with men, arms and money, injected terror into the whole province, and plundered all he could come at; and so successful was he for some time, that he began to aim at the supreme power; whence he is thought, not without good grounds, to have been the same which is mentioned by St. *Luke*^r under the name of *Theudas* (N).

He was not the only one that aimed at the crown during these troublesome times. There started up another, named *Simeon*, a person of a comely stature, strongly built, and well esteemed by the *Jews*, and sufficiently conceited to think him-

^p *Antiq. ubi supra.* *Bell. Judaic.* I. ii. c. 2. ^q *De hac vide* *antiq.* I. xiv. c. 10. xvii. c. 12. *Bell. Jud.* I. ii. c. 2, & alib. pass. ^r *See also val. ii. p. 459, (Y).* *Acts v. 36.*

(N) This seems more than probable, not only from what each historian says of him, the one, that he aimed at the crown; and the other, that he gave himself out to be some eminent person, or great deliverer; such as the *Jews* were in more than ordinary expectation of at this time; but likewise from the affinity of their name, בְּנֵי *Thoudab* in the *Syriac* answering to the *Hebrew* יְהוּדָה *Jebudah*, and to the *Græk* Ιωύδας (8).

(8) *Anec. ubi sup. c. 11.* *Bell. Jud.* I. ii. c. 2. *Vid. ann. Usser. sub A. M. 4003.* self

self worthy of it. He had been employed by Herod in affairs of great importance with credit. As soon therefore as he appeared at the head of a party, the people saluted him king of the Jews ; and he, to shew his real against the two rival sons of his late master, led his men directly to Jericho, where they set the royal palace, a rich and stately building, in flames. He proceeded to do the like to several others, giving his men the whole plunder of them. But, happily for that country, Gratus, Archelaus's general, or, according to Tacitus³, Varus, the Syrian governor, fell suddenly upon them, and, whilst they fought with more courage than skill, gave them a total over-defeated, throw ; and Simeon was caught in his flight in some narrow and Simeon beheaded. defile, and being brought to the general had his head immediately struck off⁴. Whilst these were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was doing the same in another, particularly that of Amatha on the Jordan, built probably by Herod for the benefit of the hot waters, which that city was famous for and took its name from.

A third by A-thronges. But the most desperate and dangerous of all those turbulent gangs (for they raged in every place like an epidemic disease) was that of Athronges, heretofore an obscure shepherd, or no merit or worth but what he challenged from his gigantic stature, and brutish stoutness (O). At length, after many bloody and desperate exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of Archelaus, after his return into Judea. One of his brothers was taken by Gratus, and another by Ptolemy. The rest of them surrendered himself upon good conditions; and so the whole gang was dispersed. But all this while the whole country was still in a flame from fresh insurrections, as well as from that of the Jews against Sabinus, whilst the Herodian competitors were waiting at Rome for the emperor's decision.

* Hist. l. v. ¹ JOSEPH ubi supra. ² EUSEB. onomast. sub voce.

(O) This upstart contended likewise for the royal authority. He had four brothers of the same monstrous size, whom he made his lieutenants over the multitudes that came flocking to him for the honour of fighting under his banner. He took upon him the royal diadem, and tho' he often consulted his council, yet acted according to his arbitrary will. He hated the Romans and Herodians alike; but the former felt oftener the effects of his cruelty. He gave no quar-

ter to either side, when they fell into his hands; but he seemed rather to bend his force against the Romans, because their late plunders and cruelties were fresher in every body's memory. He laid an ambush against one of their convoys of corn near Emmaus, and fell upon them so suddenly, that he left their commanding officer, and forty of his men, dead on the spot, and were in all likelihood to have done the same to all of them, had not Gratus given time to their arrival.

(3) *Ist. ant. q. Et Br. Jud. ubi supra.*

By this time *Varus*, being apprised of the danger *Sabinus* *Varus* and his legion were in, took the road to *Judaea*, at the head *marches to* of his other two, which were all that he had then in *Syria*, *Sabinus's*, and with four troops of horse, and some foot, which he had *assistance*. got from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He ordered their rendezvous at *Ptolemais*, where he received some Jewish auxiliaries, besides fifteen hundred more, which the king of *Arabia* sent him to *Berytus*, more out of hatred to the *Herodian* family, than love to the *Romans*. With part of his army *Varus* marched toward *Samaria*, whilst the rest, under the command of his son, made an inroad into that part of *Galilee* which was nearest to *Ptolemais*. This last, having put to Sephoris flight all that opposed him, went and took *Siphon*, sold all *taken and* the inhabitants by auction, set fire to that noble city, and *burnt*. reduced it into an heap of rubbish. His father, on the other hand, passed by *Samaria*, because he heard, that it had no hand in the Jewish insurrections, and marched strait to *Jerusalem*. In his way he suffered his *Arabian* troops to plunder and burn several villages and towns, such as *Arus*, because it belonged to *Ptolemy*, a friend of *Ilerod*; *Dambo*; and *Emmaus*; this last in revenge of the slaunderer which *Athronges* had made of the *Romans* near that place, but the inhabitants of it, foreseeing the storm, had timely forsaken it. Whilst this was doing without the city, the besiegers, who were just going to storm the palace, having heard of *Varus* coming with such a force, raised the siege, and marched off in a *The siege* fright; upon which the believed came forth, with the grand-raised children of *Ilerod*, to compliment him on his arrival, and to thank him for his timely help. *Sabinus* was the only one who did not follow their example; but stole away privately *Sabinus* towards the sea. *Varus* gave a very severe reprimand to the *seals* inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, for their late hostilities against the *away*. *Roman* legion; but was soon appeased, when he was apprised, that they neither had an hand in it, nor were able to hinder it, being themselves pent up by those foreign *Jews* who were come to the feast, and had begun the tumult. However, as *Varus's* he thought it expedient to make a severe example of the *ring-leaders* of it, he sent some of his troops through the whole the *re-kingdom*, with orders to make a strict search after them, and *wretches*, bring them prisoners to him. Upon their return they brought a vast number of those wretches, two thousand of whom he caused to be crucified, and released the rest (P).

ALL

(P) This severity did not hinder another body of ten thousand from taking up arms against

Vol. X.

him, which prevented his disbanding his auxiliaries, as he had designed, and obliged him to send

*A deputa-
tion sent
against
Arche-
laus.*

*Complaint
against
Herod,*

*and Ar-
chelaus*

ALL this while *Archelaus* was soliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and to name him king of *Judea*. About this time *Martae* his mother died; soon after which there arrived a deputation from *Judea*, consisting of fifty of the heads of that nation, who were sent to oppose his election, and to beg of the emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of *Syria*, and subject to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were seconded by above eight thousand *Jews* then settled at *Rome*; who all professed an aversion to a kingly government, and a desire of living under that of the *Romans*, provided they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion and laws. *Augustus* referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of *Apollo*, which he had lately built, and where both sides were to be heard in their turn. Here the *Jewish* ambassadors began with inveighing against *Herod*, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation like a tyrant, violating all their laws both sacred and civil, impoverishing a nation, whom, at his first accession to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; sacrificing an infinite number of his subjects either to his ambition, jealousy or resentment, not sparing even the matrons and virgins of distinction, either in his fury, or his lust; notwithstanding all which they would gladly have accepted of his son *Archelaus* for their prince, had he not given them so many convincing proofs of his tyrannic disposition, an instance of which they urged in the massacre of the three thousand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to *Augustus*, that he would put their nation under the *Syrian* governors, and then he would soon be convinced whether the *Jews* were really such rebellious people as they had been represented to him, and not, on the contrary, men of the most steady loyalty to the superior power. All this was immediately answered by *Damascen*, who took upon him to vindicate the deceased, as well as the new king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty; and *Augustus*, having heard both sides thus far, dismissed the assembly, without declaring his resolution till further consideration.

fend them to quell this new revolt. They easily compassed it, because the enemy, instead of standing the brunt, surrendered themselves at discretion. *Vasius* forgave the common people, and contented himself with sending the chiefs of them bound to *Augustus* (1).

(1) *Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi sup.*

He was not long, however, before he decided the controversy in such a manner, as convinced the world of his friendship both to *Herod*, and to his offspring. He bestowed the half of the kingdom on *Archelaus*, under the title of *ethnarch*, or governor of a nation; and backed it with a promise that he would give him that of king, as soon as he had rendered himself worthy of it. This part of the Jewish kingdom, ^{division of} contained *Judea Propria*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*; but he exempted this last of one fourth part of their taxes, in consideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in *Judea* and *Galilee* (Q). *Yose* has reckons the whole yearly revenue of this new ethnarchy to have amounted to six hundred talents. The remainder of Herod's kingdom was divided between his other two sons *Philip* and *Antipas*, the former and *Antiochus* of whom had the regions of *Batanaea*, *Trajanis*, and *Aurapantis*, to which *Cesar* added that part of *Galilee*, which had formerly belonged to *Zenostrus*, mentioned a little higher, and which alone amounted to about one hundred talents a year. The latter had the greatest part of *Galilee*, and the countries beyond *Jordan*, amounting to two hundred talents a year. *Salome* had for her share, besides half a million of ^{and} silver, the cities of *Samaria*, *Acotus* and *Phasa* ¹, to which *rome's Augustus* added that of *Ajalon*. The rest of Herod's legacies, ² are particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to him, he generously distributed between his other relations, his grandsons, and two virgin daughters, whom he married to *Pheroras*'s sons, reserving for himself only a few of his moveables, not so much for their value, as out of regard to the memory of his deceased friend.

This new division of the Jewish kingdom was scarce settled, before there started up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a Jew, brought ^{Apollodorus} _{sets up for the crown}

^w *Antiq. ubi sup. c 13* Vide & *STRAB. &c. 1. 17. ubi sup.*

(Q) However, this partition, as well as change of title from a king to an ethnarch, plainly shews, that he was nothing less than satisfied at his proceedings, and indeed, whatever *Damascen* might urge to colour his too speedy assumption of the regal power, it is plain he had not paid that regard to the emperor which we ought to have done; all which was sufficiently aggravated by the opposite party. And,

as he looked upon that young prince as too likely to follow his father's violent measures, nothing could be more prudently thought on to keep him within due bounds, than such a conditional promise. He likewise dismembered from *Judea* the cities of *Gaza*, *Galara*, and *Hippur*, because they followed the custom of the Greeks, and joined them to the province of *Syria*.

up at *Sidon*, and so like the late *Alexander* the son of *Herod by Mariamne*, formerly put to death, that, when he came to give himself out to be the same, and to have been preserved alive, he easily deceived not only the bulk of the *Jews*, but even those who had been acquainted with that unfortunate *His grand* prince (R). Upon this supposition, they spared neither pains, entry into cost, nor acclamations, to render his entry into *Rome* as Rome. splendid as possible. The litter or chair of state in which he was carried, the vast clouds that accompanied him, and the reception he met with at every place he came to, were all answerable to the high notion they had conceived of him.

Discover-
ed by Au-
gustus As soon as they were come to *Rome*, whither the rest of the *Jews* flocked in clouds, to pay their homage to this new-born offspring of the *Afmonian* race, *Augustus*, who knew *Herod* too well, to believe that he could be imposed upon in a matter of such importance, sent one of his freed-men, named *Celadus*, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new *Alexander* to him. *Celadus* was as easily imposed upon as the rest; but *Caesar*, who examined him with a more curious and unerring eye, soon discovered a manifest deficiency in the port and majesty of this upstart, from what he had observed in that young prince, besides a certain callosity in the hands of the former, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore asked him and his instrument, What was become of his brother; and why he did not likewise come and make out his claim to the *Jewish* crown; and was readily answered by both, that *Ariobulus* had staid at *Cyprus* to wait the issue of this journey, that, if one of the sons of *Mariamne* miscarried, the other might be preserved to keep up the *Afmonian* race and title. Their mutual agreement, which still helped

He was assisted in this imposture by a cunning fellow, who had formerly gone through all the intrigues of *Herod's* court, and who, finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of success, advised him to set about it immediately. These two accordingly began with giving out, that the two young princes, *Alexander* and *Ariobulus*, whom the *Jews* supposed to have been put to death pursuant to their father's order, had been preserved by a faithful friend, and two other persons substituted in their stead.

These two went first to *Crete*, thence to *Melos*, where they raised considerable sums of money from the *Jews*, that were settled in those islands. Having succeeded so well at their first setting out, they resolved to sail for *Rome*; and, being arrived at *Puteoli*, were met by all the heads of the *Jews*, especially by those who were in the interest either of the *Herodian*, or of the *Afmonian* families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and consequently as the only rightful king of the *Jews*.

to confirm the rest, served only to make the emperor look upon the whole as a forged story ; and, to be further convinced of it, having taken the young man aside, he, partly by threats, and partly by a promise of sparing his life, extorted a full confession of the whole imposture ; the consequence of which was, that the young man was sent to the gallicas, and the *Punished*. other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the *Jews* who had assisted them with money, *Cæsar* thought their loss and disappointment a sufficient punishment x.

BUT neither the dislike which the *Jews* had shewn upon this occasion to the *Herodian* family, nor the prudent caution which *Cæsar* had given *Archelaus*, proved sufficient to keep him within due bounds. He was no sooner returned into *Judæa*, than he began to betray some marks of his arbitrary and resenting temper (S).

HOWEVER, the first years of his reign proved peaceable enough ; but the people at length, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, being tired with his tyrannical reign, joined in a petition to *Augustus* against him ; which had no sooner reached him, than he sent an agent of his into *Judæa*, without any other letter, to fetch the *Jewish* ethnarch to him. *Archelaus*, tho' warned, as well as the incestuous *Glypha*, by some portending dreams mentioned at length by *Josephus* y, had given so little heed to them, that *Cæsar's* messenger found him in the

x Antiq. ubi supra, c. ult. Bell. Jud. I. ii. c. 5.
ubi sup. & bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 6.

y Antiq.

(S) He began with the deposition of *Joazar* from the high-priesthood, on pretence that he had sided with some of the late mutineers ; and bestowed that dignity on *Eleazar* the brother of the deposed pontiff. He next repudiated his wife *Mariamne*, and married *Glypha*, the widow of his brother *Alexander*, contrary to the *Mosaic* law, because she had had several children by him, and had been married, since her first husband's death, to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. He deposed soon after the new-installed pontiff upon some disgust, and raised *Iesus* the son of *Sias* to that dignity. He bestowed an immense deal of cost in rebuilding and beautifying the royal palace at *Jericho*, and bringing down one half of the stream, which watered the village of *Nereu*, into the grove of palm-trees which he had planted in the neighbouring fields (z). About this time *Caius*, coming from *Egypt* (3) into *Judæa*, expressed his contempt of the *Jewish* religion, by refusing to offer up sacrifices at *Jerusalem*, for which he is said to have been commended by *Cæsar* (4).

(z) Antiq. ibid. Bell. Jyd. ubi supra, c. 6.
(4) Sueton. in Octav. c. 93.

(3) Orof. I. vii. c. 3.

Archelaus height of his mirth, when he came to acquaint him with his brought to orders, and obliged him to hasten with him to *Rome*. Upon Rome. their arrival there, *Augustus*, with his usual equanimity, heard both the charge and the defence ; after which he condemned *Archelaus* to be banished to the city of *Vienne*, in *Gaul* or *Dauphine*, and all his goods to be confiscated. *Judea*, by this sentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and *Cyrenius*, the then governor of *Syria*, and a man of consular dignity, was sent thither to see it executed (as we have lately hinted upon another occasion) ; after which having sold *Archelaus*'s palaces, and seized upon all his treasure, he returned to *Antioch*, leaving the *Jews* in no small ferment upon the account of this new tax ².

The cause of their future war, and total destruction. *Ciponius*, the Roman general of horse, and governor of *Judea* under *Cyrenius*, had accompanied him in that expedition ; and his presence, as well as the good offices of *Joazar* the then high priest (I), had, for a while, kept the nation under some quietness, till *Judas* the *Gaulsute*, of whom we have spoken in the last section, and one *Saducus*, a turbulent pharisee, set it again into a flame. We hinted before, that this boutefeu took upon him to condemn this taxing as foolish, idolatrous, and inconsistent with their duty to God, the only Sovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of *Abraham* (U). The war being thus kindled

* *JOSPEH. antiq. ubi supra Bell. Jud. I. ii. c. 6.*

(T) *Josephus* has forgot to tell us how he was reinstated into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by *Archelaus* some years before, to make room for the son of *Sisai*, hinted a little higher, but it is probable, that, after that prince's banishment, *Joazar* found means to recover that dignity under the *Syrian* governor ; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he shewed in appeasing the discontented *Jews*.

But this last action, instead of confirming him in his pontificate, proved the cause of his second deposition, it having rendered

him so obnoxious to the *Jewish* nation, that *Cyrenius* was forced, for quietness-sake, to turn him out of it, and to put *Ananus* in his place (5)

(U) This topic seldom failed to make an impression on a people, who were taught to look upon themselves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the rest of the world as designed to be their slaves ; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when their hopes of the *Messiah*, or temporal deliverer, inspired them with a tenfold disdain against the yoke which their conquerors were then laying

kindled within and without, was followed by a grievous famine, and this by a pestilence; all which ended at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation^a; which was owing to the ambition of this upstart sect or faction, of whom we have given an account in the close of the last section, to which we shall only add, that, after the death of their chief, they distinguished themselves by the godly name of zealots, and, under that specious title, committed the most unheard-of cruelties, and carried their violence even into the very temple.

At this while the *Samaritans* had not forgot their old grudge against the *Jews*, though they had been so long quiet polluted by *Cyrus* was scarce gone out of *judaea*, before they began to the *Samaritans*. Such new mischiefs ^{against them} they waited till the next *ritans*. approaching ^{full} of the passover, which on the eve of, a number of them having privately slipped into the temple, strewed the galleries, and other places of resort, with dead mens bones, so that he priests on the next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity; which indignity obliged them to be more cautious for the future, to guard the avenues from all such insults. However, Christ the ceremony was soon resumed, and it was on this festival ^{came to} that Christ, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents to this solemnity, according to the ^{the temple} custom, ^{in the 12th year of his} which obliged all the males, who had attuned to that age, to appear to the temple on the three grand festivals^b. Here the ^{age} *Holy Child* chose to stay, unknown to his parents, who were ^{Stays} departed with the rest of the company. They did not miss ^{after the} him till night, when having in vain sought him among their ^{self.}

^a Antiq I viii c 1, & seq Bell Jud I ii c 8, & seq
^b See before, vol iii p 18, & (A) Conf & Prod xxviii 15 & xxxiv 23 Deut xvi 16 & Luc ii 41, & seq

upon them *Judas* therefore could not have wished for a more favourable juncture to make himself the head of a numerous and powerful party. And therefore, added he, it is high time that you should make a strenuous push for your country's freedom, and, without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, do but depend on the favour of Providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors. There wanted but this last incentive to

set them a midding after the promised liberty. Accordingly, we find that his speech wrought them into a kind of furious frenzy, which quickly vented itself in the most horrid butcheries and cruelties, his party plundering, burning, destroying, and murdering every where, indiscriminately, *Jews* as well as *Gentiles*, and, in a word, all that opposed his specious pretence of religion and liberty.

Answer to his sorrowful mother. relations and acquaintance, among whom they supposed him to have been, they returned immediately to *Jerusalem*. Here, after three days sorrowful search, they found him in the temple, sitting among the *Jewish doctors*, and surprising them with the wisdom of his questions and answers, so far beyond his mean education, and tender years. His pious mother, though ravished at so pleasing a scene, could not forbear expressing some tender resentment at the concern which his absence had given her. The short answer he returned was not presently understood by them; but yet was a lecture full of excellent wisdom: *Wilt ye not, said he, that I must be about my Father's business?* (W)

Various changes of governors. Cponius was soon after this feast succeeded by *Ambivius*, in whose governorship *Salome* died, and bequeathed her three cities, mentioned a little higher, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by *Archelaus*, and all her vast treasure, not to either of her nephews, who still held their small toparchies, but to the empress *Julia*, or, as *Josephus* affects to call her, *Livia*. *Ambivius*, after a short time, was succeeded by *Annius Rufus*, and *Augustus* died at *Nola* in *Campania*, as will be seen in the *Roman history*, and was succeeded by *Tiberius*, after the latter had been somewhat above two years admitted into the copartnership of the empire. From this period must the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, mentioned by the evangelist^c, be taken. *Tiberius*, upon his coming to the empire, recalled *Rufus*, and sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judea*, who was the fourth *Roman* governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years^d. About five

^c Luke iii. 1. Vid. U瑟. sub. A M. 4017. PRID. sub an. r. 12. ^d Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 3.

(W) And so he really was; for, as he had been sent to be a teacher of the world, and as he now commenced what the *Jews* called a son or disciple of the law, it became him, who was to be our pattern, to make his first accesses to his future office of instructor, by coming to learn of those whom God had appointed to preserve and teach the knowledge of his laws. His mother suffered none of these sayings to slip out of her me-

mory, and she and her husband gladly returned with him to their mean habitation, where he continued in a dutiful subjection to them. In this humble privacy, his wisdom increasing with his stature, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all that beheld him, and continued exercising the trade of carpenter (6), till the thirtieth year of his age, when he began to make a more glorious appearance in the world.

(6) Conf. Marc. vi. 3. & Matth. xiii. 55. Luc. ii. 51.

years after his being entered into it, he deposed the high-priest *Ananus*, or *Anas*, in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raised *Ishmael* the son of *Fabus* to that dignity. Being soon after displeased with his choice, he took it from *Ishmael* on the next year, and gave it to *Eleazar* the son of *Ananus*, whom he had lately deposed. *Eleazar* in a year's time was forced to resign, and was succeeded by *Simon* the son of *Camith*, who within the compass of another year was turned out, and *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiaphas*, and son in law to *Ananus* above-mentioned, was put in his room; so uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (X).

Gratus himself was soon after recalled, and succeeded by *Porcius Patel*, a person who exceeded all his predecessor, in injustice, covetousness, and cruelty, and so thoroughly wedded to his own interest, that he was capable of the vilest actions to promote the favourite end. *Josephus* has been somewhat sparing of his character, but *Pel* has left us a lively draught of it, a short sketch of which the reader may see in the note (Y), by which he may judge how qualified he was for the part he was shortly to act, in passing the most unjust sentence on the most innocent of men.

We hinted a little higher, that the other sons of *Herod* had still kept possession of their toparchies, notwithstanding *and Philip* *Ariarathes*'s deposition and banishment: it will be therefore very proper here to give some full & a count of them before *toparchies*, we enter into a new and different scene. They had each of them settled themselves the best they could in their small territories. *Antipater*, better known by the name of *Itzaed*, who *build* *Sepphoris*, had the country of *Gilead*, *Bacchus* with the city of *Phoras* and *Siphasis*, which had but a late time been reduced to ashes *other cities* by the son of *Varus*, and surrounded it with a strong wall and towers, so that it became the bulwark, and one of the best cities of that canton, and as he had been successful enough

* Comp. *Josephus ubi supra*, & *Luke* iii. 2. *John* viii. 13.
 Acts iv. 6. * Legit. ad *Caium*

(X) These are the two high priests that are mentioned in the gospel to have prosecuted and condemned Jesus Christ to death, and *Caiaphas*, or, as he is there called, *Caiaphas* (~), was the person who adjudged it necessary, that he should be cut off to save the nation from ruin.

(Y) His whole administration, according to this author, was one continued scene of venial justice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action, of racking and torturing innocent men to death, untried and uncondemned, and of every kind of savage cruelty.

**Philip
builds Ju-
lia.**

**Jews ba-
nsished
Rome.**

**Year of
Christ 20.**

to ingratiate himself with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of *Gennezareth*, and called it *Tiberias*, in honour of him (Z); and from thence that lake came to be called the *sea of Tiberias* (A). His brother *Philip* followed his example, and raised the village of *Bethsaida*, on the opposite end of the same lake, into a magnificent city, and called it likewise *Julias*, and gave the name of *Cæsarea* to *Paleas*, the place where the *Jordan* has its spring-head, after he had greatly enlarged and beautified it. During this time came out that edict of *Tiberius*, which obliged all *Jews* and *Egyptians* to depart from the city of *Rome*^h, or, according to another, out of the territories of *Italy* (B).

HITHERTO *Judæa*, though in a violent ferment on ac-

^a *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 3.
^b *Sueton. in Tiber* c. 36.

^c *TACIT. an. I. ii. c. 85.*

(Z) *Josephus* adds, that it was not far from the hot baths of *Emmaus*; for which reason we think it necessary to remind our reader of what we observed in a former note, that the *Jews* gave the name of *Hamah* and *Hammath* to all places that had any such waters; that of *Emmaus* is the same, only softened and grecified. We must therefore not confound this last with another in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (8), which bears the same name, and most likely upon the same account.

(A) This city he was forced to people mostly with *Galileans* and strangers, because it being built on a ground, which was full of sepulcres, the going over which polluted the *Jews* seven whole days, he could hardly get any of that nation to settle there, though he endowed it with considerable privileges, and gave its inhabitants the greatest encouragement, to wit, lands to some,

houses to others, to take off their qualms of conscience about treading on dead bodies. Another city formerly called *Betaramph-tba* he rebuilt, and called by the empress's name, *Julias*.

(B) The cause of this edict being some vile practice, which a few mean persons of each of those nations had been acting in the imperial city, is foreign to our present subject: we refer our readers for a further account to *Josephus* (9), and the two authors last quoted. All that we need add to it is, what *Philo* has observed more than once (1), that this severity against the *Jews*, whatever pretence it might be coloured with, was hatched underhand by *Sejanus*. That wicked minister, who knew how opposite his plots and designs were to the known loyalty of the *Jews*, could not but conceive some dreadful jealousies from them, which obliged him at length to rid himself of them.

(8) *Vit. int. al. Luc. xxiv. 13.* *Vid Reland. Palest. illuf. I. i. c. 46.*
(9) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 4. (1) *Legat. ad Caesum.*

count of the late tax, and some other tumults which the Pilate Romans had appeased by main force, had not, however, broken *causes now* out into such a violent and universal flame, as it did after the *troubles in* coming of Pilate. It was this governor, whose fierce, obstinate, and cruel temper, hastened on those seditions and revolts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of the Jewish state. His predecessors had hitherto wisely forbore to bring the Roman standards into the city, because their bearing the images of men, and living creatures, made them to be had in abomination by the Jews. But Pilate, who thought it beneath him to shew them the same complaisance, ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis, to enter it in the night, with those standards covered; and *Sets up* caused them on the next morning to be displayed. This new *standards* and shocking sight put the whole city into an uproar; they at Jerusalem went to him in a body to Cæsarea, where he then was, and *dem.* begged of him that they might be removed to some other place; but were answered, that he could not comply with their request, without glancing an affront on the emperor. As they stood stiff in their petition, and he in his denial six whole days, five of which the former had continued prostrate on the ground before his palace, night and day¹, he at length came out to them, as with design to give them audience; and, being mounted on his tribunal, which he had reared in the circus, gave the signal to some of his troops, whom he had conveniently posted, to fall on them, and to murder all that should not immediately depart, and who instantly came out and surrounded them. The Jews however, far from *His cruelty* being terrified at so horrid a perfidy, meekly held out *to the sub-* their necks to those butchers, telling them, and the governor, *missive* that the loss of their lives was nothing so terrible to them as Jews soft-*the violation of their laws*; and Pilate, who expected nothing *ened*. less than such a passive constancy in that turbulent nation, was so moved at it, that he at length granted their request, and ordered the standards to be removed out of their metropolis².

BUT, as he seems to have been wholly bent upon mortifying and spiting of the Jewish nation, he soon resumed his *conse-* usual course. A project came next into his head to set up a *crated to* number of shields in the royal palace of Jerusalem, in honour *Tiberius* of Tiberius (C); but which the Jews failed not to resent as *hung up in* *the royal* *palace.*

¹ Bell. Jud. I. ii. c. 8. ² Id. ibid. & antiqu. ubi supra, c. 4. *palace.*

(C) This transaction we have no mention of it.
from Philo (2); Josephus makes

an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there should be no carved images upon them, that might give them offence, but the very inscription of them was, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwise there was nothing more common both before and after the Jewish captivity, than for the Jewish monarchs to cover even the front of the temple with such ornaments, as the reader must have often observed

The Jews petition against them. through the course of their history. The magistrates, therefore, of that metropolis, with the sons of Herod (D) at their head, went to represent to him in the most civil terms, that such a consecration was contrary to their laws, and to beg of him, that he would pay a greater regard to them. But their remonstrances not being able to prevail with him, they immediately withdrew, and soon after sent a very pressing, but submissive letter to Rome, which had the desired effect.

Caesar orders them to be removed Tiberius immediately dispatched another to Pilate, wherein he highly blamed him for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the shields into some other place; which he accordingly did, and sent them to be hung up at Cæsarea.^m

Pilate's attempt to drain their sacred treasury His next project to vex the Jews, to find out some specious pretence for drawing money out of the sacred treasury. This was indeed the most effectual way to touch them to the quick, next to the rifling of the temple, for he knew but too well their inviolable attachment to those two places.

^m Legat ad Caesaram

(D) Meaning probably of the *Introd. the Great* Who those sons were, our author doth not tell us, but we may reasonably suppose two of them to have been *H. Iacobus*, tetrarch of *Gallæ*, and *P'aphis* his brother, mentioned a little higher, both willing enough at that time to oblige the Jews. The other two may have been probably some of his grandchildren. However that be, Pilate repulsed them with his usual scorn and obstinacy, till they ventured at length to advise him, not to push things so far, as to expose the nation into an open revolt. They added, that, if he had received any such command from *Cæsar*, he need but shew

it to them, and they would immediately dispatch a deputation to *Rome* to petition the emperor against it. These last words threw the governor into a strange dilemma: on the one hand, he dreading nothing so much as such a deputation, which would in all likelihood lay open all the iniquities of his administration: on the other, if he complied with their request, in removing the shields, he not only gave an advantage to a people he hated and despised, but exposed himself to the resentment of the emperor, who might probably look upon such a compliance as an affront to himself, and a compliment to the Jews.

The plausible pretext he chose for it was, the bringing of an aqueduct, about two hundred furlongs off, into Jerusalem; the expence of which he expected should be supplied out of that sacred depository, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax should be levied upon it. However, as he knew that this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, he took care to provide against it, by causing a number of his *Causes a soldiers* to mix themselves with the crowd, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready upon a signal to fall upon the *mutineers*. He was hardly seated on his tribunal, before it was surrounded accordingly by a vast concourse of the *Jews*, who came exclaiming against his project, and where some of the meaner sort, as is usual in such mobs, accompanied their clamours with bitter invectives against him. *Pilate* had not heard *His bellif* them long, before he gave his men the signal, who immediately fell on the *Jews* with their clubs, wounded, *suppreſſit*. lamed, and even killed many of them indiscriminately, and dispersed the rest ^a (E).

THIS was the dismal state of *Judea*, when the Saviour of *The causes* the world made his first public appearance in his ministry; of *the Jews* miserably torn by their intestine broils; oppressed with the *infidelity* heavy yoke of the *Roman emperors*, and of their more rapacious and *de-ſtruction*. *subſtitutes*; divided into factions and sects, which treated each other with greater rancour and inhumanity, than their very oppressors; deceived, and often led to their ruin by upstart demagogues, false prophets, and pretended *Messiahs*; and soothed and flattered to a degree of judicial infatuation, into the mistaken notion of a speedy temporal deliverer, and of a glorious and lasting scene of conquests, triumphs, and other earthly happiness, under his auspicious reign: all which proved so many invincible obstacles to their embracing that salvation, which Christ the true *Messiah* came to offer to them, and made them run into the very jaws of that destruction, which their rejection of him and his doctrine, joined to all their other impieties, soon brought upon them. All which

^a *Antiq. ubi supra.*

(E) *Josephus* doth not tell us, whether *Pilate* went on with his design; neither is it easy to guess either from him, or from *Philo*, at what year of his government the three last-mentioned transactions happened. All that can be gathered from the whole is, that he took all the pains he could to make it uneasy to them from

the beginning to the end of it; and that the *Jews* were not behind-hand with him, either in opposing his designs, oppressions, and cruelties, or in giving him fresh troubles by their tumults and seditions, in which every sect joined to give an helping hand, though at ever so great a variance in other points.

will

will be best seen by taking a short view of the three last years of his life ; of the irrefragable credentials he brought with him, and the obstinate and unreasonable opposition they made against him , of his love and tenderness towards them, and of their malice and ingratitude to him ; of his irreproachable innocence, and of their injustice in condemning him to death , and lastly, of the innumerable evidences given to them after his resurrection, of his being the true promised Messiah, and of their invincible hardness and obstinacy in rejecting him to the last. We shall therefore close the present section with a short account of those three last signal years of his life, and his doleful exit on the cross , confining ourselves chiefly to such particulars as have an immediate connection with the two main points in our view , the divinity of his mission, and the justice of the *Jews* punishment in the destruction of their city, temple, and commonwealth, and total dispersion of their nation, for their obstinate rejection of him and his doctrine (F).

IT

(F) It will be perhaps objected, that, in entering thus far into those two religious points, we go out of our limits as historians , and that instead of writing a continuation of the history of the *Jews*, we are going to prove the truth of Christianity against them. But let it, we pray, be considered, that though this were the real case, the harm would not be great, and that, provided both points are kept going still hand in hand, and we do not so fix our eye upon one, as to lose sight of the other, we still answer the two main ends of history, to make men wiser and better.

We should moreover be guilty of a flagrant injustice to the infatuated *Jews*, if we should neglect so fair an opportunity of reminding them of the source of all their misfortunes, and pointing out to them their only remedy. We have heretofore taken notice of a promise made to them by God, that though their sins had caused them to be dispersed through the four quarters of the

world, yet, as soon as they were brought to an humble acknowledgement and confession of them, he would gather them home again into their own land .

Accordingly, before their total dispersion, the longest captivity they underwent was but of seventy years, though it was brought upon them by the horridest crimes, such as idolatry, murders without number, sacrileges of the blackest nature committed by *Manasseh*, and his wicked successors ; and yet they had this comfort in the midst of their punishment, that the same prophets, who had foretold their captivity, had likewise set a period to it , and were still encouraging them to bear their chastisement patiently, since God would certainly put an happy end to it at the time prefixed.

What crime can they then charge themselves with of so atrocious a nature, as to bring this more dreadful captivity of seventeen hundred years upon them, without one prophecy, or even comfortable glimpse, when they

It was now the thirtieth and last jubilee since its first celebration in the land of Canaan^o, when Christ, in the thirtieth his ministry.

^o See before, vol. iii. p. 41, & (Q). L. SER. ann. sub A.M. Year of his life 30.

they shall see an end to it? I they know of any such sin, why do they not confess and acknowledge it, and thereby put a period to their misery? for God's promise stands as sure now, as it did three thousand years ago.

Since then they are ignorant of this grievous crime; Why should we make a difficulty to point it out to them, when we have so fair an occasion offered? Why should we not tell them, that it was their putting the Messiah to an unjust and ignominious death? which they are so far from not acknowledging, that they justify and glory in it, and, by so doing, murder him still in their hearts, as often as they think or speak of him, and so become partakers of their ancestors guilt, as well a punishment.

Again, The scripture doth in several places, but more expressly St Paul (3), assure us, that there will be a time when they shall be all recalled; and their having continued so long unblended with other nations, notwithstanding their dispersion through every part of the habitable globe, is a strong proof of it for, whatever superficial heads may imagine, an impartial thinker will easily observe, that nothing but a particular Providence could have kept them in that unmixed state which they have continued in these seventeen centuries, when

he sees even in our own land a multitude of nations, in a much less time, as much blended and absorbed into one common name, as their bodies are into one common earth; especially when we consider by what weak supports, or rather poor mean evasions, their faith and hopes have been kept up, ever since they have seen all scripture calculations concerning the time of the Messiah, so long elided; to say nothing of the many discouragements they have at one time or other met with from every nation under heaven.

We are assured by the same apostle (4), that this recall of the Jews will not be till after the fulness, or total conversion, of the gentiles. Were the former once rightly apprised of this, it is likely their zeal in obstructing the one would intently abate, when they saw, that it was the fatal means of retarding the other.

We may add, that since the best historians have not thought it out of their province to plunge into the deep abyss of obscurity, to find out the causes of the decay and fall of kingdoms and empires, but have even endeavoured to discover them in certain aspects of the heavenly bodies, transits of comets, and such-like amusing dreams; may we not much more be allowed to trace this remarkable one of the

(3) Rom. xi. p. 47.

(4) Ib. l. ver. 25, 26.

tentieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable one, not to the Jewish nation only, but to the whole world. The Jewish was usually ushered in by the sound of trumpets, the new Christian one by the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, and so on. This was the miraculous son of Zecharias, a priest, prophet, and forerunner of the Messiah, who having left the wilderness, where he had spent his younger days, came now to preach repentance, and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and in the high-priesthood of Year of Joseph surname *Caiaphas*, mentioned a little higher. The Christ 30. austerity of his life (G), and the newness of his doctrine, drew daily great numbers of Jews to be baptized by him in the Jordan, supposing him to be the Messiah; but he quickly disclaimed that glorious title, assuring them that he was only sent as his precursor, and to point him out to them, as the prophet who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghost. Jesus

^p *Cant. Israh xl. 1, 2, 3. Ia. 1, & seq. Luc. iii. 2, & seq. iv. 19.*

Jews under the conduct of such infallible guides, as the scripture and history afford us? All which will be best seen, when we come to compare Christ's prophecies against that unhappy people, and the wonderful accomplishment of them, as we have it related by one of the best historians of their own nation.

(G) His dress, and manner of living, seem to have been the same with the antient prophets, of whom we have spoken in a former volume (5). His food was wild honey and locusts. We have bid occasion to mention both in a former volume, especially the latter, when a modern traveller hath fanned to life the insect which the Israelites were supplied with instead of quails, they being a wholesome and agreeable food much used in some parts of Asia

and Africa (6), and are also allowed by the *Ecclistical law* (7).

Archbishop Usher supposes, with great probability, that this preacher of repentance began his ministry on the grand fast, or expiation day, of which frequent mention has been made in this history, it being enjoined to every Israelite to fast, and afflict their souls on that day, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. This day fell, as we have elsewhere observed (8), on the tenth day of the seventh month, called *Tibri*, answering to about the nineteenth of our October; and on that solemnity the jubilee was to be proclaimed through all the land (9): upon both which accounts no time could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more spiritual and universal jubilee, which was now at hand.

(5) *V. I. vi. p. 224, E. 5^o.
in. 4.*

(7) *I. m. xi. 21, E. 5^o.*

(9) *Ibid. xxxv. 9. Ibid. Usser sub M 472.*

(6) *Ibid. p. 399, (Q). Vid. & Matth.*

(8) *Vid. iii. p. 44, & seq.*

Came accordingly to the place soon after to be baptized among the rest ; and John in an humble guise excused himself from that high office ; but, being at length prevailed on to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghost visibly descended, and lighted upon him, whilst a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*⁴. Whereupon the baptist ^{Baptized} took that opportunity to manifest him to all that were there ^{and many} present, and to bear this ample testimony of him, that he ^{said by} was the very Christ, and the Lamb of God, who was to take John away the sin of the world⁵.

As John continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbourhood of Bethabara (H), a great concourse of people flocked to him from all parts, especially in their return home-wards from Jerusalem, where they had been celebrating the feast of tabernacles, which fell out about the beginning of November⁶. Among them was a great number of the pharisaic sect, whom he severely rebuked upon several accounts, particularly on their pretended privilege of being Abraham's posterity, assuring them at the same time, that as long as their lives were so opposite to that of their glorious progenitor, they must expect to be cast, like the chaff, into the fire,

⁴ Matth. iii. 13, & seq. Luc. iii. 21, & seq. ⁵ Ibid. Ibid.
Vid. & Joh. i. 29, & seq. ⁶ Vol. iii p. 26, & seq.

(H) So called from the Hebrew בֵּית הַבָּאָרֶב, *beth baba'ab*, the house of passing over, or ferry-house; supposed by some to have had that name from the passage of the Israelites over Jordan; but whether so or not, its name shows it to have been probably some great ferry, and so very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourse of people at such places for receiving the toll.

But the word *beth baba'ab* may be also, and perhaps more properly, translated a custom-house, as the officers of it, whom we render publicans, were called בְּנֵי בָּאָרֶב, *baba'ab baba'ab*, i.e. overseers of the customs; a great many of whom

came accordingly to the baptist, to inquire what kind of repentance was proper for men of their profession; and were answered, they should exact no more than their due (1) to the soldiers, who are usually set to guard such avengers, he forbidding violence, false accusations, extortion, &c. to the rest, who, on the same supposition, dealt in the mercantile way, he enjoined likewise a practice opposite to their common one; that is, liberality, hospitality, charity, &c. instead of covetousness, fraud, &c. Thus was he fulfilling what was foretold of old (2), *Every valley shall be filled, every mountain leveled, &c.*

(1) Luke viii. 13.

(2) Ibid. ver. 5. Conf. cum Ioh. x. 4, & seq.

whilst God could raise a posterity to the father of the faithful out of the very stones they were trampling upon. On this year was born to *Herod Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, a son named also *Agrippa*, who was the last king of the Jews, and before whom St. *Paul* was allowed to plead his cause ; and on the next year was his sister *Berenice* born, who was also present at the tryal¹, she being sixteen, and her brother seventeen years of age, when their father died².

John the baptist having given such an ample testimony to the Saviour of the world, the two first that became his followers, were two of his own disciples ; to wit, *Andrew* the son of *Zonah*, and *Simon* his brother, to whom he gave the surname of *Cephas*, or *Stone*. On the next day, as he was returning to *Nazareth*, he called *Philip* to follow him ; and this went and gave notice of him to an honest *Ihsaelite*, named *Nathanael*, who is generally believed to be the same, who is by the other evangelists called *Bartholomew* ; assuring him, that they had found the promised Messiah, namely *Jesus* of *Nazareth*. *Nathanael's* mean opinion of that city, and of the whole *Galilean* region, could scarcely permit him, at the first news, to believe that any thing so good as a prophet, much less the Messiah, could come from such a mean quarter. He was however soon undeceived, when *Jesus* told him some of the private discourse which *Philip* and he had had together under a fig-tree, far enough out of his hearing. These two, therefore, and some others, followed him into *Gahlee*, where they were all invited to a poor couple's wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, *Jesus*'s mother, who w^ts one of the guests, acquainted him with it (I) ; who arose soon after, and,

of

^c Acts xxv. 13, & seq
c ult. Usser sub A M. 4030. & seq.

^a Vid. antiqu. l. xviii. c. 7. xix.

See also a little higher, p 445, in fin not. (N).

(I) The answer which ours, and most other versions, make him, who was to be the pattern of all perfection, return to his mother on this occasion, has given just offence to all serious readers ; notwithstanding the specious glosses which commentators have put upon it, such as that he expressed himself to her in those contemptuous terms, to prevent, if pos-

sible, that extraordinary worship, which he foresaw his followers would in time pay to her, and the like.

Whereas a learned critic of our own (3) has lately proved, beyond all contradiction, that the words, if rightly rendered, are full of the deepest filial respect, for the word γυνη, woman, is so far from being a term of contem-

his wonted compassion, miraculously supplied them with a *His first* fresh and sufficient quantity. This wonderful change of such *miracle at* a quantity of water into excellent wine, filled the company *Cana*. with admiration, and further confirmed his new disciples, that he really was, what they thought him, the true Messiah. From *Cana* he went to *Capernaum*, a small city on the west shore of the lake *Gennezaret*¹⁰, where we shall often find him in the sequel; and where he made but a short stay, at this time, by reason of the approaching feast of the passover, to which he repaired with his disciples, it being the first festival of that kind he celebrated since his entrance into his ministry ^w.

UPON his coming to the temple, he found it crowded with *The temple* people that sold cattle, poultry, and other such things as were *profaned*. used in the *Jewish* offerings, and had been set up there for the convenience of those that came from far to the feasts, and bought them on the spot, rather than bring them from their homes. This had likewise introduced a number of money-changers for the use of those who brought foreign coin instead of victims, and whose tables and trade were equally a profanation of that sacred place. It is likely, that the priests, who might and ought to have made them keep their stalls and compters at a greater distance, made a perquisite of their indulgence, and consequently aggravated the abuse. Against *Christ* them, therefore, Christ chose to exert the first essays of his *drives the authority and zeal*, by turning them all out of that sacred *traders building*, after a severe reproof for their mercantile profanation of it (K). In the mean time he did not omit giving them

^w John ii. 13, & seq.

tempt, as it sounds in our language, that he has proved it from the best authors to have been given even to queens. We may say the same thing of the word יְהוָה נָא, *ishbab*, in the *Hebrew*, which is used in the same respectful sense by the *Jews*.

As for the phrase which is thus rendered, *What have I to do with thee?* it is well known to be a *Hebrew* idiom, which implies no more than, *What is it to you and me? (4)*?

(K) But, whilst his disciples admired his zeal for the house of God, so worthy of the son of *David*, the disatisfied *Jews* were questioning and demanding the signs of his authority; and received this remarkable answer from him, that they should destroy this temple, meaning that of his body, and he would raise it up in three days. It was upon this occasion that they, mistaking his meaning, reminded him of the forty-and-six years it had been

(4) See a parallel in 2 Sam. xii. 22. 1 Kings xvii. 19, & ahd. Le Scqne's
affez w^r a new verf. & ahd.

them many other pregnant proofs of his divine mission, in the many miracles which he did before them, and which still increased the number of his disciples ; but he, who knew their hearts, easily judged that many of them would soon turn their backs upon him, especially when the sanhedrin and the pharisaic sect came to denounce their sentence of excommunication against them (L). However, though that sect was

the

building ; of which we took notice a little higher. His disciples, however, understood him much better after he was risen from the dead (5).

(L) It is doubtless a matter of great wonder, how the *Jews* could see such a vast number and variety of miracles wrought by Christ on the sick, halt, maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, paralytic, lunatic, demoniac, and other objects of pity, and yet believe him a false prophet, a deceiver, or any thing rather than a Person sent from God : how they could see him give sight to those that were born blind, life to one that had lain four days corrupting in the grave, feed so many thousands with a few loaves and fishes, still the winds and seas by his single word ; and in fine, to display, as it were, his irresistible power over the universal creation ; and yet either condemn him as a cheat, or be ever lacking for some further and more convincing sign of his being the Messiah (6).

We have already accounted, in part, for this strange proceeding, in the detail we gave of their several sects ; whose tenets, being for the most part diametrically opposite to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel, proved so strong an obstacle against it, as few were

able to surmount. To this we may add, that Christ, choosing the sabbath-day for working the major part of those miracles, gave them still a greater offence ; their superstitious prejudices making them look upon even such works of mercy to be a violation of that holy day, notwithstanding all he could urge to the contrary ; a flagrant instance of which we have in the cure of the man born blind, in the chapter last quoted out of St. John.

But what most helped to confirm them in this absurd judgment of him, was a passage in *Deuteronomy* (7), which, rightly understood, is only a prudent caution against their being drawn aside by false prophets, and pretended wonder-workers ; but which they did, and still do understand to this day, so literally, and contrary to the plain design of the lawgiver, as to infer a possibility of a man's working many and great miracles, either by the help of the devil, by magic, or other means, and without any other view, but that of withdrawing people from the service of God.

Now, when men are once prepossessed with such an absurd notion, what miracles can any person work, that may not be reduced under that class, if they

(5) *Joh* iii. 18, &c. &c.
(7) *Ch.* xiii. 13, &c. &c.

(6) *Vid. int. al. Joh* vi. 1. ad 30. ix. pass.

the most inveterate against him; we shall find some of them of a more upright temper, who, making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be instructed by him, and became his disciples, though privately, and for fear of their unbelieving brethren^x.

AMONG these was one *Nicodemus*, a venerable ruler, who, rightly concluding that such stupendous works could not be

* John ii. 23, ad fin.

have any dislike either to his person or doctrine, or can find any plausible objection against his manner of working them? All which concurred here against those of our Saviour, and were, upon those accounts, rejected by the generality of the *Jews*, even to this day, as we hinted above. Accordingly, they are so far from denying him to have done great and signal miracles, that they have invented the most stupid stories to prove, that he did them either by magic, which they say he learned in *Egypt*, or by going privately into the temple, and stealing thence the ineffable Name of God, by virtue of which he could perform all those great wonders; and many more such shameful and childish evasions, the bare mentioning of which is a sufficient confutation of them. Those that desire to know more of this *Jewish* trash, may consult, among others, the book intituled *sepher tholedoth Jesu*, or the history or book of the generations of *Jesus*, and some others, which the reader may find in the margin (8).

We omit here some other still more absurd as well as impious *Jewish* notions, which we inserted in our first edition, merely to expose the ignorance, malice,

and judicial blindness, of those learned rabbies, but which we find give rather offence to some pious, but weak minds. But, upon the whole, if we consider the vast superstition which then reigned among the *Jews*; how addicted they were to astrology; what strange power they attributed to the heavenly bodies, or rather to the angels which presided in each of them; what prodigies they thought might be done by the right evocation of them; what supernatural efficacy they ascribed to the right pronunciation of the Name of God; how extensive they supposed the power of magic to be; and that it was not only lawful, but necessary, to learn it in one's own defence; and lastly, that those were not the notions of a small number, but of the whole nation, except perhaps some few more judicious and unprejudiced; such as was *Nicodemus*, and some others, whom we shall mention in the sequel, and who made a more impartial judgment of Christ's miracles; we need not wonder, that the rest, who neither liked his person, character, nor doctrine, should attribute those stupendous works to any other cause, than to the power and finger of God.

(8) *Rab. Gedaliyah Shafsheleth Haccabalath Gantz. chronol. Nitza'ch'n Abr. Ben Dior. Tz mach David, &c al. mult.*

wrought without the Divine assistance, and in confirmation of some new signal doctrine, such as the thinking part of the Jews expected the Messiah to bring with him, came privately one night to have a conference with him about it. Jesus, who to Christ took a singular delight to encourage such sincere inquirers, by night, and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration, without which he assured him it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He expressed himself, moreover, in such terms as he might have justly expected to be well understood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, such as the Jews affirmed to be that of their new proselytes; concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume². But Nicodemus, better versed, perhaps, in the reigning disputes of his and the other sects, than with such fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been quite swallowed up by the present polemic contagion, seemed wholly at a loss how to understand it. Our Saviour, therefore, having given him a further explication of that heavenly doctrine, requested of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the present, assuring him, that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added, that the miracles which he had seen him work, should not be the only proof he would give men of his divine mission, since they should see him shortly lay down his life in confirmation of it; and, in so doing, fulfil all the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, and the decrees of the divine love and providence, by dying a ransom for the redemption of mankind². And therefore he justly concluded, that if men receive not his divine testimony, but will shut their eyes to that marvelous saving light which he has brought into the world, it is because their evil deeds, which are manifested and reprobated by it, make them prefer their own darkness; and this it is which aggravates their guilt, and will hereafter their sad punishment^b (M). Nicodemus, who felt the force of all these truths, became

^a Vid int al Mark x. 21.

^a Vol. iii p. 118, & seq. (M).

^a John iii. 11, & seq.

^b Ibid. ver. 19, & seq.

(M) We have contented ourselves to give the bare substance of this divine colloquy, which contains indeed the quintessence of Christianity; to wit, the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and the reformation of mankind by the help

of this new light, which brought down to them. This light, upon due attention, not only to this discourse to the Jewish ruler, but on the tenor of the whole gospel, will appear to consist in these three particulars:

1st, That he came to teach

became his disciple from that very night, but without daring *Converteſt* to make open profession of it, for fear of the Jews. How by him ever, when their sanhedrin was once plotting to put him to *His de-* death, he had the courage to oppose it ^c, and when they had *sence of* *Christ.*

^c John vii. 50.

us a more perfect rule of life than human reason could, by its own unassisted strength, ever discover. For, whatever some fin- guring men may imagine concerning the insufficiency of that faculty, an impartial review of the world, and of the most polite parts of it, before the sacred writings of Moses and the prophets were published in other more known lan- guages, will easily confute that fond conceit.

zdly, He came to communicate a superior degree of strength to our corrupt nature, without which the lessons of that divine master would have been lost upon the far greater part of mankind, whilst, like persons infected with cuticular diseases, they would still have preferred the pleasure of scratching to the benefit of a cure. And therefore, to enforce the observation of this new rule of life, without which man could not be happy, either here or hereafter, and to make him accept of, and seek for, that divine assistance, which alone could enable him to live up to it,

He was, zdly, to enforce it by the worthiest and most power- ful motive, the rewards and pun- nishments of another life, both which he has set before us in the strongest light, that those, who could not be allureſt to the virtues of his gospel by the beau- tiful prospect of the one, might at least be frightened into it by the

dreadful apprehension of the other. All which is still more strongly enforced upon us from a due consideration, that he, who best knew the value of that im- mortal life, which he came to reveal, thought not his life too dear a price to purchase it for us.

On this manifestation of the love of God to us, is founded our love to him as our sovereign bliss and benefactor, and of our neighbour, as partakers with us of the same divine favour. Nor is the fear of his punishments, low and base, as it may seem at first, less conducive to it. For how can a man be really frightened out of the paths of sin and punishment into those of virtue and reward, without feeling a secret love and gratitude towards his gracious deliverer, insensibly kindled in his heart, and rising by degrees into most pungent remorse for his past follies, and into the most fervent desires of pleasing him for the future?

Now the foundation of all this must be laid on such a stedfast faith as Christ speaks of to Nicodemus (9), grounded on those irrefragable credentials which he brought with him, such as the many and plain prophecies con- cerning him, his innumerable mir- acles, his resurrection, effusion of his Holy Spirit, and several other concomitant evidences, which will further appear in the sequel.

(9) John iii. 18-19.

- M m 4.

really

really crucified him, he, and Joseph of Arimathea, another Jewish ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial ^a.

Jesus Jesus left Jerusalem soon after to go into the other parts comes into of Judaea, where he set his disciples on baptizing those who Judaea. received his doctrine. This brought on a dispute between them, and those of the baptist, who was not yet cast into prison, but was still baptizing a little higher on the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Salim and Oenon, more towards Galilee. The difference between them, being about Jesus's Year of Christ 31 making a greater number of proselytes than John, was referred to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding thereto this noble testimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, and testified the truths he had seen and heard; so that those who received his testimony, did set to their seal, that God is true; whereas those who reject it, make him a liar, and are therefore obnoxious to his divine displeasure, whilst they continue in their unbelief ^b (N). Soon after this, John's extreme severity having raised him to the esteem, not only of all the Jews, but even of Herod Antipas, the then tetrarch of Galilee, this last often took pleasure in hearing and advising with him ^c for a time, till having ventured to take Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, to his bed, he received to many severe reproofs from that holy person for his incest, that he at last caused him to be thrown into a prison, where he soon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the hellish intrigues of that incestuous lady, and, to all appearance, much against his own will ^d. The occasion of this unlawful marriage the reader may see in the note (O).

John the baptist he beheaded by Herod.

ALL

^a John xix. 39 ^c De his vid vol ii p 454. ^f John iii. 22, ad fin. ^e Mark vii. 20 ^h Ibid Vid & Mat. xiv. 1, & seq.

(N) Since the bare light of reason assures us, that the nature of God is incomprehensible, it follows, that he cannot make any revelation of himself to us, but what must include mysterious truths vastly above our reason; and that it must consequently be a strange perverseness in man to reject them upon that account, when they come attested to us with the seal of heaven; for that

is, in fact, to give the lie to eternal truth; whereas the belief of them, being only an open acknowledgement that God is true, cannot but be the most reasonable as well as acceptable sacrifice we can make to him of that faculty.

(O) Herod, whose first wife was the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia, was since fallen in love with that of his brother Philip, whom he had seen at his castle,

ALL this while Jesus continued preaching in Galilee, and working so many singular miracles, that the fame of it came to the baptist in his confinement. John, therefore, supposing his own death to be near at hand, as he had formerly foretold it, sent two of his followers to inquire of him, whether he was the expected Messiah, not so much for his own satisfaction, as for that of his disciples. They came opportunely to him, whilst he was healing a number of sick, halt, maimed, and blind, so that he only bid them return, and acquaint their master with what they had seen, leaving it to him to explain the matter to them. Herodias had, in the mean time, tried in vain to persuade the king to dispatch the baptist: his fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary

castle, where he had stopped some days in his journey to Rome. Herodias was the daughter of Aristobulus, and grand daughter of Herod the Great, as has been hinted in a former note. Herod made no difficulty to discover his passion, and to propose marrying her, to which she consented, upon condition that he divorced his first wife. This last, having received some information of her husband's design, wished, however, to resent it, and, having obtained his permission to retire for some time to the castle of Machæron, which was then in her father's hands, she, instead of going thither, made all the haste she could to the Arabian court, where, being at length arrived, she acquainted the king with the whole intrigue.

This caused a rupture between Herod and Aretas, which ended in a war, which lasted till the death of Tibertus, four years after their falling out. Herod, thus rid of his wife without a divorce, made no scruple to marry his sister-in-law, though she had children by his brother Philip, which was contrary to the Mosaic law.

John the baptist was not the only person who condemned that marriage as incestuous: the whole nation ventured to cry out against it; but, as his character gave him a freer access to the court, he had the courage to reprove both the king, and his paramour, in the severest terms. Herodias, being at length stung to the quick with his frequent reproaches of incest, and of her infidelity to Philip, resolved to ruin him, and easily persuaded Herod Antipas to cast him into prison. His pretence for it, according to Josephus (1), was his drawing such multitudes after him to be baptized; but the true reason was that given by the evangelist above quoted, namely, his and Herodias's resentment.

The place where he confined him, is not mentioned by the evangelist, but Josephus tells us it was the castle of Machæron; though he should have told us how it came so soon again into his possession, after he had just hinted before, that it belonged to the Arabian king. But it is not unlikely, that he regained it from him after their rupture.

(1) *Antiq. I. xviii. c. 7. n.*

Herodias's *bef*-*before* *He-rod*.** prophet, had hitherto outweighed his base complaisance to her. But she soon after compassed that by her hellish policy, which her persuasions had not been able to do. *Herod's* birth-day being celebrated with suitable solemnity before a number of his head officers, and other persons of distinction ; she took the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king most probably heated with wine, to send her daughter *Salome* to dance before him ; and she performed her part so well, that he promised with an oath to gratify her in whatever she should ask of him, even to the half of his kingdom. This was what *Herodias* was waiting for, and for which she had given her instructions to her daughter ; so that the young princess, taking the king at his word, desired the head of the baptist to be given her instantly in a charger. *Herod*, surprised at her demand, expressed no small concern at it, whether out of respect to that holy person, or the fear of a tumult. But, at length, the consideration of his oath, and of his guests, having turned the scale, he ordered an executioner to go and perform her bloody request ; which being done accordingly, his disciples, upon hearing of it, came to take away the rest of his body, and gave it an honourable burial (P).

We return to Jesus Christ, who upon the news of *John's* imprisonment on account of the great number of disciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, lest *Pilate*

(P) Thus fell that great good man, and more than a prophet, according to his own prediction (2) ; of whom *Josephus*, in the place above quoted, gives us the following character : That his whole crime was his exhorting the *Jews* to the love and practice of virtue ; and, first of all, to piety, justice, and regeneration, or newness of life ; not by the bare abstinence from this or that particular sin, but by an habitual purity of mind and body

Now, continues he, so great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appears by the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine (for he could do what

he would with them), that *Herod*, not knowing how far the reputation of a man of his spirit might influence the people toward a revolt, resolved at length to take him off before it was too late, &c. He adds, that *Herod* was very unsuccessful in his war with the *Arabian* king ; all which the *Jews* looked upon as a just judgment of God upon him for that impious murder. An ancient father tells us (3) further, that, when *Herodias* received the baptist's head from her daughter, she pierced his tongue with a bodkin, and shewed it some other indignities, such as one may easily suppose from a person of her loose character.

(2, John iii. 30.

(3) *Hist. jud. c. 11. Ruf.*

should

should take some umbrage at him upon the same account. For there came, as we observed a little higher, rather a greater resort of people to be baptized by his disciples ; for himself, the evangelist assures us, baptized none. This made him, therefore, leave *Judea*, after a stay of about eight monthsⁱ, and depart for *Galilee* ; where passing through *Samaria*, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of *Sichem*, Galilee. or, as the Jews, by way of reproach called it, *Sychar*^k, which signifies drunk, according to the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious Jews the *shicore Ephraim*, the drunkards of *Ephraim*^l. After a few days stay at that place, he went on into *Galilee*, where he was well received by the *Galileans*, who had seen his late miracles at *Jerusalem* at the last pass-over, and preached in their synagogues. Whilst he was at *Cana*, the place where he had turned water into wine, a nobleman came about a day's journey to him, beseeching him, *The noble-
man's son* that he would come down and heal a son of his, who was at the point of death ; and expressed himself in such zealous terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. Jesus therefore, unto whom it was equally easy to heal at a distance, or at a greater nearness, dismissed him with these words : *Go thy way ; thy son liveth*. He obeyed ; and, upon his inquiring of his servants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promise was come out of Jesus's mouth : so he, and his whole family, believed on him^m. He went from thence into his old city of *Nazareth* ; *Despised* and, being entered one sabbath-day into their synagogue, where *by the Nazarites* the lesson of *Isaiah*ⁿ was given him to read, in which there is a lively description of the Messiah's preaching the gospel, and of his confirming it with many godlike miracles of mercy, he expounded it of himself, with such powerful and majestic grace, as raised the admiration of the whole audience. But *His severe* some of them being offended at his extraordinary wisdom, *reproof to* whom they knew to have had so mean an education among them, he reminded them of several other cities in *Judea*, and of many persons in *Israel*, who had rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours by the like unseasonable partiality. This reproof was so highly resented by the *Nazarites*, that they rushed upon him with one consent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill, on which their city was built, with a design to have cast him headlong down ; but he, slipping through the crowd, escaped their malice, and went to dwell and escape at *Capernaum*, a city situate on the coasts of *Zebulun* and *Nephthalim* ; *from their fury*.

ⁱ Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 4034. ^k John iv. pass. See also vol. ii. p. 463, sub not. ^l Isaiah xxviii. 1. ^m John ub. sup. ver. 46, ad fin. ⁿ Isaiah lxi. 1. Vid. Luke iv. 16, & seq.

A demon-succured. Nephtalim ; and preached among them, according to another oracle out of the same prophet^o, importing, that those regions of Galilee should in time be called from their native darkness, unto the marvelous light of the gospel. Being on another day preaching in one of their synagogues, there stood a demoniac before him (Q¹), in whom the unclean spirit cried with

^o *Isaiah ix. 1, & seq.* *Math iv. 14, & seq.*

(Q) We have already taken notice of the opinion of the Jews concerning these demons, who possessed mankind ; some, with Josephus, believing them to be the souls of the wicked, and others, that they were a kind of imperfect creatures, whom God was forced to leave unfinished on the sixth day, because the evening of the sabbath came upon him before he had given them the finishing hand (4) Upon either of these accounts, they believe them to find some pleasure and refreshment in possessing and annoying the bodies of the living. Of this kind they reckon also the satyrs, incubuses, fauns, familiar spirits (5), &c. The Christians, on the other hand, believe them, with greater countenance from holy writ, to be fallen angels, who have borne a constant enmity to mankind ever since the creation of Adam.

But it is here objected against either hypothesis, that if those malicious spirits had such extensive power as these possessed seem to attribute to them, there would be no end of their mischiefs, till they had made an end of mankind ; whereas, whatever we may read of them in former days of ignorance and supersti-

tion, we see nothing like it now even pretended among the more civilized nations, and only hear some imperfect accounts among the more remote and less cultivated ones, which yet may be either mere cheats, or at best mere delusions and this has made a great number of our moderate sceptics believe them all to have been of this last kind (6), as being less derogatory to the honour of God, than the supposition of his giving so great a power to evil spirits.

But these learned critics seem not to observe, that all these plausible pretences rather confute than countenance their notion ; for, who can believe, that Christ, who was so jealous of his Father's honour, would not only have overlooked, but, both by his words and actions, even countenanced and confirmed a national error so opposite to it, if he had not known, that God, for some ends agreeable to his infinite wisdom, had suffered those evil spirits to afflict and punish mankind ? If he had known, that all these pretended obsessions were the mere effects of melancholy, hypochondria, lunacy, and such-like disorders, incident to our nature, would he not have equally

(4) *Vid. Bresith rabba, cap. 1. & lib Zerr, Hammor, sive fasciculum myrrae.*
 (5) *See vol 1. p 172, (F).* (6) *Vid. Le Chre com. in loc. Becker Monde enlant. Bayle, &c al.*

with a loud voice ; and, acknowledging him to be the Holy one of God, expostulated with him, not to destroy him. Him Jesus having put to silence by his powerful word, cast him out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who spread his fame throughout all that region ; insomuch that, before he had taken a little refreshment at Peter's house, and healed his mother of a long and lingering fever, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diseases, and set them before him ; and Jesus, according to his wonted compassion, laid his hands on every one of them, and sent them all home healed.^P Heals
other di-
seases.

BEING come to the lake of Gennezareth, or sea of Tiberias, the clouds followed him so thick, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to Simon Peter, whom from a fisherman *Calls Si-* he had called to be one of his apostles ; and bid him launch mon Pe- out a little way, and taught the people from thence. As soon ter. as he had done speaking, he bid Peter cast his net for a draught ; and was answered, that, though they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afresh. They did so, and *A large* caught such a large draught, as was like to have sunk the boat. *draught* Peter, surprised at it, fell at his feet, and besought him to of fish.

• Luke iv. 31, ad fin.

displayed his miraculous power in curing of them under this no-
tion : And would not his pre-
tended interrogations of those
pretended devils, and their peti-
tioning to him ; his (7) distin-
guishing between their several
kinds, and the different means
of expelling them (8), have been
acting a farce unworthy his di-
vine character ? How much more
his promising to his disciples the
same power of casting them out
(9) ?

That these devils are every-
where represented in Scripture as
enemies to mankind, is beyond
all dispute ; and that they are
not as yet confined to the place
of their punishment, appears not
only from their frequent expostu-
lations with Christ, *Art thou*

come to torment us before the time ?
but much more from that dread-
ful and definitive sentence to be
pronounced against the wicked,
Go, ye cursed, into everlasting
fire, prepared for the devil, &c.
which, if only prepared for them,
implies that they are not yet sent
into it. If therefore we stick
close to the plain and obvious
meaning of the inspired writers,
we must suppose those possessions
to have been something very dif-
ferent from such pretended dis-
orders of the body or mind : and
where lies the unreasonableness
of the supposition of a vast va-
riety of spiritual beings, some of
a good and benevolent, others of
a bad and maleficent nature, but
all under the government of the
Supreme Being ?

(7) Mattb. viii. 28. Mark v. 9, &c seq. &c alib.
so, &c seq.

(8) Mattb. xvii.
(9) Vid. int. al. Mattb. x. 1, Mark xvi. 17. Luke x. 17.
depart

depart from such a sinner as he was ; but Jesus, taking him up, bid him be of good courage ; for he would from thenceforth make him a fisher of men ^q. During his abode in *Galilee*, he continued still confirming his doctrine with such numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnix*, &c. insomuch that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities by him.

A paralytic brought of his fame, got himself transported thither in his couch borne to *Christ* ; on mens shouiders, to be presented to him ; but the house, in which he was, being so thronged within and without, that they could get no access to him, they got him up to the top of the house, and, having untiled part of it, let him down by ropes, and so set him before him. Jesus beheld their faith with pleasure, and, addressing himself to the paralytic, bid him be of good cheer ; for his sins were forgiven : which, according to the *Jewish* notion, that such infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents sins ^t, was no more than telling him, that he was healed of his palsey. But the scrupulous *Jews*, not understanding it in that sense, accused him in their hearts of blasphemy, in assuming a power peculiar to God ; and cured. and Jesus, by the immediate cure of the sick man, soon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally impowered to forgive sins, and to cure any infirmities ^u. It was his custom, by reason of the great resort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the sea-side ; and, upon his often passing to and fro, he observed a publican sitting at the receipt of custom, Matthew named *Levi*, or *Matthew*, and bid him follow him (R). called. Matthew

^q Luke v. 4, & seq. Mark xvi. 20, & seq. & alib. ^r De hac vid. vol. ii. p. 45³, (U). ^s De hoc vid. John ix. 2.

^t Matth. ix. 1, & seq. Luke v. 18, & alib.

(R) The other evangelists give him only the name of *Levi*, which was his *Jewish* name ; for he was a *Jew*, and the son of *Alpheus*, a native of *Galilee*.

He is therefore thought to have called himself by that of *Matthew*, which is supposed to have been significant of his profession, to express his grateful sense of his vocation. His chief residence

and office was at *Capernaum*, and there it was that he was called from the profession of a publican to the dignity of an apostle and evangelist.

He has been highly reflected upon by *Porphyry* and *Iamblichus*, surnamed the *Apostate* (1), for thus lightly following a man, whom he had so little knowledge of : but, as it is scarce probable,

(1) Vid. *Hieron.* in Matth. ix.

Matthew did not hesitate one moment, but left his office, and followed him; and, to express the sense he had for this gracious call, he made him a sumptuous feast at his own house, to which many of the same profession were also invited. This gave a fresh occasion of offence to the stupulous *Jews*, who made some severe complaints of it to his disciples; but Jesus soon silenced their clamour, by assuring them, that he was come to call not the righteous, but sinners, to repentance^u.

AFTER several other miraculous works done during his *Jesus goes* stay in this place, Jesus departed for *Jerusalem*, to be present to *Jerusalem* at the approaching festival of the passover, where there used to *lem*. be a great concourse of *Jews*, who came beforehand to purify themselves against that feast. In this city was a famous pool or reservoir, adorned with five porches or piazzas, and called

^u Matt. ix. 10, & seq.

that he should live in the same city so long, and not have heard of his doctrine and miracles: so it is rather a wonder he did not become his disciple sooner, considering his great readiness in following him as soon as he was called: but it is likely he thought his profession was as odious to him, as it was to the *Pharisees*, and the rest of the *Jews*, and would prove an oblique to his reception. But, as soon as this gracious invitation had convinced him of the contrary, he sufficiently shewed how ready and glad he was to embrace it, by his forsaking all to follow him.

His being here called the son of *Alpheus* has led some antiquits (2) into a notion, that he was the brother of *James*, who is also called the son of *Alpheus* (3): and they have, it seems, been followed in it by the generality of modern *Greeks*; but there seems to be no foundation for it. The gospel gives us no further particulars

concerning him, saving that he continued a faithful disciple of his Master; and therefore all we shall venture to add is, that he is universally allowed to have been the first that penned any succinct history of the gospel. He is said to have written it at the desire of the apostles, and *Yeshua* converts of *Palestine*, before his departure from it to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him (4), about eight or ten years after Christ's resurrection. The last quoted father tells us, it was written in the *Chaldaean-Syriac* tongue, which was then the common one, and in *Hebreos* characters. We refer our readers, for the further particulars of it, to the controversy lately started about it. As for St. *Matthew*, he is most commonly believed by antiquits and moderns to have preached the gospel in *Perisia* and *Partibia*, and to have suffered martyrdom in *Caramania*, a province then subject to the *Partbians*.

(2) *Chrysostom. homil. 33. in Matt. Theodore. &c al.*

(2) *Matt. x.*

(3) *Euseb. eccl. hist. l. iii. c. 24. Chrysost. in Matt. i. Iren.*

Ieron. de vir. illustr. &c al.

**Cures a
paralytic
on the sab-
bath.**

in the Hebrew *Beth-esdab* (S), whose water being at some particular seasons miraculously stirred, had the virtue of curing the first person that jumped into it, of whatever disease he was troubled. Here Jesus beheld, among the crowds of sick folk that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under an incurable palsy thirty-eight years ; but, for want of some charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of that benefit. Jesus, moved with compassion at his misery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed, and go to his home. This cure being done on the sabbath-day, gave fresh offence to the pharisees, who, looking upon him as a sabbath-breaker, began to think of putting him to death for it. To disbelieve himself, and convince them, that works of mercy were so far from being a violation, that they were the proper business, of the sabbath, he expressed himself to them in words to this effect ; *As my Father worketh hitherto, so do I work* ; intimating thereby, that, though God had rested on the seventh day from creating, in memory of which the sabbath had been instituted, yet did he not cease on that day from the work of preservation, which work himself was now imitating, in preserving a number of

(S) Probably, as some conjecture, from the words בֵּית־חֶסְדָּה, *beth chesdah*, the house of mercy, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the sick, lame, &c. The Vulgate however read it *beth-zaida*, which some render the probatic pool, on a supposition, that the sheep designed for sacrifice were first washed in it, which sheep so washed were called *probatae*. Others, who read it בֵּית־אֲשֻׁרָה, *beth esdah*, render it the house of defluxion, from another supposition, that the waters, in which the entrails of the victims offered in the temple, were washed, emptied themselves, by a subterranean sewer into this pool or reservoir ; whence some have taken it into their heads, that the blood, dung, and other filth of those creatures running along with them, gave that medicinal virtue to the

pool. Persons of such witty conceits are seldom solicitous about the character of the sacred historians ; or else the evangelists attributing those cures to a miraculous motion of the water would make them more cautious how they set up a bare conjecture ag'inst their testimony.

The five porches mentioned by St. John seem to argue this pool to have been built in the form of a pentagon. Eusebius and St. Jerome (5) tell us, that they shewed still in their time a kind of double pool or reservoir, the one of which filled itself every year with rain-water, and the other, which retained still a kind of redness, as if from the blood of those victims above-mentioned, which the temple fewer carried into it. The reader may see what has been said of its remains in a former volume (6).

(5) *Loc. Hbr.*

(6) *Vñ. i. p. 442, & (C).*

wretched perishing objects, whose misery claimed his pity and assistance. But the Jews, ever watchful for matter of new accusation against him, instead of admiring his godlike imitation of that ever-beneficent Being, accused him of blasphemy, for having presumed to call him his Father, making himself thereby equal to God. Jesus tried in vain to remonstrate to them, *His defence of it* by many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated no fence of it thing to himself, but what his miraculous works evinced his censured undoubted claim to; and by assuring them, that they should by the shortly see greater and more stupendous ones than those Jews. wrought by him, such as had never been done since the creation of the world. He tried in vain to convince them from the testimony of the prophets, and other sacred writings, from that of John the baptist, but especially of his heavenly Father, who had declared him his beloved Son, and had given him moreover such a miraculous power over the whole creation. He was at length obliged to silence their false accusation, by reminding them, that even the Scripture gives the title of gods to mortal men^v. If then, added he, they be called gods, *against whom the sentence of mortality had been pronounced by God himself* (T), why should you reckon me guilty of blasphemy, whom the Father has thus sanctified, and sent into the world, because I call myself the Son of God?

Jesus observing, however, how strenuous the blinded Jews were against his doing works of mercy on the sabbath, resolved, if possible, to convince them of their error, by choosing *Works on that day* to display some of the most signal ones, and expounding *their miseries* by such cogent arguments as they could not gainsay. Accordingly, after his departure out of Jerusalem, *that day*, he went into one of their synagogues, where stood a man, St. Jerom says he was a mason, who had a withered hand.

^w John v. 19, & seq.
xv 34, & seq.

^x Conf. Pf. Ixxii. 6, &c. John

This is certainly the meaning of Christ's words here, and may occur in other versions rendered *this unto whom the word cometh*. For the place referred to in the psalms is, *I have seen the dead, but ye shall die*, which is that, according to the usual sense of our Saviour, they should run through life *as called gods*,

against (not unto) *whom the word of God came forth*, meaning this sentence of death. Those that are acquainted with the Hebrew idiom, to which the evangelists were used, know that the context must decide the meaning, of those particles, which are capable of several opposite significations, which the scope alone cannot determine (g).

(y) Vide Mrs. Routh, Le Sacre, &c. in loc.

He began with asking the *Jewish* doctors, whether it was lawful on the sabbath to do good or evil, to save or to destroy, intimating, that the omission of the one, when a proper occasion offered, was near equivalent to the commission of the other ^y. As they had nothing to answer to this reasoning, they stood silent to let him do as he thought fit ; but, when he had restored the man's hand, by commanding him to stretch it forth, the ruler of the synagogue, instead of being convinced either by the miracle or argument, in a kind of indignation, fell a censuring those objects of pity for offering themselves to be healed on the sabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week (U).

BUT there had one thing happened to him in the going to that place, in order, as is supposed, to preach at that synagogue, which had already highly exasperated them. One of the evangelists observes ^z, that it was the second sabbath after the first ^a ; when, as they were going through some corn-fields, his hungry disciples ventured to pluck the ears, and rub them between their hands to eat them. The pharisaic crowd, who beheld this kind of labour with a malicious eye, began to exclaim against their Master for suffering it, it being in their opinion a manifest violation of the sabbath. Jesus was forced to excuse it by reminding them of the prophet's words, *I will have (or, more properly, I delight in) mercy rather than in sacrifice* ; intimating thereby, that necessity takes away the rigour of the law, and justifying it by the example of *David*, who, on the like emergency, ventured upon the sacred shewbread, which was prohibited to all but the priests ; and not only eat of it himself, but distributed it among his retinue. Their stubbornness was proof against all that he could urge in

*His disci-
ples cen-
sured for
plucking
the corn.*

^y Luke vi. 10, & seq. Matth. xii. 9, & seq.
vi. 1. ^a De hoc vid. vol. iii. p. 17, in fin. not.

^z Luke
vi. 6. ^b Hos.

(U) This strange behaviour extorted a severe rebuke from the meek Jesus ; he asked him, whether they did not think it lawful to help an ox, an ass, or a sheep, out of a ditch, or even to lead them to the water or pasture, on that day. An undeniable argument, that they thought it lawful to do good to brutes on the

sabbath ; and how much more was it to do so unto men ? He urged also upon the like occasion the circumcision of children on the sabbath, the priests killing and dressing their victims, and other such-like works, which were usually done on the sabbath, yet were far from being real profanation of it (8).

(8) Luke vi. 10, & seq. Matth. xii. 9, & seq. &c al.

their or his own defence ; and his silencing of them by such *The phar-*
convincing arguments made them only the more inveterate, sees si-
*till they came at length to a resolutio*n of putting him to *lenced*.
death. Jesus, having timely notice of their wicked design, Plot a-
*withdrew himself towards the sea-coasts, whither he was soon *ga*inst him.*
after followed by multitudes from all the maritim parts, and
to whom he still extended his wonted compassion, both by
his teaching them, and healing their sick.

ONE night, having withdrawn himself both from them, and from his disciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and spent the whole night in prayer ; and on the morrow, calling them together again, he chose twelve from among the rest, to be *Choosest the*
the more immediate witnesses, preachers, and recorders, of twelve
his life and doctrine ; and to whom he gave the title of apo- apostles.
stles, which word signifies a messenger or embassador. The
reader may see their names in the margin c (V).

IN

c Luke vi. 14, & seq. Matth x. 2, & seq. Mark iii. 16, & seq.

(V) These were, 1st, *Simon*, whom he surnamed *Peter*, and whom we have mentioned a little higher ; 2 *Andrew* his brother ; 3. *James*, surnamed *The Greater*, an inhabitant of *Bethsaida*, and, 4 *John* his brother, who were the sons of *Zebedeo* and *Salome*, often mentioned in the gospel. These, as well as *Andrew*, had lately been the baptist's disciples ; but had left him to follow Jesus, and, on the account of their resolute constancy, or more likely, perhaps, from that question they asked him, Wilt thou that we command fire from heaven, to consume, &c (9). were surnamed by him *Boanerges*, or the sons of thunder or tempest : that word being only a corruption of the Hebrew בָּנֵי רָבָבָם, bene-rabam, or rather בָּנֵי רָבָבָה, bene-rabbah ; 5. *Philip* mentioned before ; and, 6. *Bar-tholomew*, supposed the same with

Nathanael ; 7. *Levi*, or *Mattber*, the publican and evangelist, and, 8 *Thomas*, surnamed *Didymus*, which signifies a twin ; 9 *James*, distinguished by the name of *The Less*, and the son of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, and of *Mary*, the first cousin, if not the sister, of the Virgin *Mary*, for which reason he is often called the brother of our *Lord* ; 10. *Simon*, surnamed *The Canaanite*, from *Cana* the place of his birth, and *Zelotes*, probably because he had belonged to that sect ; 11. *Judas*, otherwise called *Jude*, and brother to *James the Less*, surnamed also *Lebbeus*, and *Thaddeus* ; and, 12 *Judas the traitor*, and surnamed *Iscariot*.

Concerning the surname of this last, there have been various conjectures ; some thinking that he was so called from *Keriot*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* (1, from which he is supposed to have come ; i/o in the Hebrew signif-

(9) Luke ix. 54. (1) Vid. Job xv. 25. Ecbarl. eccl. t 3 cent. i.
 c. 4. Galmet sub vxc. §3 a'

In the mean time the wondering crowds flocked to him from all parts of *Judaea*, and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by that divine and efficacious virtue which flowed from him, insomuch that the bare touch of his garments wrought the most surprising cures on the sick, lunatic, demoniacs, and other afflicted persons. He led them therefore one day to a convenient spot of ground, where he preached to them that

ing a man. St. *Jerom* and *Eusebius* speak of a town in the tribe of *Ephraim*, called *Iscarot* (2); others, who make *him* of the tribe of *Issachar*, think *Iscarot* only a corruption or abbreviation of *Issacharotes*; others fetch their etymologies of it still further. The reader may see them in the vocabularies at the end of the *Vulgate*, and other Bibles.

Were we to offer our conjecture on such a dark and dry subject, we should rather fetch it from the Hebrew צַדְקָה יִשְׁבֶּת, literally the man of the bag, or the bag bearer. We have formerly observed (3), that the proper signification of the word *christ* is a bag; in such an one *Naaman* is said to have tied his present to *Gehazi* (4); and St. *John* acquaints us, that *jud* was a thief, and carried the bag. Why might not this nickname then have been given him or that account by the disciples, when they knew how fond he was of his office, and how unfaithful he was in the discharge of it?

All that we shall say farther of them is, that he did not give them this preference to all the rest, either on account of their great sense or learning; for they were some of the most rude and illiterate; nor for their credit, rank, or high birth; for they

were mostly, if not all, poor fishermen, and either natives or inhabitants of *Galilee*, the most obscure and despised canton of the Jewish kingdom; much less for their courage, who proved all rank cowards in the time of danger. They had no relish or propensity to his pure and exalted doctrine, for they dreamt of nothing, but of an earthly kingdom, and temporal happiness. In a word, they were in all respects the most unqualified for the great task to which they were appointed, the conversion of the world. But this was a work, which, as a great prophet had long ago foretold (5), and the apostle has since observed (6), was to confound the counsels of the wise, swallow up the understanding of the prudent, and defeat the power of the mightiest. We have already seen it in a great measure fulfilled in the person and character of their Divine Master, and in the circumstances that accompanied his low and humble birth and education, as well as in that vast series of wonders which he wrought since his entrance upon his public ministry. And we shall see the same infinite wisdom display itself still more surprisingly throughout the whole sequel of this chapter.

(1) In *Isaia*, xxv. in. 1.
v. 3. (2) *Iudaici*, xix.

p. 412, (B).
(3) *Cypri*. 19.

(4) 2 Kings:

celebrated sermon, commonly known by the name of his sermon upon the mount (W). His exhortation upon the mount.

ON his descent from thence, to return to Capernaum, he was addressed by some of the heads of the city in the behalf of a worthy centurion, from whom their nation had received some signal favours, and whose servant was then very ill of a palsy. Jesus offered to go to his house, and heal him; but, when the Roman officer heard of it, he sent him an humble message, in which he acknowledged himself equally unworthy to receive him under his roof, as he had been to come and offer his request in person; but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his servant: For, added he, if my authority, small as it is, can yet enforce obe-

(W) We shall not take upon us to repeat it here. The reader may see it in its native, but powerful simplicity, in the places quoted in the margin (7). All that we shall observe of it is, that he began it with a most comfortable display of the blessed state of those whom both Jews and Gentiles accounted most miserable; that, through the whole course of it, he not only exploded the wretched glosses by which the Jewish doctors had almost obliterated every moral precept of the Mosaic law, but substituted such new and excellent ones of his own, as exalted them to a pitch which the world till then had neither heard nor dreamt of.

To instance in one or two of his precepts amongst the many sublime ones there delivered, how highly had that negative precept been admired by all the wisest heathens, of not doing to others what we should not desire to have done to us! and yet how vastly short is it of that new and noble one of his, Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do ye unto them (8)! We observed a little higher, that the

pharisees thought themselves free from guilt, provided they abstained from the very act of sin, tho' they indulged themselves in every thought, desire, and complacency, that came short of it. But here the ax is laid to the very root, and every sin, even in the least degree of it, condemned, even in the heart. Well then might his ravished audience cry out, that he taught with a power and authority vastly above what they had observed in the scribes and Jewish doctors (9).

He concluded this excellent discourse with assuring them, that not every one that should call him Lord should enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that performed the divine will, and complied with the precepts he had been delivering to them. For the latter, added he, like the wise man that builds his house on a rock, builds his hopes on a sure foundation; whereas the former, like the fool that builds on the sand, is liable to have them overthrown by every blast, by every wind of doctrine, and by every temptation.

(7) *Mattb.* v. vi. §3 vii. *perf.* *Luke* vi. 20, & seq.
xx.

(8) *Mattb.* vii. *vers. ult.*

(9) *Mattb.* vii.

dience from those under my command, how much more will thy all-powerful one be obeyed, where-ever thou art pleased to exert it ! His singular faith and humility did not go long unrewarded ; and Jesus, highly pleased with him, healed his servant at that instant, and greatly commended his faith, as far surpassing all that he had beheld, even in *Israel* ; upon which account he took occasion to assure his audience, that many strangers should be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilst the children of it should be miserably cast out for their disobedience and unbelief ^d. On the day following he went to *Naim* ^e, and, upon his entering the city, met a large crowd of people accompanying the corpse of a young man, the only son of a poor widow ; and, in compassion to her, touched the bier, and raised her son to life, whilst the astonished multitude spread forth his fame through all that country, and proclaimed him the prophet sent by God to redeem his people ^f. It was probably at this time that the baptist sent his two disciples to him, of whom we have lately spoken, and upon which Jesus took occasion to censure the unjust judgment which the unbelieving Jews passed upon that more than prophet, and himself : *John*, said he, was a very abstemious and mortified person, and you decried him as a demoniac ; me, who came in a more sociable and affable way to call sinners to repentance, you represent as a drunkard and glutton ; but wisdom will, in spite of your slanders, be still justified by her children ^g. It was upon this account that he so severely upbraided those neighbouring cities, which had been witnesses of his stupendous works, assuring them, that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whom such miracles would have wrought into the deepest repentance ^h. He concluded his discourse with a solemn thanksgiving to his heavenly Father, who, in his infinite wisdom, had chosen the humble and infant-like to impart the mysteries of his gospel to, whilst the proud and conceited worldling, rendered themselves unworthy of them ; and with a gracious invitation to all, who laboured under their sinful burdens, to come and experience how easy the yoke, and how light was the burden, which he laid on his followers (X).

THIS

^d Matth. viii. 1 & seq. Luke vii. 12, & seq. ^e De
ut. vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 460. ^f Luke vii. ver. 11, & seq.
^g Ibid. 29, & seq. ^h Ibid. x. 13, & seq. Matth. xi. 20, & seq.

(X) This is a truth indeed own experience : yet, as there is
that is best understood, no one's not one positive or negative pre-
cept

THIS discourse moved a pharisee, named *Simon*, to invite him to take a meal at his house ; where he had not been long, before he was accosted by a woman formerly of a loose character, but now a sincere penitent. This woman came behind him in the humblest guise, accompanied with a flood of tears, with which she washed his feet ; and, having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a costly perfume she had brought with her. A sight so shocking to the proud pharisee filled his head with a strange notion, that, if his guest were a prophet, he would of course have spurned such a notorious sinner from him ; but Jesus, whose peculiar *His pity to* character it was not to break a bruised reed, or quench the *a poor fee-* least good spark¹, but rather blow it into a flame, viewed her *penitent.* with a more compassionate and unerring eye, and dismissed her with an answer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the sin-

¹ *Isaiah xlvi. 3. Matth. xii. 20, & al.*

cept of the gospel, that is not excellently adapted to our own exigencies, and founded upon the soundest wisdom, it highly concerns us to listen to this, rather than to our corrupt appetites, which will always make us look upon God as a severe taskmaster, rather than a kind and skilful physician, whose sole aim is to cure us of our diseases, and to restore our souls to that perfect state of health, which alone can make us happy hereor hereafter.

Were we indeed commanded to purchase this desirable state at as dear a rate as the miser doth his gold, the ambitious his rise, the soldier his fame, or the labourer his poor livelihood; though even here it would be our highest wisdom to comply with the conditions, since the consequence is of infinitely greater weight; how much more must it be so, when every duty is not only easier, and more worthy of a rational soul, but absolutely necessary to fit us for that happiness for which we were created!

Let those therefore, whom a wrong byas has warped into a prejudice against christian duties, but view them with an impartial eye ; and the more they consider them, the more they will be convinced of this truth, that they are so far from being the arbitrary impositions of the Supreme Being, that there is not a positive one, but is as necessary to the soul, as food is to the body ; nor a negative one, that is not as expedient as abstinence from gross food is to a man in an high fever, or from drink to one in a tympany ; but with this sure and comfortable advantage, that the divine grace and assistance here promised will remove all difficulties and discouragements, and make every part easy and pleasant ; so that our own happy experience, which it is our fault if we fall short of, added to God's infallible word, will make religion yield us the truest happiness we can be capable of in this life, as well as the glorious assurance of a better in the next.

sacred repentance and love. Neither did he let his host go unanswered or unsatisfied ; but, by a fit and pathetic parable, made him pronounce her a more worthy object of his mercy and regard, than all his own pretended sanctity and hospitality could intitle him to ^k.

Cures a demoniac. UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was followed with such throngs of people, on account of his continual miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had just then wrought, that his mother and relations, fearing lest he should be stoned (*Y*) by the crowd, came to disengage him from it. As they could not get into the house for the throng, they sent to desire him to come to them ; but, when it was told him, that they stood without, desiring to speak to him, he told the audience, that none were more nearly related to him, than those who came to him to hear the will of *God*, and practise it. In the mean time, whilst his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confession from the better part of the by-standers, the pharisees, moved with their usual indignation, cried out, *that he cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils*¹. Jesus easily confuted that slander, by shewing the folly of supposing *Satan* so far divided against his own interest ; and that nothing but a superior power to his could force him to it ; but, to assure them farther of the fatal danger of such malicious and impious suggestions, he added, that, though every sin or blasphemy against the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that *Holy Ghost* against the Holy Ghost should find no forgiveness either in this or the next world^m (*Z*) ; and therefore he concluded with this warning,

^k Luke vii. 36, & seq. Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 1, & seq.

¹ De hoc vide supra, vol. ii. p. 222, 223. ^m Math. xii. 31, & seq. Mark iii. 28, &c.

(Y) So the word ought to be properly rendered, and not, as ours and most versions do, that he was beside himself (*z*).

(Z) It is neither our design nor province to repeat here either the various opinions of divines concerning the nature of this sin, or the dreadful effects which a wrong notion of it has caused among weak and melancholy Christians, especially among

some sectaries in the predestination system. It might indeed be of greater comfort to insert some of those elaborate expositions, which confine that sin to those Jews only, who made so perverse a judgment of Christ's miracles, against the light of reason and conscience ; but, as we cannot come into that notion, so neither would we lead our readers into it.

warning, that men would give a severe account for every pernicious or hurtful (A) word at the day of judgment. Here the pharisees, being stung to the heart, began, according to their usual custom, to ask ~~him~~ for a more convincing sign of his divine mission ; but he left them with this remarkable answer, that, since those he had already shewed them were not able to convince them, there should be no other or greater given them than that of *Jonah* ; for, as that prophet was three days and nights in the fish's belly, so should the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, or grave, and rise again on the third ⁿ (B).

FROM

ⁿ Matth. xii. 38. Luke xi. 29.

Might we therefore presume so far as to give our opinion of this sin, it would be this, that every slander or blasphemy committed against Christ whilst upon earth, and his divine mission as yet wanting some of its most authentic evidence, should be capable of pardon ; but, after these last seals of his mission were superadded, to wit, his resurrection from the dead, ascension, and effusion of the Holy Ghost, attended, as it was, with such miraculous gifts, such as prophecy, gift of tongues, miracles, and the like, there remained no excuse for unbelief, and consequently no forgiveness either to the present or future generation of the *Jews*, who should obstinately persist in it, nor indeed to any other persons or nations, who should reject the glorious light and evidence of his gospel, when offered unto them.

This may be thought to lean a little hard against our modern unbelievers ; but let them consider, whether the pretended grounds on which they reject the gospel, bear any proportion in point of evidence with those upon which we believe and embrace it ; and, if

they do not, as all their united force never could, nor, we may safely add, never will be able to prove they do, let them lay the blame at the right door. Now, the gospel plainly tells us, that nothing but faith in Christ, accompanied with a sincere repentance, can obtain us the pardon of our sins : how should they then hope for it, who have neither the one nor the other to intitle them to it ? Hence we think it plainly follows, that this is that only unpardonable sin pointed out by our Saviour. See the next note but one.

(A) That this is certainly the plain import of the phrase *μηδέποτε*, which our and other versions render *idle* or *unprofitable word*, appears from what goes before, that they proceed from an *evil heart* ; which is therefore no more capable of producing better, than a corrupt tree can bear other than bad fruit (2).

(B) This saying confirms what we lately, and elsewhere before observed, that the resurrection of Christ was to give the finishing stroke to the evidence of his mission. Before that, if his other

(2) *Vid. Læ Scen. ubi supra, c. 6. sect. 2.*

Teaches in parables.

FROM thence he went to the sea-shore, still followed by great multitudes; and, being got into a boat, he began to teach them again, n't indeed in the manner he had lately upon the mount; but by a more familiar way, and more suitable to their gross understanding; namely, by parables, such as were very well known and understood by all the eastern nations, and not (as ours and other versions falsely intimate) that they might be lost upon his ignorant audience; but, as that difficulty hath been fully cleared up by several learned p'sns, we shall refer our readers to them*. When he had finished his discourse, he ordered his disciples to get him a ship to croſs the

Vid. PELLING, Dr. SAMUEL CLARK, LE SCENE, & al. mult.

miracles had convinced them, that he was the Messiah, they would not have put him to that shameful death, which yet it was decreed and foretold he should undergo; and it is upon this account that St. Peter excuses that atrocious deed, a. being done through ignorance. But after his resurrection was proved by so many irrefragable tokens, those who rejected him became inexcuseable, and made way for the Gentiles, who embraced Christianity. All which the reader may be fully satisfied of, by comparing, among a great number of others, the places quoted at the bottom of the page (3).

There are two difficulties started against what Christ here says of himself and Jonah; the one, that, whatever the latter might be, Christ was far enough from being three days and three nights in the grave; and this has made some affirm, that he must have been crucified on the Thursday, and not on the Friday. But the objection will easily vanish,

when we observe, that, according to the Hebrew idiom, the particle *ve, and,* is often used for *or;* and that it may, and ought properly, be rendered three days or nights*.

The other is from the impossibility of a whale swallowing up of a man whole, seeing the diameter of its swallow, when stretched at farthest, is little above three inches. To which it is rightly answered, that the word here used signifies no more a whale than any other large fish tha has fins; and that there is one commonly known in the Mediterranean by the name of *characbias* and *lamia*, of the bigness of a whale, but with such a large throat and belly, as is able to swallow the largest man whole. There was one of this kind caught within these thirty years, or more, on the coasts of *Portugal*, in whose throat, when stretched out, a man could stand upright. We may add, that the word used in Jonah is *רַאֲדָג גָּדוֹלָה*, a great fish.

(5) Conf. Acti. ii. 21, & § 7. iii. 17, & seq. & alib. & xii. 46. xviii. 6.
* Vid. trials of the witnesses, and evidence of the resurrection.

sea of Galilee, into the territories of Philip the tetrarch, Herod's brother (C).

BEING entered into the ship, whether to refresh himself from the fatigues of the day, or to try his disciples' faith, and manifest his own power, he withdrew himself into the stern, and there fell asleep. There arose soon after such a furious storm of wind as was like to have overtaken them; and made them run to him, and awake him, crying, Master, save us; else we perish. Jesus, seeing them in such consternation, blamed their pusillanimity, and want of faith; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and sea, which immediately *Still the wind and sea.* obeyed. When his disciples, and the rest of the company, had beheld their danger and deliverance, they came and threw themselves, trembling, at his feet, wondering, as well they might, what kind of man he was, who could command those unruly elements to be so quickly calmed; soon after which they landed on the other side, in the country of the *Gergesenes* (D). HERE

^P Matth. viii. 23, & seq. Mark iv. 36, & seq. Luke viii. 22, & seq.

(C) Before he entered into the ship, there came some men, who expressed a desire to become his disciples, and follow him. One of them in particular just begged, that he might go and bury his dead father; and another to go bid farewell to his relations and friends. To the first of these he answered, Let the dead, such namely as are so to the hopes of a future life, perform that office (4); and come thou and preach that eternal life which I am come to bring to light: but to the second he gave this severe rebuke, that such a retrospection, as he expressed after those worldly considerations, was wholly inconsistent with the character of one of his disciples, whose mind and heart should be so fixed on the concerns of another life, as to be wholly indifferent to all besides;

and so bid him follow without delay (5).

(D) So the Greek manuscripts of St. Matthew have it. Those of the other evangelists call them *Gadarenes*: some read *Gerasenes*: which makes it very difficult to know the situation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name. *Origen* (6) thinks the name of the city to be neither *Gadara* nor *Gerasa*, since none of those two cities were near any sea or lake, but *Gergesa*, situate on that of *Gennazareth* or *Tiberias*, where they still shewed the rocky declivities from which the swine were hurried down into the water. If so, that place might still retain its name from the *Gergaphites*, antient inhabitants of *Canaan*, of whom we have spoken in a former volume (7).

(4) *Matth.* viii. 18, & seq. See also *Burket* &c al. in loc.

(5) In *Johann.* *Vid Cu m. iub Gerasa.*

&c &c, (D), & alib.

(5) *Luke* ix. 61.

(7) See vol. ii. p. 188, & seq.

Cures two HERE he was met by two demoniacs, so very fierce, one demoniac, especially more than the other, that no chains could confine them; but they chose their habitation among the tombs, and made it unsafe to pass by that way, till the sight of Jesus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the Son of God, and besought him not to torment them before their time. Our Saviour beheld the poor possessed with his wonted pity, and asked the most furious of them, What was his name; and was answered, Legion, because a multitude of those evil spirits had taken possession of him. These therefore besought him, that, if he cast them out, he would permit them to intrude into the neighbouring herd of swine; which being granted, the whole herd was immediately seen to tumble headlong down into the sea, to the number of two thousand, whilst the two poor objects were restored to their health and senses (E).

UPON

This canton, where-ever it was, must have been inhabited partly by heathens, which is the reason of the herd of swine being suffered to feed in that neighbourhood, which was not permitted in any place where they were all Jews, because that creature is forbidden by the Mosaic law (8).

(E) Those who pretend to censure this miracle, as a wrong done to the owners, would do well to consider how they question the justice and authority of a Person, who had given such irrefragable proofs of both. Had the evangelists supposed any men capable of such an unaccountable presumption, it is likely they might have given us such reasons for this action, as would have stopped their mouths.

If the owners of the swine were of that kind of apostate Jews, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some former sections, the punishment must be

allowed to have been rather too mild than too severe. If they were Romans, Syrians, or of any other nation, they were still guilty of a breach of faith to the Jews, who, though under a foreign yoke, were to be governed by their own laws; so that they might as well have introduced some of their idols into that country, as herds of a creature forbidden by their law, and abhorred by the whole nation.

However, if the singularity of the miracle proved a means to convert them to Christianity, that was abundantly sufficient to repay their loss; and it is perhaps for this reason that Jesus would not suffer the cured persons to follow him to the other side, but bid them stay in their own country, to be standing monuments of his miraculous power and goodness; and that the change he had wrought in them was not a transient action, done by some delusion or fascination, but a perma-

UPON his return to Capernaum, he was addressed by the ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter, about twelve years ruler's of age, was then expiring, and who followed him to the house, attended, as usual, with numerous crowds ; among which was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an unnatural hemorrhagy, and consumed her substance in seeking for the vain help of the physicians. She had such a strong faith in the world's Saviour, that she thought the bare touch of his skirt would give her an immediate cure ; and so *and cures it really did*, but not without being perceived by him ; for, *a woman notwithstanding his being so thronged by the multitude, he of a bloody flux knew, by the virtue that was gone out of him, that somebody had touched him, and inquired of his wondering disciples, who it was.* The woman, finding, by this question, that she could not go undiscovered, fell trembling at his feet, and owned herself the blessed object of his miraculous power ; and had this gracious answer superadded to her cure ; *Daughter, be of good comfort ; thy faith hath made thee whole* (F). By this time they were come so near the ruler's house, that they could hear the mournful tunes and cries that were made over the dead damsel, who had expired in the interim ; and Jesus, who beheld with pity his paternal grief, bid him not fear, but firmly believe ; and, entering the house with him, and with two or three only of his disciples, ordered the mourners to cease their doleful music, since the child was only asleep ; but, whilst these derided him, he took Peter, James, and John, with the girl's father, into the upper room ; and, taking her

nent and real, and consequently a miraculous cure. Accordingly we read, that the news of this singular miracle were presently spread through that whole region, and brought vast multitudes to the place ; where they beheld with wonder the two men cloathed, and in their right minds ; but whether through fear, lest any ill consequence should attend the loss of the swine, or, which is as likely, lest they should receive some further or more grievous punishment from him, they meekly besought him to depart their coasts : which he readily complied with (9).

(F) *Eusebius* tells us, that the woman, out of gratitude, erected a brass statue to her miraculous Physician, in which she was carved kneeling behind him, and laying her hand on the skirt of his coat. The story is much questioned, and, if ever there was any such monument of this miracle, she can hardly be supposed to have been in a capacity of rearing it, because St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* tell us, that she had spent all her substance on physicians ; so that it must have been done by some of the inhabitants of *Cæsarea Philippi*, of which city *Eusebius* says she was.

(9) *Mattb.* viii. 23, & seq. *Mark* iv. 35, & seq. viii. 22, & seq.

by the hand, bid her arise ; which she immediately did q. This miracle still the more increased his fame, notwithstanding all his prudent cautions to prevent it (G).

Comes to Nazareth HE soon left *Capernaum*, to go and revisit his ungrateful city *Nazareth* ; and, in his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as usual, into their synagogue, and preached to them with such powerful eloquence, as astonished the whole audience ; but they, rememb'ring the meanness of his education and parentage, were offended at him, instead of admiring him the more for it. This stubbornness of theirs prevented his working any signal miracles there ; so that he contented himself with healing such sick persons as offered themselves in Tiberius's way, and departed, never to visit them again. By this *edit in favour of the Jews.* time *Sejanus* having been put to death at *Rome*, and *Tiberius* been undeceived with regard to the false accusations of that hellish minister against the *Jews*, sent orders to all his governors to have them treated with greater mildness, as we observed a little higher out of *Philo* ; and *Tacitus* observes thereupon, that they enjoyed a long peace under that emperor (H).

WE

^q Matth. ix. 18, &c. Mark v. 22, &c. Luke viii. 41, & seq.
^r Annal. I. vi. c. 25.

(G) Christ's often injoining secrecy to the persons whom he cured, has been censured by some of our unbelievers, as unseasonable, and contrary to the design for which they were wrought, the proving of his divine mission. But he had several cogent reasons for preventing his miracles being too much blazed abroad, at least till after his resurrection ; one of which was most probably, that he might not hasten the effects, as well as aggravate the guilt, of the pharisaic malice, which, he knew, was to fall on him, before he had gone through every part of his work.

But there was a much greater motive to have these miracles concealed for the present ; for the multitudes, who had already

beheld so great a number of them, had conceived such notions of his being the Messiah, "that, upon his feeding five thousand persons with a few loaves, they made a bold push to take him by force to make him a king (1) ; so that he was obliged to withdraw himself from them into some private mountain, to prevent any insurrection in his favour, and bringing the civil power upon him.

(H) But it is plain, that he could mean no more, than that they neither disturbed his government, nor he their tranquillity ; but they were at this time in too great a ferment among themselves to be properly said to have been at peace. But these intestine feuds of theirs were beneath the notice of a *Roman* histo-

(1) *John*

WE are now come to the third year of his public ministry, *Sends his*
 which he began with making a thorough progress through all *apostles to*
 the cities of *Gaulée*; where beholding, with his wonted *preach-*
compassion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, *Year of*
 and how few the labourers were in comparison of the plentiful *Christ 33.*
 harvest in view, he sent his twelve apostles, two and two,
 to preach also through all that country. To qualify them
 for this high office, he endowed them with his own miracu-
 lous gifts, commanding them to dispense them with the same
 gratuitous liberality as they had received them, and at the
 same time forbidding them to encumber themselves with
 any worldly conveniences, but depend upon Providence
 for a supply and reward worthy their charitable labour. He *His exhort-*
reminded them, however, that they must not expect it so lent in-
much in this life as in the next; for, added he, I send you as instruc-
tions lambs among wolves; and, since you have been witnesses of to them.
 the ill returns which I have met with from this blind and un-
 grateful generation, you must not expect to fare better than
 your Master; but rather rejoice to be, like him, despised, re-
 jected, and persecuted; for they will hurry you many a time to
 the judgment seat, and inflict many a grievous punishment on
 you; but be not terrified at it, nor solicitous what answer you
 shall make to their puzzling and ill-natured questions; for ye
 shall be endued with such wisdom at those times, as all your
 adversaries shall not be able to gainsay¹. In other cases, re-
 member always to join the innocence of the dove to the cau-
 tiousness of the serpent. Blessed indeed will be the case of
 those who receive you, and your doctrine; but miserable and
 dreadful, beyond that of *Solom* and *Gomorrah*, shall be the
 fate of those who reject you. And, as for yourselves, depend
 upon it, that He, without whose permission not a sparrow falls
 to the ground, will be still your sure guide and protector². With
 these excellent gifts and instructions they departed, whilst Jesus tarried still at, or in the neighbourhood of *Caper-*
naum, where he heard, about this time, the news of the bap-
 tist's death, mentioned a little higher, and whither his disci-

¹ Luke xxi. 15. ² Matth. ix. 36, & seq. x. 1, & seq.
 Mark vi. 7, & seq. Luke ix. 1, & seq.

rian, if he knew any thing of them; for these troubled them-
 selves no farther about what was done in foreign provinces, than
 the interest or fame of their commonwealth was concerned in
 it; and this, as a judicious histo-
 rian of our own observes (2), is
 probably the reason why they
 are so silent about the glorious
 transactions of these three last
 years of our Saviour's life.

ple soon after returned, and, with no small joy, acquainted him with the success of their late mission ^a.

Herod's **fear about Christ.** Herod all this while had only laid his fears asleep by awaked again at the fame of Jesus, whom he supposed to be that prophet risen from the dead, whilst others took him for Elias, or some other of the antient prophets. This obliged him to withdraw himself, with his disciples, into a desert place, whither he was, however, followed by a great multitude, **Feeds five thousand with five loaves.** and taught them there. The day being far spent, and victuals scarce there, Jesus, unwilling to send them away fasting and faint, made the people sit down in a convenient place; and, having blessed his mean and scanty provision, which consisted in all of five barley-loaves and a few small fishes, multiplied and distributed it among them; and, after they had all eaten to satiety, his disciples were ordered to gather the remaining fragments, and filled twelve baskets with them, over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, which amounted to five thousand men, besides women and children. This stupendous miracle made them look upon him as the promised Messiah; so that they were now confounding to have made him king by main force; but, as soon as he perceived it, he resolved to convey himself far enough out of their reach ^b. He therefore bid his disciples cross over the lake towards Bethsaida, whilst he staid to dismiss the people, after which he was to follow them. Whilst they were on the water, he withdrew into a retired place on the mountain, to spend some part of the night in prayer. The wind being then contrary, and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the shore, but, whilst they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jesus came towards them, about the fourth or last watch of the night, walking on the boisterous waves, and made as if he would pass by them; at which they gave a hideous cry, supposing that they had seen what the Jews call a mazik or spectre of the worst kind, concerning whose power of doing mischief their rabbies tell us wonders too absurd to deserve a place here ^c. Jesus soon recovered them of their fright, by assuring them, that it was he; but Peter, between doubt and surprize, answered him, LORD, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water, and, being permitted, ventured to walk towards him. A sudden gust of wind having welled the surges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himself sinking, and cried out to his Master for help. Jesus stretched forth his hand to save him,

^a Matt. ibid. & seq. Mark vi. 29.

^b & seq. John vi. 5. & seq. ad 17.

Hannor, & Hebr, comment. in Psal. xci.

^c Matt. xii. 40.

* Vide auct. Tacitor,

braided his want of faith, and led him into the boat, where himself being also entered, there followed a calm, and they were agreeably surprised soon after with the sight of the wished-for shorey. Here he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought to him their uneasid from all parts to be cured (I).

THESE things happened a little before the third passover; *Third* after his entrance into his ministry; for the evangelist hints, *passover* that that festival was at hand; but whether Jesus went up to *after* it, or staid in *Galilee*, is no-where expressly said. Only the *Christ's* former is most probable, not only from his constant and zealous attendance on all other festivals, but because his absence *entrance into his ministry.* at this time, on any pretence, might have shewn an ill precedent to his disciples, and given the pharisees an occasion of scandal and accusation. But, if he went up to *Jerusalem*, he did it so privately, and staid so short a time there, by reason of the plots which the heads of the *Jews* had laid against his life, that it was not known to them till he was gone back into *Galilee*, where we find him presently after ^a (K).

THE

^y Math. xiv. 24, & seq. Mark vi. 46, & seq. John vi. 16, &c.
^a John vi. 4. ^b John vii. 1, & seq.

(I) Among them were a great number of those whom he had lately so miraculously fed who had missed him, and came seeking after him, and expressed a moie than ordinary joy when he, h d found him. Jesus however blamed their unmingle diligence, because it did not so much proceed from a love to his heavenly doctrine, as from the temporal advantages which they expected from his earthly reign. He therefore exhorted them to seek after thole more spiritual ones, which he was come to tender to them. This and some other discourses he had with them of a still more spiritual nature, and for which we refer the reader to the sacred historians (4), had such a strange effect on them, that the greatest

part of them forsook him from that very hour. Jesus, nothing less than surprised at this defection, addressed himself next to his disciples, to know of them, whether they felt any inclination to leave him. To whom Peter give this glorious answer in the name of the twelve, *Lord*, whither, or to whom, should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we are now full assured, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Jesus took occasion here to hint to them, that he had indeed chosen thole twelve; but that, one of them was a devil, meaning *Judas Iscariot*, who was to betray him (5), tho' he continued to follow him with the rest.

(K) It is at this passover that

(4) *Cant. Diet.* xviii. 15. *John* vi. 14, & 30, & seq.

(5) *John* vi. 30,

f.n.

The pha- THE feast being over, the scribes and pharisees, who *rises try* missed him there, sent some of their spies after him, to watch to intangle his words and actions, and to catch some matter of accusation in his doctrine. The first thing these laid hold on, was his *and his disci-* and his disciples eating with unwashed hands, contrary to the traditions of the antients, and the constant custom of the pharisaic sect. Jesus easily exploded this accusation, by shewing them the hypocrisy of cleansing the hands, dishes, and other vessels, whilst their hearts, which most wanted it, were carelessly left in all their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. But he went further to shew the mischiefs arising from too close an adherence to those traditions, a great part of which, though plainly opposite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and observance. He instanced in several particulars, especially that abominable one, by which they had made void the only command with a promise, that of children honouring and succouring their parents^b. He not only shewed them the impiously re- piety of some, but the unreasonable and stupidity of others, of proved by those traditions; such as those that absolved a man that swore by the temple, but not him that swore by the gold of the temple; or him that swore by the altar, though not him that swore by the gift that was on it; though, as he justly observed to them, it was the temple that sanctified the gold, and the altar that sanctified the gift. These severe reflections did so much the more grieve these pharisaic spies, as they seemed to come down to the capacity of the meanest of his audience, and could not but inspire the people with a singular contempt for those expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himself.

To avoid, therefore, the persecutions which were likely to be raised against him from that quarter, he withdrew him-

^b Matth. xv. 1, & seq. Mark vii. 1, & seq. & alib. See before, vol. ii. p. 458, sub fin. ('I').

Pilate is supposed to have made such a severe example of the rebellious Galileans or Gaulonites, whose blood he mingled with their sacrifices, as they were performing their devotions in the temple (5); the news of which being afterwards brought to Jesus, as well as the misfortune of those eighteen men, whom a

tower in that metropolis, named Siloam, crushed to death, he assured them, that neither of them came to such a dreadful end, because they were greater sinners than the rest; but that, without a speedy repentance, they should all share in some such-like dreadful fate.

(5) Luke xii. 1, & seq.

self towards the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into an house private^c, being unwilling to be known there; but it was soon beset by a great number of sick folk, who flocked to him to be cured. Among these was a Canaanitish or Syro-Hecatean woman, as St. Mark styles her, who yet adored Syriae him with the title of Lord, and Son of David, and earnestly implored him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented by a devil. Jesus at first seemed so far to overlook her, that his disciples begged of him either to grant her suit, or dismiss her. The woman, becoming thereby more importunate, received this unexpected rebuke from him, That it was not fit to deprive the children of their bread, to cast it unto dogs; but she, nothing disengaged at so mortifying an answer, threw herself at his feet, and owned herself indeed unworthy of a child's portion; but, at the same time, humbly reminded him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their master's table. Jesus highly commended her singular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; and the woman, highly satisfied, returned home, where she found her daughter lying on the bed, and perfectly cured.^d

SHORTLY after this, Jesus went more eastward toward the head of Jordan, and took a path through Perea (^e), where, among other miraculous cures, he received a first hearing to a man born blind and dumb, in such sort that the astonished multitude cried out, This man had done all things well, and, lo, even the deaf, and dumb to see and hear. He was followed by the multitude thence into the adjacent mountain, where he received them, and, casting them, and healing all that came, in whatsoever kind. But, as they had brought no sufficient quantity of provisions, Jesus, pitying their case, and fearing they might die empty, signified his desire to his apostles, and, finding they had still seven loaves, and four fishes, he rebuked both, *as he had done before*, in order to multiply, and to eat them a thousand men, besides women and children; and to this end four baskets of that, which the disciples gathered of the remaining thousand fragments^f, after which he dismissed the multitude, and so passed

^c Mark vii. 26 ^d Matth. xv. 21, & seq. Mark vii. 24, & seq. ^e Matth. xi. 31, & seq. Mark viii. 1, & seq.

^f Ibid. ibid. & seq.

(L) A canton in Palestine, so called from its ten cities, situate some on this, and some on the other side Jordan, the capital of which was Sisethopolis; it was mostly inhabited by gentiles. (6).

the lake of *Tiberias* towards the south-east parts of *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*^g. Here he was accosted again by some of the pharisees and sadducees, who came to ask of him a sign; to whom having answered, as formerly, that they should have no other but that of the prophet *Jonah*, he failed back, and left them to make the application (M).

BING come to the borders of *Syria*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea Philippi*, a city built by *Philip* the tetrarch of that canton, the son of *Herod the Great*, as was hinted a little higher; he began to question his disciples, who had by

The Jews this time been a year chosen into the apostleship, what the *opinion of Jews* commonly thought of him. Being answered, that he was supposed by some to be *John the baptist*, by others *Elias*, or some other prophet; he asked them, what their own opinion was of him.

To this *Peter* answered for himself, as well as for the rest, whose judgment concerning him he could not but know, and affirmed him positively to be the *Messiah*, the *Peter's Son of God*. It was upon this noble confession that Christ roble con- farnamed him *Peter*, or *Rock*, and promised him upon that *confession of rock* to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing; so that which ever of the two sentences he pronounced upon earth, should be ratified in heaven. But he charged him, and the rest of his colleagues, not to let it be so much as whispered abroad, that he was the *Messiah* or *Christ*, till he was risen from the dead^h (N). But as he had given such a kind of foretaste of

his

^g Mat. xvi. 1, & seq. Mark viii. 10, & seq.
12, & seq. Luke ix. 18, & seq. & alib.

^h Matth. xvi.

(M) In their passage, he bid his disciples beware of the leaven of the pharisees and sadducees, which caution gave them a strange kind of an alarm, because they had forgot to take some provision with them; but, after he had put them in mind of his two late miracles on the loaves, they came at length to understand, that the leaven he forewarned them against, was the pernicious doctrines of those two sects (7). Upon his landing at *Bethsaida*, the native place of some of his disciples, a blind man was brought

to him to be restored to his sight. Jesus could not refuse his help to such objects; but, as he had received such ungrateful returns from the people of that city for the many miracles he had wrought among them (8), he was unwilling to aggravate their guilt by fresh ones. Taking therefore the blind man with him out of the town, he restored him to his sight, and bid him go directly to his home, without entering into the city again.

(N) From this time, finding their faith so well founded, he began

(7) Matth. xi. 21, & seq.

(8) Mat. viii. 22, & seq.

began

his sufferings and death, as could not but make a deep impression on their mind, considering that they had always looked on him as the restorer of the kingdom of *Israel*, and continued to do so even after his resurrection¹, he thought fit to give some of the most intimate of them a specimen of his future glory.

THESE were *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, whom he took up with him to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been mount *Tabor* or *Thabor*, described in a former volume¹; and was there transfigured before them. *Transfigured*—This happened whilst he was at prayer¹, when they suddenly gazed upon behind a l fire darting from his face, outshining even that of *the mount* the sun. His garments contracted a splendid whiteness, exceeding that of snow. *Moses* and *Elias* appeared immediately after, in all the brightness of their glorified state, and con-

¹ *Acts* i. 6. " *Vol* ii. p 401, & seq 403, (W) *Luke*
ix 28, & seq and the parallels.

began to open a mystery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with, namely, that of his sufferings and death at *Jerusalem*. *Peter*, thunderstruck, as it were, at such an unexpected discovery, could not forbear crying, *Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any such thing should befall thee*, but he presently received such a severe rebuke from him, as gave him to understand, that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and self denial. He took therefore that fair opportunity to rid them of all their prejudices concerning a temporal kingdom, and to assure them, that there was no way left for them, or any other of his disciples, to enter into his heavenly one, but by treading in his steps, and going from the cross to that glorious crown, which waited for them at the end of their race. He concluded this sorrowful discourse

with assuring them, that some of those that were there present should not taste of death, till they had seen the beginnings of this his kingdom powerfully displayed before them (9). Accordingly, he gave them soon after several sure evidences of it; first, in his glorious transfiguration, then in his resurrection, ascension, in the wonderful change that was wrought on them by the descent of the Holy Ghost, when they came to see and taste of that spiritual kingdom which they had before but the most imperfect notion of; in the success of the gospel, through the greatest part of the world, in spite of all the opposition of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and lastly, in the dreadful vengeance he took against the former, by the arms and power of the latter, according to his formal prediction of that last catastrophe. All which will be best seen in the sequel.

(9) *Matth.* xvi, 22, & seq. *Luke* ix. 22, & seq. *Mark* viii. 31, & seq.

ferred with him about the sufferings and death he was shortly to undergo at *Jerusalem*, and for which he was to be exalted above every name in heaven or earth^m. During this extraordinary intercourse, the three apostles, whether over-powered with the heavenly vision, or fallen into a kind of trance, were scarce recovered from it, when they beheld the glory, wherewith their Master, and his two heavenly visitors, were surrounded; and *Peter*, in a kind of ecstatic surprise, cried out, *Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for Moses, and the third for Elias*, being scarcely sensible of what he said. Their surprise increased, when they found themselves surrounded by a bright luminous cloud: soon after which they heard a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him*. At these words they remained prostrate on the ground, struck with wonder and amazement, till their Master came, and raised them up; when, upon their looking about, they were surprised to find him alone, and in his usual dress and appearanceⁿ.

Comes down from the mount.

A strife between the pharisees and Christ's disciples.

Jesus gave Peter, and his two apostles, a strict charge to conceal the vision, till he was risen from the dead. These last words caused a still question among them, what the expression of his rising from the dead should mean, for, it seems, they could not yet persuade themselves of what he had so lately told them concerning his death at *Jerusalem*. However, they took care not to speak of his transfiguration till after his resurrection (O). By that time they were got to the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them some pharisees, waited for them, and had had no small strife with those disciples of his, whom Jesus had left behind him. Before he could well inquire into the occasion of their dispute, a man pressed through the crowd, and fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his assistance in the behalf of his son, who was miserably tormented with a dumb demon, by whom he was sometimes hurried into the

^m Conf. Ps. cxxxviii. 2, & Philip. iii. 9. and before, p. 208, & seq. sub not. ⁿ Matth. xvii. 1, & seq. Mark vi. 2, & seq. Luke ix. 28, & seq.

(O) St. *Peter*, by his second epistle, which he wrote a little before his own death (1), appears to have still retained the most lively impression of it, by that short, but elegant description he

gives of it there (2), though he owns at the same time the evidence which is drawn from the testimony of the prophets to be superior to it.

¹ . . .

(1) Chap. ii. 13, 14.

(2) Ibid. ver. 16—19.

fire,

fire, and at other times into the water, and was become such a dismal object of pity, that he had brought him to his disciples, but that they had not been able to give him any relief. Jesus, moved with the deepest compassion at this doleful story, could not forbear upbraiding both his disciples, and the whole Jewish generation, with their want of faith; and, to convince them the more powerfully of it, ordered the child to be brought before him, and, whilst he was in the strongest convulsions and agonies, and a sorrowful father beseeching him in the most moving terms, only returned this answer; That if he could believe, the cure of his son would be easily performed. At these words the father immediately cried out, Lord, I believe; help my unbelief. And Jesus, rebuking the evil spirit, forced him to go out, not without hideous cries, and having the boy brought on to the ground, insomuch that the bystanders believed him dead; but Jesus soon undeceived them, and, taking him by the hand, raised him, and delivered him to his father, perfectly cured. As soon as they had withdrawn themselves from the astonished multitude, his disciples begged of him to know the reason, why they had in vain attempted to cast this devil out? To whom he answered, That all their supplicaments in former were owing to their want of faith, but this particular one was owing to their neglect of fitting up a prayer.

Jesus, having observed the three, at their coming down from the mount, questioning about his resurrection, took this opportunity, as they were moving towards Capernaum, and freed his discipul^s from the crowd, to speak to the twelve apostles concerning his crucifixion and resurrection. His appio chm. death, and to assure them, that he should be betrayed into wicked hands to be crucified, but that he should rise again on the third day. But their heads seem to have been so filled with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that, instead of desiring him to explain further to them the grating mystery of his cross, they were rather debating how he was likely to dispose of his new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. This dispute lasted till they were got to the city, where the collectors asked them, whether their Master did not pay the usual tribute (P) and Peter, who knew his disposition,

^a Matth xvii 14, & seq. Mark ix. 14, & seq. Luke ix 37. & seq.

(P) Several interpreters have thought the tribute-money here exacted to have been that which every one was to pay yearly to the temple; and that Jesus pro-

nounced himself exempt from it, on account of his being the Son of God. But we rather think, with Beza, that it was the capitation-money which had been made

sition to give God and *Cæsar* their due, answered them in the affirmative. Jesus, however, expressed himself to him in such a manner, as plainly hinted that tribute to be due only from strangers, and not from the children, or those who are free-born. Nevertheless, added he to *Peter*, to prevent giving any offence on that account, go and cast thy hook into the lake ; and in the mouth of the first fish thou takest, thou will find a piece of money (Q) ; pay that for thee and me^p.

Reproves the ambition of his disciples As soon as *Peter* was returned, Jesus asked them, what they had been dis-ting about in their way thither ; whilst *Recommends humility, innocence,* they, conscious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. But Jesus, who knew it perfectly well, taking a child in his arms, expressly told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom, was to be like that little child in innocence and humility ; and that the more nearly they resembled him in those two excellent virtues, the peculiar foundation of his religion, and of all Christian virtues, the greater and higher would their rank be there ; whereas pride and ambition, the bane of his new and divine institution, were the ready means to exclude them from having any share or title to that glorious kingdom. For, said he, whosoever shall receive one of these little children, or meek and humble disciples, the least favour bestowed on them, though but a cup of water, in my name, shall not fail of a reward. On the other

^p Matth. ibid 22, & seq. Mark & Luke ubi supra, ad fin.

made in the time of *Cyrenius*, after *Archelaus's* banishment, of which we have lately spoken : for, as our Saviour seems to observe to St. *Peter* here, it was a tax imposed upon the *Jews* by the arbitrary will of *Cæsar* against justice and equity, because by their former alliances with *Rome*, they were to be free from all such imposts. However, to avoid giving offence, or too great a countenance to the pernicious *Gaulanites* faction, Jesus rather chose to work a miracle, than refuse to conform to the law of the conqueror, and bring thereby a greater mischief upon himself and nation.

^a It seems as if by this law or

tax every man had been obliged to enrol himself in some city, whether of his nativity or abode. Jesus had made his chief residence at *Capernaum*, after he had forsaken *Nazareth*. *Peter* had done the same in all likelihood ; and that is the reason why he bids him give the piece of money for them both, without mentioning any thing of the other apostles, who might be enrolled at *Bethsaida*, or some other town near the lake.

(Q) This piece the Greek calls *stater*, and the Hebrew or *Syriac* אַסְמָרָה, *astira* ; it was equal to the double shekel, and was worth about half a crown of our money (3).

(3) *De hoc vid. i.e. al. Arkutnot, & Brerwood de ponder. Bernard de mense. & Prideaux in pref. ad council. Besam, & al. in Matib, ubi supra.*

hand, whosoever shall presume to despise, or give them just cause of offence (as it is indeed scarcely possible for men of that low and humble character to escape such a contemptuous treatment from an haughty and degenerate world), such indignities will meet with the same severe punishment, as if offered to my own person. But whilst mankind entertain a spirit so contrary to that of my gospel, they will hardly ever be free from such pernicious offences ; and this is the reason why I, who am come to save that which is in danger of being lost, am so earnest in warning you against them. If a good shepherd find, that one in an hundred of his sheep is gone astray, how readily doth he leave the rest, to go and fetch back the straggling one ! and how much greater pleasure would it be to me to recall every poor straggling mortal, who know how desirous my heavenly Father is, that none of them should perish, but that they may all be saved !

But I tell you moreover, that you should be so far from *forgiving* offending these meek disciples of mine, that you ought to *not* *be* *of* *in-*
avoid even *rebuking* the wrongs and offences that are done *juries*, and to you. You all stand in great need of *forgiveness* from your heavenly Father ; but how can you ever expect it from him, if you refuse it to your fellow-creatures ? In offences of a *admoni-*
different *nature*, and of *no* *tendency* to religion, your *duty* *to* *of*-
is *to* *admonish* the *offender*, first in the *private* *manner* ; *it* *fenders*.
This *fail*, repeat it before one or two witnesses ; if this doth not reclaim him, declare his offence to the church ; and, if he rejects *their* *admonition* and *censure*, let him be *expelled* from it ; *and*, till he return and submit, look upon him as an infidel ; pity and pray for him, but avoid all familiar intercourse with him. For here I repeat it again, whatever sentence is thus regularly passed upon such an obstinate offender by you here on earth, shall be ratified in heaven. For whatever any number of you, though ever so small, thus gathered in my name and spirit, shall agree to ask from above, I will surely be in the midst of them, to direct and help their prayers, and send them home with the desired blessing (R).

AFTER

(R) Here Peter, finding that an offender was to be forgiven, if private admonition reclaimed him, asked his Master, how often he must repeat that *forgiveness* ; whether so far as seven times : and was answered, not only as far as seven, but as seventy times seven. But, to prevent their being scared at such an unlimited

number, he explained to them the *unmechanleness* as well as danger of an unforgiving temper, by the significant parable of a wicked servant, who, having had the vast debt of 10,000 talents mercifully forgiven him by his lord, went and arrested a fellow-servant for a poor hundred pence ; and, without any regard to his intreaties

AFTER a short stay at *Cape* ^{with} the feast of tabernacles drawing near, some of his narrations, who were, it seems, the back-warriors to believe in him, observing what a long stay he had made in *Galilee*, and now the fear of the *Jews* had made him avoid going into *Judaea*, took upon them to reprove him for it, telling him, that if his design was to be known to the world, he ought to go and shew himself at *Jerusalem* to the great concourse of people that were just ready to flock to that feast, instead of hiding himself in those obscure corners of *Galilee*. Jesus, ^{and} of reproving their temerity, only took occasion to remind ^{them} that they indeed had nothing to fear there from the *Jews*, but that it was otherwise with him, ^{as} in ^{the} first whole life the *men* of that nation were more basely plotting against him than ever. He therefore told them, that they might go thither as soon as they pleased; but, as to himself, he would take his own time. He staid not long, however, after them, but went thither in the privatest manner he could, for fear of awaking the jealousy of his enemies ⁽⁸⁾.

Goes to the feast of tabernacles

Appoints seventy disciples.

BEFORE he reached *Jerusalem*, he was pleased to appoint another college of disciples, to the number of seventy, answering to the number of the elders chosen by *Moses* to be his assistants ⁹, as that of the twelve apostles did to the twelve

⁸ John vii 1, & seq ⁹ Ibid ver 4 & seq ¹⁰ Vid.
Exod. xviii. pass. Deut. 19 See also before, vol. iii p. 418. ¹¹

intreaties and tears, threw him into a gaol; for which merciless cruelty his lord condemned him to a condign punishment. The application was easy, and the force of the parallel readily felt; but Jesus was pleased to corroborate it, by assuring them, on his infallible word, that they must expect no forgiveness from his heavenly Father, unless they were willing and ready to forgive each other their trespasses ⁽¹⁾.

(S) In his way thither he chose to go through some parts of *Sanaa*, and sent one or two of his disciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on

the road; but these, according to their usual rancour, understanding that he was going to *Jerusalem* to the approaching feast, refused to give him any entertainment, which so exasperated his company, that the two *Boanerges*, whom we mentioned in a late note, were for bringing down fire from heaven to consume that ungodly place. But Jesus gave them so severe a rebuke, as made them sensible how diametrically opposite such a revengeful and murdering spirit was to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to save mankind ⁽⁵⁾.

(4) Matt. xxviii. 15, ad fin. & 2d b. ab ipsa. & sq.

(5) Luke ix. 53,

tribes of *Israel* (T). These he sent also by two and two, and with the same instructions, and miraculous power, which he had given to the twelve apostles, with this difference only, that the latter were permitted to go to any city of *Israēl*, but the former only to those particular places, where himself designed to come after and preach. By this time the feast of tabernacles was come, when there was no flight neither, nor small strife about him, some doubt less whether he would venture himself there, some affirming him to be a prophet, others an impostor. He appeared at length publicly in the temple about *Teachers in the latter end of the year*, and, to their great surprise, *the temple* taught boldly and openly there, and displaying divine inspiration known to the teachers, that they could not bear asking one another in a kind of amazement, what a man of so mean descent could be! When Jesus heard this report, he abhored them, and said, This was not from me, nor from heaven, but that none of them were but sinners used to do the will of God, they would soon be convinced of the truth of what he said. Whilist, therefore, some dimmed his courage, in speaking such bold truths at the end of his life, and affirmed his miracles to demonstrate him to be the true Messiah, others, more obstinate, objected the various meanness of his birth and parentage. To these he answered, that, whatever they might know of his earthly descent, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly one, all which he inscribed by such ineptible proof, that a great number of them began to believe openly in him, which when the Jewish magistrates knew, they sent some of their officers to apprehend him. But, as his time was not yet come, instead of following their instruction, they came back

* Luke x. 1, & seq

(T) The names of these seventy, or seventy two (for they are indifferently called by either number, the first, because expressly mentioned by St. Luke, and the latter, from a supposition that he uses the round number instead of that of seventy two, answering to nine out of each of the twelve tribes), are mostly unknown to us. We find only twenty-eight of them in Eusebius

(6), *Euseb. h. i. c. 1.* *Vid & Billi in Luke x. 1.* (7) *De Christ. c. 4.*
 (8) *Ap. Euseb. ab. sup. a, l. iii. c. 39.* (9) *AGS ix. 10, & seq.*

filled with admiration, and told those chiefs, that they never heard a man speak like him ^a (U).

He

^a John vii. 11, & seq.

(U) On the last day of the feast, in which they used the ceremony of drawing water, and bringing of wood into the temple, Jesus took occasion to entertain his audience with a discourse on those living water, which were to be imparted to those who believed in him, alluding, as the evangelists, to those gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, which were shortly after to be purged on his church. This discourse caused a fleshly vision among them, some believing that none but the Messiah could appear himself in that exalted manner, others objecting his being an obscure Galilean, whereas the Messiah was, they rightly said, to be born in Bethlehem, for so he was, though they knew not it. But the priests, more exasperated than the rest, to hear such numbers of the multitude, and particularly the scribes sent to seize on him, declare themselves so openly for him, were highly irritated in their invective against him and them, alleging, that none of their learned rabbis or rulrs, or indeed any but an accursed ignorant mob, had believed on him. Heir Nicodemus, who was his disciple, though secretly, undertaken to moderate the anger, by remonstrating with the scribes, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that rash and merciful manner, and without hearing what he had to say in his own

defence. This speech galled them so much the more, because, tho' they were conscious of the charge, they dared not bring it to so fair an issue. They therefore asked him in a tumultuous manner, whether he was a Galilean; and bid him go and search the scriptures, and he would find, that that prophet never yet produced a prophecy. And yet we have formerly shewn, that *John*, who is universally acknowledged by them to have been a prophet, was a native of Galilee, a town in the tribe of Zebulon in Galilee (1), so that these men must have been either very ignorant or perverse to have affirmed such a palpable falsehood, however, the assembly was broke up for that time ²⁾.

Jesus went that night out of the city, and retired towards the mount of Olives, and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treasury of the temple, where the scribes and pharisees brought an adulteress before him, said to be taken in the very act. We have seen in a former volume, that the Mosaic law condemned such offenders to death (3), and they failed not to remind him of it; but pretended to have a desire to know what he thought was to be done in this case, that they might find some accusation against him, such as either his too great severity, if he condemned; or, if he did not, his too great indul-

¹⁾ *Ibid. sp. 2d. n. t. 24. 1A.*
²⁾ *Ibid. p. 256.*

³⁾ *John viii. 2 v. 37, ad fin.*

gence,

He began to tell them, that he was the true light of the world, and that those who followed him were free from darkness. This expression exasperated the pharisees afresh, who thought that title to belong to them alone. They therefore *Pharisees* despised him, as bearing testimony of himself; but were *an offended at swered*, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for bearing *Christ*. a pompous testimony to, and complimenting one another; but, as for him, he had the testimony of *Moses* and the prophets, of *John* the baptist, and, above all, that of his heavenly Father, of which the stupendous works, which he wrought before them, were an undenial proof. But, added he, this will more evidently appear after we have lit^{ed} me up on the cross; for then shall my disciples find themselves truly freed from that yoke and thraldom, under which the rest of the world groans. Here the pharisees, not perceiving that he spoke of the freedom from sin and guilt, told him with their wonted assurance, that they being *Abraham's* children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, since they had never been in bondage to any; but *Jesu*s, in *His severe* stead of exploding the falsehood, told them, that if their actions, *reproof of* were to determine whose children they were, their pride, *them*, avarice, persecuting and murdering spirit, and their perverse opposing of all saving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil, and the slaves of sin, than the free born offspring of a righteous *Abraham*. The *Jews*, unable to retel so just a censure, contented themselves with calling him a *Samaritan*, and a *demoniac*; but were *answere*, that the zeal which he *and apolo-* had constantly expressed for his Father's honour, and the malice *of for him-* with which they had as constantly opposed him in it, could *self*. easily determine which of the two most deserved the appellative of *demoniac*. However, he added, turning to his au-

gence, and disregard to the law; or, in either case, his assuming a judicial power. *Jesu*s, who easily perceived their malicious design, stooped down, and made as if he did not hear them; but was writing something with his finger on the ground. This made them more earnest to oblige him to declare his mind; upon which he rose up, and told them, that he, who was free from sin, should cast the first stone, and then returned to his former attitude.

This unlooked-for answer filled those holy hypocrites not only with wonder, but with such shame and remorse, that they withdrew themselves one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When *Jesu*s stood up, and found all her accuser gone, he dismissed her with this mild reproof, *Go thy way, and sin no more*; and then resumed his discourse to his audience (4).

(4) *John viii. 1, & seq.*

dience, This I assure you of, that he who obeys the divine law which I am preaching unto you, shall never die. This doubtful expression raised new arguments, as well as new invectives from the carnal Jews, which, on this and some other occasions, we shall, for brevity, omit; tho' they rose to such an height, that they attempted several times to stone him; but he as often miraculously conveyed himself away from them" (W).

**Entered
tained by
Martha
and Mary** In his way to Galilee he stopped at a certain small village called Bethany, situated on the furthest part of the mount of Olives, where he was entertained by Lazarus and his two sisters. There, upon his arrival, were very differently employed; *Mary*, in preparing an elegant supper, and *Mary*, in listening to Jesus, next to his heavenly discourse. *Martha*, vexed to see her sister *Mary* leave the whole care of the entertainment to her, went and complained of it before him, and received this severe rebuke from Jesus' mouth; That she inculpated her sister much about the trifling affairs of a supper, whilst her wiser sister was minding the one thing needful, the concerns of another and better life.

**Teaches in
Galilee.** From Bethany he proceeded to Galilee, where he went about teaching in every synagogue, and other convenient places, instructing his followers with many excellent parables,

John viii. 12, & seq. 30, & seq.

Luke x. 7, ad fin.

(W) Upon his departure from the city, the seventy disciples rejoiced him, and with no small joy acquainted him with their success, and that the very devils became subject unto them. Jesus, though pleased with the approaching downfall of Satan's power, yet observing that his disciples seemed to express too great a satisfaction at their marvellous power, bid them rather rejoice at their having their names written in heaven. Whilst he was giving them some further directions for their rightly dispensing of these new gifts, a certain doctor of the law asked him, what he must do to be saved? Jesus referred him to the Mosaic law, the sum and substance of which

consisted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as one's self. But, as the narrow-minded Jews scarcely accounted any but those of their nation and sect for their neighbour, the lawyer asked him further, whom he ought to look up to as such. Upon which Jesus put forth that most excellent parable of the Good Samaritan that tell among thieves; and, after having been overlooked and neglected by the priest and levite, was at length happily relieved by the charitable Samaritan. From which he concluded, that our duty to our neighbour was not confined to sect, nation, or any other circumstance, but extended to all mankind.

and still confirming all with some new miracles^y. Among the *Heals* ~~an~~
last, he wrought one on the sabbath-day, in some *Jewish old decrepit*
synagogue, on a poor decrepit woman, whom old age and *pid.*
sickness had so bowed down, that she had not been able to
raise herself up during the space of ~~ele~~ teen years. Jesus,
moved with her misery, called her to him, and, having laid
his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity, not
without incurring the pharisa: indignation and resentment;
but Jesus retorted their reproofs with such powerful arguments,
and familiar parables, as did at least silence them, though all
was too little to convince them, that doing such good deeds
was the proper work of that day. The following is a very
pregnant instance of it.

Jesus, after frequent peragrations through *Galilee* and
Judaea, was come to the east of the dedication of the temple,
instituted by *Judas Maccobæus*, and mentioned in a former section^z. He came d^r on a sabbath-day to meet in the
street a man that was born blind, concerning whom his disci-
ples asked him, whether the sins of his parents, or his own,
had brought that calamity up on him. Jesus answered, that
neither his own nor his forefathers sins were the cause of his
blindness; but that God effected such things to happen for
the greater manifestation of his unlimited power, adding, that
he was chiefly come to make a fuller display of it. Having
thus said, he spit upon the ground, and anointed the blind
man's eyes with the moistened earth, and b^r l him go and
wash himself in *Sir'ram*¹, pool II. did so, and obtained his *Cures* a
sight, to the no small admiration of all that saw him, who *were* *then*
could hardly *pride* themselves, that he was the same person, *as* *born*
till he asfured them of it. The news of this wonderful cure *blind*,
were soon brought to the sacerdoti, whither the man was also
brought, and carefully examined, but, upon his acquainting
them with the circumstance of Jesus's anointing his eyes with
the clay made with his spittle, a great dissension arose among
them; one side assuring this action to b^r a breach of the
sabbath, and the other asking them, how they could suppose
it possible for a sinner and sabbath breaker to work such an
extraordinary miracle. To be therefore satisfied of the truth
of the fact, they ordered his parents to be brought before
them, who, upon examination, owned the man to be their
son, and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant
how he had recovered his sight. Upon their receiving
this further evidence, they called the young man in again, and
bid him ascribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for, as to
the man, who had wrought it, they knew him to be a sinner,

^y Luke cap. xi. & xii. pass.

^z See p. 284, & (H).

and a cheat. After several other inquiries, in which they betrayed the most unaccountable partiality, and inveterate rancour against his divine physician, the young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence ; and to remind them, that since the creation of the world no such cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind ; and that it was consequently not only above the power of such an hateful sinner, as they represented him (since all such are in the highest detestation with GOD), but even above the power of any but a true prophet sent from above. One might have hoped, that such strong reasoning might have made some better impression on the pharisees ; but they were rather the more exasperated to hear themselves so justly reproved by a man whom they accounted altogether born in sin ; and, after a severe and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the assembly. ^a (X).

*The san-
hedrin con-
demns
him*

Year of
Christ 34

The last
year of
Christ's
ministry

We pass now to the fourth and last year of his public ministry, an epoch full of the most surprising and signal events that ever the world beheld, the redemption of mankind by the blood of the Son of God ; his resurrection, ascension, mission of the Holy Spirit, miraculous change wrought on the apostles, and first preachers of Christianity ; the church of Christ planted by the powerful preaching of a few plain and illiterate fishermen, confirmed by great and glorious miracles

^a John ix. per tot.

(X) Jesus soon after in the temple, gave him a more gracious reception, and then turning to the audience, took occasion, from the late partial behaviour of the sanhedrin, to excommunicate those false and pernicious teachers, who climbed up into the sheep-fold by private and unlawful way, like thieves and robbers, only to kill and destroy the sheep, that others, who were only hirelings, and had neither property in, nor true concern for their flocks, minded nothing but their fleece, and their milk, so that, when they saw them in danger from venomous beasts, they left them to become a prey, instead of protecting and defending them. Hence he proved

himself to be the true Shepherd, because he came to give his life for his sheep, and to procure them wholesome and lasting pasture. He concluded with telling them, that he had other sheep, than those of the Jewish kind, to bring into his fold, which would prove more tractable, and obedient to his voice, intimating thereby the conversion of the heathen world.

This discourse had likewise a different effect on his audience, some calling him a demoniac, and blaming the rest for listening to him ; others asking, when they had ever known a demoniac utter such excellent truths, or open the eyes of a man born blind. ^b (5).

^b (5) John x. pass.

wrought by them, by many supernatural gifts bestowed on them, and by them on the first believers and preachers, and in a little time cemented by the blood of innumerable martyrs, and founded on so firm and immovable a rock, that neither the powers of earth or hell have since been able to destroy it. We shall omit a great number of his excellent sermons, parables, strenuous struggles with the incredulous *Jews*, and frequent persecutions from the pharisees and sadducees, but especially a much greater number and variety of miracles which he wrought within this short interval, to come to that celebrated one, which determined the sanhedrin at length at any rate to put him to death. We mean the raising of his friend *Lazarus* from death to life, after he had been four days buried, and in the presence of a great multitude of considerable *Jews*, who, by reason of the nearness of *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, were come thither from that metropolis, and were eye-witnesses of this stupendous fact.

JESUS had designedly conveyed himself away at some distance from him, during the time of his sickness ; and had at Lazarus last acquainted his disciples with his death, adding to it, that *He raiseth* he would now go and raise him up to life. Upon his approach-*dead*. ing to *Bethany*, *Martha*, who was informed of his coming, went to meet him at some distance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that, if he had been there, her brother would not have died. Jesus comforted her with the promise of his rising again ; but she, understanding it of the last resurrection, earnestly intreated him, that he would now use his never-failing intercession with GOD to have him restored to life. Having obtained a gracious promise from him, she went in haste to call her sister, who came accordingly, accompanied with a great number of *Jews*, who were come to comfort her, and, by her hasty departure, supposed that she was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. As soon as she came in sight of Jesus, she fell on her knees, and expressed her grief in such a pathetic manner, as drew some sighs and tears from him, as well as from the rest of the by-standers. At length, seeing fresh multitudes coming towards him, he desired the two sisters to conduct him to the grave, the sight of which drew a fresh shower of tears from him ; insomuch that the *Jews* wondered, that he, who could give sight to a man born blind, should not interpose the same miraculous power to have saved so dear a friend from death. Whilst they held this discourse, Jesus ordered the grave-stone to be removed, at which *Martha* cried out, *LORD, by this time he stinketh*. But he, after a gentle reproof for suffering her faith to fail so soon, and addressing himself to Heaven in a pathetic prayer, called out, *Lazarus, come forth*. Upon which, he that was dead, came

out, bound, as he was, in his funeral ^a (Y) ; from which he was at Jesus's desire immediately loosed ^b.

IT is easy to imagine either the joy of the two sisters, or the surprize of the rest of the *Jews*, at the sight of so stupendous a miracle ; and indeed it wrought such a conviction in the greatest part of them, that they began now to confess him in good earnest to be the Messiah. And not only those who had been witnesses of it, but vast multitudes of others (who, hearing of it from them, came flocking to *Bethany* to be further satisfied of it), believed also in him. The sanhedrin was soon acquainted with this transaction, and were in no small concern

*The Jews
consult to
put him to
death.*

^b John xi. 1, & seq.

(Y) This circumstance, expressly mentioned by the evangelist, renders the miracle still more authentic and unquestionable. We are told by him in another place (6), that the custom of the *Jews* (those at least who could afford it) was, to embalm the dead with an aromatic mixture of myrrh, aloes, and other gums, mixed with spices, with which they rubbed their bodies all over, more or less profusely, according to their circumstances, or regard to the dead person ; after which they wrapped their heads all over with a napkin, and their whole body with a shroud or winding-sheet, both which they afterwards swathed as tightly as they could with proper bandages (7).

We formerly observed also, that they buried their dead very soon (8), seldom or never keeping them twenty-four hours above-ground. Lazarus therefore, having been dead four days, must have lain at least three of them in his grave, which was a cave cut into the rock, and co-

vered with a large stone ; so that it was impossible for any cheat or imposture to be transacted with all those circumstances, since if it could be even supposed, that a person could live so many days in such a damp and airless cave ; yet the linen swathed on his face and body, and spread over such a gummy composition, must have smothered him in less than so many hours.

This was so plain and unquestionable, that neither any *Jews* there present, nor even any of the sanhedrin, pretended to deny or doubt of the fact, but rather condemned him upon the notoriety of it, and as tending to give rise to a new sect, which would endanger their church and state. Of the same nature afterwards was the apostle's cure of an old cripple ; which, tho' the whole sanhedrin owned and acknowledged it to be a miracle (9), yet they endeavoured by the like unjustifiable means to suppress, and upon the same account.

(6) John xix. 39. (7) *De his vid. Jo. Nicolas sepult. Hebreor. Calmet. differt. in cod. Leo de Modem. carmen. Vid. part. v. c. 8, Lamy apparuit. Et al. (8) Vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 173, &c. seq. Et not. (9) Vid. Act. iv. 14, & seq. Conf. cum cap. iii. 1, &c. jij.*

how to put an effectual stop to this dangerous increase, both of his fame, and of the number of his disciples. For, as they rightly argued, if we let him alone, and suffer him to work such signal miracles, all men will believe on him ; the consequence of which they feared would be, that the jealous Romans *would come and destroy both their place and nation.* At length *Caiaphas* the then high-priest stood up, and spake to *Caiaphas* this effect : You seem to know nothing at all, nor to consider, that it is expedient, that one man should die to prevent the ruin of a nation ; little thinking that he was inspired from above, and was delivering the will and decrees of the heaven, that Jesus should suffer death, not for the Jewish world nation only, but for all the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him from the four corners of the earth. For, being high-priest that year, it pleased God to give him the spirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby further to manifest the accomplishment of the divine oracles concerning the Messiah's dying for the sins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and, after they had once resolved on his death, they were easily determined to cut off *Lazarus* also, the sight of whom daily increased the number of believers.

BUT Jesus, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the result of their last consultation, withdrew himself into a small *Jesus re-city* called *Ephraim*, in the neighbourhood of the wilderness *tires into a* of that name ⁴, and there continued with his disciples till the *wilderness* approaching feast of the passover. He left the place six days before that feast, to go up to *Jerusalem* ; and took *Bethany* in *Comes to* his way, where *Lazarus* and his sisters entertained him, and his *Bethany* disciples, at a sumptuous supper ; it being a sabbath-night, at which times they kept a more plenteous table. Whilst they were eating, *Mary*, to shew her extreme regard to their guest, *Mary an-* came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of *Ipike-* ^{aints his} *nard*, whose fragrancy filled the whole house. Whilst the *body.* disciples were wondering at her profuseness, *Judas*, whom we observed to have been their bag-bearer, could not conceal his indignation at it ; and, asking, why the ointment was not rather sold, and the money given to the poor, the rest of the twelve seemed also in some measure to join with him in it ⁵, till Jesus had severely rebuked him, and excused her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial-rite ; adding, that the memorial of it should be preserved to her honour, as far and

^c John xviii. 14, & seq.

^d Vid. 2 Sam. xviii. 6, & seq.

^e Conf. Matth. xxvi. 8. Mark xiv. 4. & John xii. 4.

as long as the preaching of his gospel should reach or endure^f.

Christ goes straight to Jerusalem. On the very next day (Y), Jesus, knowing his time to be just at hand, marched now boldly towards *Jerusalem*, whilst his disciples, to whom he had more than once or twice foretold all the circumstances of his future sufferings and death^g, accompanied him with heavy and trembling hearts. As for the traitor *Judas*, he conceived such a grudge against him at the last night's action, that he resolved to betray him into the hands of his enemies upon the very first opportunity. When they were come to *Bethphage* upon mount *Olivet*, within a small mile of *Jerusalem*, Jesus directed two of his disciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a she-ass, with a young colt by her, that had never been backed; and, if the owners asked them any questions, they should only answer, that the *LORD* had occasion for them, and they would readily permit them to be brought to him. They brought the ass and colt accordingly; and, having spread a garment upon the latter, set Jesus on it, and accompanied him to *Jerusalem*, in a kind of triumph, attended by great multitudes; some of whom, going before, strewed the way with their garments, and green boughs, crying out *Hosannah* (Z); *blessed is the son of David, and blessed is the King of Israel, who cometh in the name of the LORD* (A).

JESU.

^f John xii. 7, & seq. ^g Vid. Matth. xx. 17, & seq.
Mark x. 31, & seq. Luke xviii. 31.

(Y) This happened in this year on the tenth day of the month *Nisan*, answering to the twenty-ninth of our *March*; and was the day on which the passover lamb was taken up and presented at *Jerusalem* (1).

(Z) Or rather, according to the Hebrew, *Hosab-na, Save, we pray*; so that this was a kind of prayer or blessing used by the *Jews*, and taken from the hundred and eighteenth psalm (2), and signified, *Save, preserve, and prosper, Lord, this Son of David!*

(A) Thus was that famous prophecy of *Zachary* fulfilled: *Fear not, O daughter of Sion: behold, thy King cometh to thee, just, humble, and meek, and riding on the sole of an ass* (3). The multitudes still increasing as they went on, the pharisees, who beheld the sight, and heard those acclamations with no small indignation, drew nearer to him, and earnestly desired him, that he would command at least his disciples, if not the whole crowd, to be silent. But Jesus rather

⁽¹⁾ Ufer, & Echard, ubi sup. See vol. iii. p. 20, & seq.
See before, vol. iii. p. 27, & seq. (B). ⁽²⁾ Verg. f.
L. Matth. xxi. 1, & seq. Mark xii. 1, & seq. Et alib.

Jesus repaired immediately to the temple, and, as he had Monday formerly done, expelled all the mercantile brood from that *before his* sacred place, and convinced them of his authority in so doing, *passion*, by working several cures there on the sick, lame, and blind, whilst the wondering multitude continued their loud acclamations of *Hosannah to the son of David!* to the great scandal of the pharisees, who did all they could to silence them. But Jesus, who knew the main spring of all their pretended zeal, *Christ*, not only stopped their invectives, by reminding them of that *lences the prophecy out of the psalmist; Out of the mouth of babes and pharisees sucklings thou hast perfected praise*^b; but exposed their malice and obstinacy by such strong arguments, and pungent parables,

^b Conf. Ps. viii. 2. & Matth. xxi. 16.

chose to silence their own envy, by assuring them, that, if those should hold their peace, the very stones would cry out, and proclaim the divine author of so many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to suppress the pomp and noise of that mock-triumph, as well as the *Hosannas* of the multitude, which he but too well knew would in a few days be changed into the blasphemous cry of, *Away with him, crucify him.* For, as he drew nearer to *Jerusalem*, the sight of that rebellious and unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful prospect of that approaching ruin, which was now happening upon it, and which he himself had more than once foretold to his disciples, it was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here it was that the dismal scene, having quite disarmed him of his anger and reproofment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: Oh that thou hadst but

known, at least in these thy latter days, the things that would have conduced to thy peace^c; but now are they hidden from thee; and now the sad appointed time draws near, when the enemy shall surround thee with trenches, and inclose thee on every side, butcher thy children within thy bosom, and level thee with the ground, so that not a stone shall be left standing upon another, because thou wouldest not know the time of thy visitation (4). The people, however, more full of the present triumph, than mindful of his distant threatenings, went and entered the city with their usual acclamations, and drew such a vast concourse after them, to know who this prophet was for whom they made all this bustle, that the whole city was in an uproar; and well it might, when they heard them say, that it was Jesus of *Nazareth*, the promised Messiah; and remembred at the same time what a severe sentence the sanhedrin had passed not only against him, but on every one who should acknowledge him to be the Christ

(4) *Coyf. Luke xix. 37, & seq. Et Tobe xii. 22, & seq.*

Some
Greek
proselytes
introduced
to him.

A voice
heard
from hea-
ven.

that they would doubtless have laid hold on him, had not the sight of so great a multitude overawed them ⁱ. There were at this time a number of Greeks (B), who were come to the feast, and expressed a desire to see him. Jesus readily caused them to be called in; and, to take off the scandal of the cross, by which he was going to procure the salvation of both Jews and Gentiles, he entertained them with a discourse on his sufferings, and closed it with assuring his audience, that those only, who, after his example, were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of heaven, would be intitled to it. Reflecting next on the glory which God would receive from his death, he broke out into this ejaculation, *Father, glorify thy name*; and was answered by a voice from heaven, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again*. This was probably meant of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost, and that conversion of the Gentile world, which was shortly to follow his death; but the people, not rightly attending to it, mistook the voice, some for that of an angel, speaking to him, some for what they called the *bath-col* (C), and others for

ⁱ Matth. ibid. 24, ad fin.

(B) These were properly neither Jews nor Gentiles, but what the former called proselytes of the gate, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former volume (5).

(C) This word, which literally signifies the daughter voice, or daughter of the voice, is what the Jews have substituted to the gift of prophecy, after this last had been extinct in Zechariah and Malachi, the last of the prophets. For though they allow, that several eminent men among them have been since endowed with it, such as we have seen some of the Essenes; yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inspiration, whilst these had it chiefly by the help of the *bath-col*.

They are, however, divided in their notions concerning this last, having no other guide to go by than their pretended tradition, which they make no difficulty to understand as it best serves their turn. Whilst therefore some pretended, that it was a plain, loud, and articulate voice, such as was heard by young Samuel (6); others looked upon it as a kind of soft whisper, and others again as a kind of internal voice speaking to the heart of the person.

Whether there is any foundation for the two former, is hard to affirm upon so tottering a testimony as the rabbies, who all own they lived long after it had in some measure ceased to be so common. Of this nature was that which is affirmed to have

(5) See vol. iii. 225, & seq. & (II).
fig.

(6) 2 Sam. viii. 4, &c.

for a clap of thunder ; till he assured them, that it was a real voice sent from heaven, not for his, but their sakes ; and to warn them to make a right use of that light, & irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, lest they should bring upon themselves a judicial blindness. For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the cross, I Christ shall draw all men unto me^b, intimating thereby doubtless, foretels that his laying down his life in confirmation of his doctrine, ^{bis own} joined to all the other evidences that had preceded, and were ^{death.}

* John xii. 20, & seq.

been heard to pronounce rabbi Akiba happy in the next world, after he had been sent out of this by order of the emperor Adrian ; and another, which declared two famous doctors, Hillel and Samuel, to be worthy to receive the Holy Ghost ; and some others (7), which, if really heard, might be yet owing to some juggling of those who were concerned in it. As for the last, or inward one, though it were hard to disprove good men having such secret motions or impulses, yet they may be of too uncertain a nature to be always depended upon.

But, if we examine the practice of the compilers of the talmud, or even of those who lived before them, we shall find them consulting this *bath-col* in a much different way, and not unlike that of the Romans in their *sortes Virgiliane*, and other heathenish superstitious methods ; of which the two or three following, taken out of the talmud (8), will be a sufficient proof. " Rabbi Johanan and rabbi Simeon, desirous of seeing the face of rabbi Samuel, a prince among the Babylonish doctors, said, Let

us follow the directions of the *bath-col*. As they were passing by a school in their travel thither, they heard one of the boys reading these words out of the book of Samuel ; *And Samuel died* : from which they inferred, that the person they were in search after was dead, and so it actually proved "

Two other doctors, going to see a friend of theirs, and hearing a woman speak the words, *The lamp is going out*, and her next neighbour answer, *May the lamp of Israel never go out*, took this also for a warning from the *bath-col* (9). But the most surprising was, that of one rabbi Abser, who had been guilty of so many notorious crimes, that, upon his being led through 13 different synagogues, in each of which they examined the verse which the reader, were then upon, they were every one found to be reading a grievous sentence against him, such as in one the words, *There is no peace to the wicked* ; in another, those of the psalmist, *Unto the wicked God says, What hast thou to do to preach my laws ? &c.* and so of the rest (1).

(7) *De his vid. Balsag. biss des Juifs. lib. iii. cb. 5. sect. 8, & seq.*
 (8) *Tractat. Sabbath. fol. 8. col. 3. See Prod. connect. sub an. c. 29.*
 (9) *Otbo, biss. doct. Mischn ap. Balsag. ubi supra, sect. 9.* (1) *Hartung. excerpt. gemar. & Rashiag. ubi supra.*

to follow it, and to the excellency of his precepts and rewards, would be sufficient to draw all sincere and well-disposed persons to his gospel and religion.

THIS heavenly discourse made a deep impression on many of his audience, and, amongst them, on some of their chief rulers, who yet did not dare own themselves his converts, for fear of being thrust out of the synagogue. When the evening came, Jesus, to avoid the crowd, withdrew himself and his disciples for that night to Bethany ; and on the next

*Curses the
fruitless
fig-tree.*

Tuesday.

morning they returned to Jerusalem. In his way he observed a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed ; but, upon his approaching nearer it, as expecting to have found some fruit upon it, according to the season of the year (D), and finding himself disappointed, he cursed the tree ; upon which it presently withered down to the very root. On the next morning, which was the *Tuesday*, Peter, casting his eye upon it as they

(D) It is strange, that all versions, except the Saxon one, have made St. Mark there say, that the time of the figs was not yet come ; when the very time of year, the warmness of the climate there, as well as the tenor of the story, the design and justice of the curse pronounced by the Judge of all the earth, all shew, that the time of the figs was come (2).

The design of this sentence on a fruitless tree, like that other, *Cut it down ; why cumbereth it the ground ?* was to shew the Jews what they must expect to be their lot, if, after having received so many incentives to repentance, especially of late from the preaching of the baptist, of Christ's apostles and his own, they continued still like this fig-tree, barren and fruitless. This should therefore have made the interpreters see, that there was either some error crept into the text, or a manifest one in the version ; and, upon due consideration,

they would have found, that, without any violence to the former, the latter should have been rendered, *For where he was, the time of the figs was come, or it was the time of the figs there.*

This version will likewise justify the act, since it could be no injustice to the owner to rid his ground of a plant which sucked its nourishment from it, without making any return to him ; and here we beg leave to observe, that, except this withering of the fig-tree, and that of sending the swine into the lake, of which we have spoken in another note, all the other miracles were of the benevolent and merciful kind ; so that to complain of two miracles of severe justice, if they were really such, against him, who, setting aside his absolute power, has given us so many thousands of goodness and mercy, argues a mind so extremely perverse and ungrateful, as ought to make them fear, lest something worse should befall them.

(2) *Hausf. in loc. La Scen. essay, part ii. c. 6.*

went to Jerusalem, could not forbear wondering at the suddenness of the change ; upon which Christ took occasion to assure them, that, if they had but a fast-faith in God, they might work much greater wonders than this ; which they did accordingly, when their faith was soon after so miraculously strengthened by the supernatural effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. Jesus was scarcely got to the temple again, before the scribes and pharisees began to insist upon his giving them some fresh proofs of his mission and authority ; and were referred to the testimony of John the baptist, which they neither could deny without danger, nor own without condemning themselves, and, upon their evasive answer to it, pronounced not worthy of any farther proof from him¹ (E). The next that attacked him were the sadducees, armed, as they thought, with such a puzzling question against the resurrection, as all his learning could not elude the force of. It was of a woman, who, having been married, according to the Mosaic law², to seven brethren, had died at length without having any children by any of them. They asked him therefore, if there was any resurrection, whose wife she must be, since they all had her to wife.

Jesus preface his answer to their stupid question with this *Sadducees excellent one³* ; *Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the ^{the} ^{put to} ^{lence.}*

¹ Matth. xxi. 23, & seq. Mark xi. 27, & seq. Luke xx. 1, & seq. ² Deut. xxv. 5. ³ Mark xii. 24.

(E) It was upon this occasion that he tried to awaken them to a sense of their obstinacy and dangers, by several familiar, but pungent parables, such as that of the unjust and murdering husbandmen ; of the wedding-supper ; and of the ingratitude and inhumanity of those that were invited to it ; and some others of the same nature. But these, though feelingly enough understood by that hypocritical tribe, wrought no other effect upon them, than to set them upon seeking for some more effectual means to cut him off ; and since they found it dangerous, by reason of the admiring multitude, to make any

attempt upon him, to expose him at least to the resentment of the civil power. It was with this view that they sent their disciples, with some of the Herodians, to intangle him with the grand question about the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar, of which we took notice in the last section ; and which being easily perceived, Jesus as easily defeated their malicious intent, by calling for a piece of Cæsar's coin, and exposing their hypocrisy, in making use of his money and protection, and yet refusing to pay tribute to him, and affirming it inconsistent with their duty to God (3).

The future state described. Scriptures, nor the power of God ! implying thereby, that their denial of the resurrection proceeded from their either not acknowledging, or, if they did, from their not rightly considering the sense, of the Scriptures, and the extent of the divine power. For, said he to them, the state of the blessed after the resurrection is not to be measured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is necessary to keep up the race of mankind ; there they will, like the angels in heaven, be free from such carnal and superfluous appetites, where their life will be wholly spiritual. He concluded with proving the truth of the resurrection from that sacred book which they professed to acknowledge, to wit, the pentateuch, which not only put a total end to that dispute, but forced even an approbation from the contrary sect of the pharisees ^a. He next received a singular applause from one of the scribes, for his excellent answer concerning the grand and chief command in the law ^b ; after which he ventured to propose a question to them concerning the Messiah, namely, Whose son they thought he was to be. *His question about the Christ.* vid. If so, said he to them, how came *David* to call him *LORD* by the Spirit, saying, *The LORD said unto my LORD, sit thou on my right hand?* How then think ye he could be at once his *LORD* and his son (F) ? This last question quite non-plussed

^a Matth. xxii. 23, & seq. Vid. & parallel.
vers. 32, & seq.

Ibid.

(F) It doth not indeed appear, that they had any notion of his divine nature, and therefore might be easily puzzled to answer this question ; though it seems from some expressions in the gospel, that they had had some higher idea of him, than that of his being the bare son of *David*, or deliverer of *Israel*. Thus *Nathanael*, being convinced of his being the Messiah, addresses him with these words, *Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel* (4). Thus *Peter*, and *Mary* also, to name no more, affirmed him to be the

Christ the Son of God, that was to come into the world (5)

However, the *Jews* have since found out a more effectual way of evading the force of this question, by affirming, that *David* did not there speak of the Messiah, it never being the custom any-where for the ancestors to give any of their successors the pompous title of their lord ; but the meaning of *David*, according to them, is, *The Lord (God) said unto my lord (Abraham), Sit thou on my right-hand, &c* (6). for *Abraham*, being superior to *David* in point of gen-

(4) John i. 49. (5) Ibid. xi. 27. Matth. xvi. 16. (6) Mursh.
vers. Hebr. Matib. not. vlt. in cap. xxu.

plused his whole audience, insomuch that they never ventured to put any more puzzling questions to him from that time^a (G).*

In the mean time, Jesus knowing his time to be just at hand, and recollecting how oft the twelve had quarreled among themselves about precedency, and perhaps had started the same dispute on this very night^b; to give therefore an effectual check to their unreasonable ambition, so contrary to the spirit of his gospel, and to leave them a lasting memorial of the contrary virtue, instead of rebuking them as he had done heretofore, he rose up from the table; and, having laid aside his upper garment, and girded himself with a napkin in the guise of a waiting-servant, came with a basin of water, and began to wash their feet, and wipe them with the towel which *Wafers his disci-*
ples feet. girded him. Peter, however, was so offended at this condescension, that he could not at first be prevailed upon to suffer it: whereupon Jesus told him, that, though he could not see the reason of it now, he should be made sensible of it in time. But Peter, still stiffly persisting in his refusal, was commanded immediately to submit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his

^a Mat. xxii. 42, & seq. Mark x. 35. Luke, &c. ^b Vid. Luke xxii. 24.

tuse, might be properly called lord by him.

(G) It was probably on this night, that, being retired with his small attendance to Bethany, he was there invited by Simon, surnamed *The Leper*, and where Mary came and anointed his head and feet with a fresh quantity of the same precious ointment which she had lately bestowed on him on the like occasion; and gave a new subject of murmuring, not to Judas only, but to the rest of the twelve. Jesus excused her a second time, as he had done before, and perhaps to the satisfaction of the rest; but Judas, who thought it an unreasonable profusion, resolved that night to go and betray him to the sanhe-

dren (7). However, that be, the circumstances of the two actions are so alike in all parts, except the first being said to have happened at the house of Lazarus, and this last at that of Simon the Leper (so called perhaps, because he had been lately cured of that distemper, either by Jesus, or by some other means), that it is not easy to know whether they were really two, or one and the same. We should be apt to suppose the last, were not the generality of commentators for the first. The house might belong to Simon, and go by his name; and Lazarus might be a tenant, and the master of the feast; and so both evangelists be reconciled.

(7) Matth. xxvi. 6, & seq. Mark xiv. Luke, &c.

His exhortation from it.

Recommends charity to them.

Describes the day of judgment.

right and title in Him^a; which terrible threatening frightened him at length into a ready compliance (H). After Jesus had gone round with his humble task, he resumed his upper garment, and addressed himself to the twelve in words to this effect: Ye rightly call me Lord and Master; for such I really am: if then you have seen me, for your example and encouragement, condescend so low as to wash your feet (which among the Jews was reckoned the lowest office^b a man could do to another), know and remember, that those who pretend to be my disciples, must never think themselves above performing the lowest office of charity to one another. It is by such acts of mutual and sincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge, you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to save you, so ye also love one another, and stop at no difficulty or discouragement, where the good of your fellow-creatures, especially fellow-christians, calls for your charitable assistance. Upon these conditions I leave you my peace, such a peace as neither the world can bestow on you, nor any thing make you capable of tasting the sweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending to you^c.

AFTER these and some other heavenly discourses, with which he chose to entertain them during the short time he had to stay, that they might make the stronger impression on them, he concluded the whole with an elegant and pathetic description of the last day, when every man should receive the reward of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil. And, because he knew how apt men were to be more apprehensive of the divine anger for the com-

^a John xiii. 8. ^b De hoc vid. 1 Sam. xxv. 41.
ibid. & seq.

John

(H) If ever a non compliance to a command was justifiable, or even, we had almost said, commendable, it was certainly on this occasion, where it apparently flowed from the deepest regard which that apostle had of his Master, as well as from the humblest sense of his own unworthiness. Since, therefore, Jesus was so far from admitting it as an excuse, that, without giving him any further satisfaction, he bids him to obey, under the most se-

vere penalty; this whole circumstance seems to be transmitted to us as a warning, how we make our short-sighted reason the standard of our faith or obedience, in things plainly revealed, or expressly commanded: since God is not obliged to explain to us, nor we indeed capable of comprehending, his all-wise ends and purposes, whose ways and reasons must be allowed to be infinitely above our comprehensions.

million of wilful crimes, than for the omission of such necessary duties, as he had been enforcing, and to find a salvo to excuse their neglect of them ; he chose to awaken them from that fatal mistake, by describing the general inquiry of that solemn day, as running chiefly on these last ; that is, whether they had, or had not, fed the hungry, cloathed the naked, visited the sick, and the like ; and the retribution of his rewards or punishments, as chiefly dispensed according to their performance or neglect of those essential duties ^w.

WHILST he was instructing his disciples in these and many other excellent truths ^x, the sanhedrin were holding their consultations how to lay hands upon him, at some proper season, when the multitude were out of the way. As they therefore feared doing it during the approaching festival, lest they should cause some insurrection among the people, Judas came to Judas ^{betrayed him.} their relief, and offered to betray him in the most private manner ^{trays him.} to them for a certain reward ; which they gladly agreed to, and paid out of hand. The sum covenanted had been long foretold by one of the prophets, and we shall have occasion to speak of it in the sequel.

Thursday being come, in which Jesus was to celebrate his Thursday^y last and most solemn passover, he directed two of his disciples by a special token to an house in Jerusalem, where they should prepare all things for it ; and he followed them thither with the rest of the twelve towards the evening. When they were placed on their couches, according to the custom of those countries, he drank a glass of wine, with which the master of the family always began the solemnity of the paschal lamb ; after which, whilst they were eating, he told them with some concern, that one of them should betray him, pointing to ^{Chriſt's}
^{last supper.}
^{Sacrament}
^{inſtituted.} Judas ; that Peter, who had always appeared the most zealous, should thrice deny him ; and that the rest should all forsake him on that very night ; and reminded them of some prophecies, in which these things were written concerning him. At the conclusion of the supper, Jesus took the bread, and, having broken and blessed it, distributed it among them, saying, Take, eat ; this is my body, which is given for you : do this in remembrance of me. Then taking and blessing the cup of wine also, he said, Drink ye all of this ; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sin (I). He ended this solemn rite with assuring them,

^w Matth. xxvi. 31, ad fin.

^x John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. pass.

(I) We have contented ourselves with repeating the bare

words of this divine institution, without venturing to give them any

them, that the traitor's hand, which was shortly to betray him, was just ready to deliver him up to death ; when all things that were written of his being numbered with the transgressor would have their full accomplishment^y. The whole ceremony was closed, as usual, with a proper hymn (K) ; after which, Jesus having again exhorted his disciples to continue steadfast in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, by a most fervent and pathetic prayer, he ordered them to follow him over the brook *Kedron*^z.

WHILST they were going to the mount of *Olives*, to a place called *Gethsemane* (L), *Judas* slipped from them, and went to the high-priest's palace to get a sufficient number of hands to come and surprise Jesus in his retirement. Jesus, on the other hand, being entered into the garden, where he usually resorted, bid some of his disciples stay and watch near the entrance of it, whilst he took *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, farther into the garden ; that, as they had been the witnesses of his glorious transfiguration, they might now be so of his present sorrows, and dreadful agonies. Having therefore earnestly enjoined them to be watchful, he parted from them about a stone's cast ; where, his human nature feeling the most violent struggles between flesh and spirit at the apprehension of his future sufferings, he threw himself prostrate on his face, and with the utmost fervency, mixed with the most submissive resignation to the heavenly will, he prayed, that, if it were possible, the dreadful cup might pass from him. He

^y Matth. xxvi. 20, & seq. Mark xiv. 18, & seq. Luke xxii. 1, & seq. &c. ^z John xvi. & xvii. pass.

any gloss that should seem to lean towards any of those various systems which every church and sect have severally formed from them ; and which, being not only endless, but out of our province, we gladly forbear entering further into.

(K) Or rather what the Jews call the *halla*, consisting of six eucharistical psalms, beginning at the hundredth and thirteenth, and ending with the hundredth and eighteenth, with which they used

to close all those solemnities (8). (L) So called probably from the Hebrew גַת־שְׁמָן, *gath-shem*, the oil-pres. For, as the mount had its name from the quantity of olive-trees that grew upon it, it is probable, that this garden, which was at the foot of it, had a pres in it ; and this reconciles the evangelists, two of whom mention only the mount (9), another the garden (1), and the fourth the *Gethsemane* or oil-pres (2).

(8) Vid. תִּנְדֹּבֶלְשָׁרֵךְ, & al. ritual. Jud. Luke xxii. 39.

(1) John xviii. 1.

(9) Matth. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 32.

repeated

repeated the same prayer twice more, but with such fervency *His agony* and resignation, that the vehemency of the struggle between *and prayer* those two passions, joined to the prospect of what he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody sweat, insomuch that there was an angel sent on purpose to comfort and strengthen him under it * (M). By this time the traitor *Judas*, at the head of his armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilst the disciples were fallen into a sound sleep. Jesus therefore, having awakened them with the news of his enemies being at hand, went forward to meet them, whilst *Judas*, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiss, which was to be the signal to the rest ; who thereupon surrounded and made sure of him. *Is betrayed*. In the interim, *Peter* drew his sword, and struck off the ear *ed and ap-* of one of the high-priest's servants ; but was severely rebuked *rebended*, for it by his Master, who, by a miraculous touch, healed the wounded person, and then suffered himself to be bound, and led away, as a malefactor, without any other mark of resentment than his observing to them, that it was now their hour, in which the power of darkness was let loose against him. When the eleven heard this saying, they immediately forsook him, and fled, according to his prediction (N) ; and the soldiers conveyed

* Luke xxii. 40, & seq.

(M) This dreadful scene must be confessed to contain some mysteries far above our utmost capacities ; but which we think may be much more reasonably and safely believed on the authority of the sacred writers, than the latter disputed on the account of the former. The whole economy of man's redemption is every-where represented to us as an unsearchable mystery of divine wisdom and goodness, and as the object of our belief, and not of our comprehension.

For this reason therefore it is that God has taken such care to confirm it to us by the most irrefragable evidence. It was ~~obvious~~ divine authority that the primitive Christians received them, and

sealed their faith in them with their lives ; and it is on the same grounds that they have been conveyed to us through a succession of near seventeen centuries ; and it will be time enough for us to give up the one, when infidelity has overthrown the other. Till when, the imperfect notion we have of the mutual action of our souls and bodies will be an effectual check how we presume to call in question, or to reconcile those opposite passions in the human to the divine nature of Christ.

(N) Which he quoted to them out of the prophet (3) : *I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.* In the like manner the whole scene of his

conveyed their prisoner first to *Annas*, the late high-priest, and father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, who was now in possession of that dignity, as we hinted a little higher out of the Jewish historian ^b.

Tried before the Sanhedrin.

HERE they found the sanhedrin sitting; though at that late time of night; and waiting for Jesus to be brought before them, as he was accordingly; upon which the high-priest began to ask him several questions concerning his doctrine and disciples, in hopes to find either some heresy in the one, or rebellion in the other. Jesus contented himself with referring him to these last, whom he told him he had always taught in the most public manner, and who were therefore fittest to bear witness against him, if he had taught them any thing amiss. For this answer, just and modest as it was, an officer struck him a violent blow on the face; and Jesus, having given him a gentle reproof for his rashness, stood before them, with astonishing patience, and humble silence, whilst the instruments of the sanhedrin were busy in seeking out fresh evidence to put him to death. After much ado they brought a couple of fellows, who deposed, that they had heard him brag, that he would destroy the temple, and rebuild it in three days; but even their evidence jarring in some particulars, as the expression of Jesus was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourse to another expedient, which was, to make him turn his own accuser. *Caiaphas*,

Adjured by the high-priest. therefore, rising up, adjured him by the living God, to answer directly to the supreme court, whether he was the Christ the Son of God, or not (O); and, upon his readily answering in the affirmative, and adding that they should hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven, he rent his cloaths, which was not lawful for an high-priest to

^b Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. Vid. & Luke xxii. 54. Matth. xxiii. 57. John xviii. 12, & seq.

sufferings is most lively described by another prophet (4), who is therefore called evangelical, because his prophecy seems rather a rehearsal of things past, than a prophecy of what was to happen so many centuries off; as the sequel will presently shew.

(O) Nothing could be more cunningly excogitated than this question; to which if he answered in the affirmative, they were ready to condemn him as a blasphemer; and if in the negative,

an impostor, and deceiver of

(4) *Ijai. illi. paff, & alib.*

do^c, and pronounced him guilty of blasphemy. The rest of the court readily joined with him ; and, having declared him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early ^{ad} Condemn- the next morning to receive his sentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the diversiⁿ of that night to use him with the vilest indignities and blasphemous.

WHILST this melancholy scene was acting, Peter and John, the latter of whom was known to some of the family, having recovered themselves from their last fright, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their Master. Their courage however was soon cooled again, when they saw what treatment he underwent from an enraged and insulting rabble ; so that Peter, being thrice challenged for one of his disciples, as often stiffly denied it, and, rather than not be believed, bound it the last time with an oath. The cock crowing now the third time, *Denied by* put him in mind of Jesus's prediction ; but that which gave Peter him a more lively sense of his cowardice and perfidy, was a pitying look which he received at that instant from his gracious and forgiving Saviour ; upon which, the tears gushing out of his eyes, he was forced to leave the hall, to go and hide hi^g grief and shame^e.

EARLY the next morning the chief-priests and sanhe- Friday; drin, being convened at their usual place, sent for Jesus to have him further examined, and to pronounce their final sentence upon him, in order to have it ratified by the *Roman* governor (P). In the mean time *Judas*, being surprised at what had passed

^c Vid. Levit. xxi. 10, & alib. fin. Mark xiv. 53, ad fin. Luke & John. Vid. & Imai. 1. 6.

^d Matth. xxvi. 57, ad

^e John xviii. 15, & seq. Matth. Luke, &c.

(P) Not, as some have imagined, because the *Romans* had some years ago deprived that court of the power of life and death ; for we shall meet with several instances of the contrary in the sequel ; in particular that of the protomartyr *Stephen*, who was regularly tried, condemned, and stoned, by their single authority (5), about a year after But they seem to have had a double end in it ; the one to throw

the odium of his death, as much as possible, upon *Pilate*, and the *Romans*, as if he had condemned him for raising some rebellion against them ; and the other, to make him undergo a more severe and ignominious punishment, and such an one as they could not inflict upon him by their own power, because it was not one of those that were prescribed by their law ; concerning which the reader may, if he pleases,

(5) *Acta* vii. 8, & seq. viii. per tot.

Judas's
remorse.

passed within the sanhedrin, was stung with such lively remorse, that he came and threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owning himself ~~the~~ vilest of wretches, for having betrayed an innocent person to them ; but they, regardless of his sorrow and despair, bid him look to it ; upon which he went, and, as most versions render it, hanged himself ^f (Q.). But those hypocritical judges were soon after taken

^f Matth. xxvii. 5.

turn to a former volume (6). So that their pretence of its being not lawful for them to put any man to death, was no farther true, than in cases where the crime was against the state ; of which the governor was the proper judge. But as to blasphemy, or any other against the Jewish religion, the instance above related of St. Stephen, and of St. Paul's persecuting the first Christians (7), plainly shews that they made no scruple to put the guilty person to death without the governor's consent.

Yet nothing of this was done without the direction of Providence, since crucifixion was the death which it had been foretold by David he should undergo (8), and which he himself had likewise often hinted, both to the apostles, and to the rest of the Jews (9). Accordingly therefore, the accusation which they intended against him before Pilate, was of a civil nature : We have found, said they, this turbulent fellow raising up seditions, and forbidding to pay tribute to Caesar (1).

It is true, indeed, when they found that this accusation could not determine that governor, who

saw through their malice and injustice, to condemn him, they tacked the other of blasphemy to it, and insisted, that their law made it capital ; but this was only added to give more weight to their other accusation ; upon which they wanted him to be condemned, as the sequel will shew.

However, it was necessary to observe these circumstances thus far here, against those, who, from the notion of the whole power of life and death being taken away before this time, have inferred that the sceptre spoken of by Jacob (2) was also departed from Judah : the contrary of which will be seen in its due place.

(Q) The difficulty which interpreters have found to reconcile what is here said of his hanging himself, with what St. Peter says in another place (3), That he fell headlong, and burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out, has made them fall into several conjectures, such as the breaking of the rope before he was quite dead, and his throwing himself down some precipice, which brought on the last dismal circumstances of his death, and the

(6) Vol. iii. p. 130, & seq.

(7) *Act*. xxii. 4. xxvi. 10, & seq.

(8) *P.*

xvii. 16.

(9) *John* iii. 14. xii. 32, 23.

(1) *Luk.* xxii. 2.

(2) *Gen.*

xlix. 10. & vol. iii. p. 317, (G).

(3) *Act*. i. 18.

like ;

taken with a quite different qualm of conscience, thinking it now unlawful to refund those thirty pieces of silver into the treasury, because it was the price of blood, though they made no scruple to take them out of it, to purchase that very blood. After some deliberation, therefore, they agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for strangers; and in so doing fulfilled an old prophecy, in which the number of pieces, the design for which they were given, the purchase made with them, and the potter, to whose share they came at last, were expressly foretold ^s. The field was accordingly bought soon after the feast was over, and from thence was called in their tongue, *Haceldama*, or the *field of blood*^h. It stood on the south-side of mount *Sion*, within a stone-cast of the pool of *Siloam*ⁱ.

As soon as the sanhedrin had ended their process against Jesus, he was hurried before the Roman tribunal, and there brought accused of perverting the people, raising seditions, setting up before Pilate for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to Cæsar. They late would not however venture into the prætorium, or judgment-

^s Vid. Zech. xi. 12, 13.
& seq. Acts i. 18.

^h Vid. Matth. ubi supra, ver. 7,
De hoc vid. vol. ii. p. 449, & not. (M.).

like (4); all which is said without foundation.

What the same apostle says a little lower, and which the versions have misrendered, that he might go into his own place (5), has led others to look upon his fall, bursting, &c. as a further judgment on that unhappy man (6), who yet shewed the most lively tokens of a sincere repentance; to wit, the most public acknowledgement of his crime, restitution of the ill-gotten money, reparation to the best of his power to the injured person, and an open condemnation of their unjust proceedings against him. Now all these difficulties might be easily removed, if they had rendered the words of St. Matthew, according to *Le Scene*, that

he was suffocated, namely, with grief, shame, and remorse, or, which is the same thing, died of a squinancy occasioned by it (7).

His falling on his face, which, as the same critic observes, is all that is implied by what we render, he fell, and others, he thrust himself headlong, and burst asunder, is, it seems, no more than what is common to people in that distemper; who fall down on their faces for want of breath, and commonly burst after it (8). This sense therefore will easily reconcile the two sacred historians, without either doing violence to the text, having recourse to improbable conjectures, or introducing the divine vengeance pursuing even his breathless carcass.

(4) Vid. Theophylact. Maldonat. & al. in loc. (5) Acts i. 25. (6) Vid. int. al. Taylor's life of Christ, in loc. Leland eccles. hist. Tremell. Beza, & al. (7) Le Scene's essay, part ii. c. 7. sect. 3. (8) Vid. cund. & aust. ab ev. citat.

hall, for fear of polluting themselves, and becoming unfit for the approaching solemnity ; but desired the governor to come out to them, whilst they stood in the open place before his palace-gate. When *Pilate* heard the accusation, and found that it was cognizable by himself alone, he caused Jesus to be brought before his tribunal, where he asked him, whether he was really a king. Jesus readily answered him in the affirmative (R) ; but added at the same time, that his kingdom was not of this world ; for, if it had, his servants would have fought in his defence, and saved him from falling into the hands of his persecutors. This was enough to convince the governor of the injustice of his accusation, which he already knew was the effect of some private malice they had against him¹. However, that he might know something more concerning his imaginary kingdom (for such and no other he seems to have supposed it), he asked him again, Art thou really a king ? To which he replied, I am indeed. For this cause was I born, that I might bear witness to the truth ; and none are my subjects, but such as obey the voice of truth.

Pilate, being still more out of conceit with this new kind of kingdom, contented himself with asking, what he meant by truth ; and, without staying for an answer, went out to the people, and told them, that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal. When the Jewish rulers heard this, they were still more vehement in their accusations. *Pilate* therefore urged him to give some kind of answer to them ; but he, who knew how vain it was to attempt it, made then no other defence than that of a surprising and invincible silence.

THE Jews took this opportunity to be more vehement in their invectives, in order to exasperate the fluctuating governor against him, by assuring him, that he had sinned not only *Jerusalem*, and all *Juda*a, but even all his own country of *Galilee*, with his seditious doctrine. As soon, therefore, as *Pilate* heard that he was of that country, and belonged to *Herod's* jurisdiction, he ordered him to be immediately sent to him, in hopes at once to lay an obligation on that tetrarch, with whom he had been at some variance, and to throw the whole burden of this intricate and dangerous tryal upon him ; he being then come to *Jerusalem* to the feast. *Herod* was no

S. 1 to
Herod.

* Matth. xxvii. 18.

(R) Ours and some versions according to the Hebrew idiom, make his answer somewhat ambiguous, as if he dared not to speak out, *Thou sayest*, or, *Thou sayest that I am a King* ; whereas, it should properly be rendered, *It is as thou sayest, I am indeed a King*.

less glad to see a person, of whom he had heard such wonders, and from whom he expected to have seen some signal in his ; but Jesus, ready and liberal as he was of them to the poor and afflicted, disdained to work them, either to gratify the curiosity of such a tyrant, or to silence the malice of his enemies ; so that, in spite of all their vehement accusation, and *His invincible* *of Herod's* scornful treatment of him, he would not so much as *vouchsafe* him an answer to any of his questions. *Herod, his* *affronted* at his obstinate silence, and his own disappointment, *for* *him.* began to treat him as a despicable person, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to send him back to *Pilate* ; and these, after several rude indignities, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe of mockery, and brought him back to the hall of judgment (S).

As soon, therefore, as Jesus was brought back to him, he *Brought* *came* *out* *to* *them*, and plainly told them, that he could not *back to* condemn a person, in whom, after the strictest examination, *Pilate.* he had not been able to find the least capital crime, nor even *Herod* himself, who, tho' much better acquainted with their laws, had sent him back to him absolved. I will therefore, added he, inflict some lighter punishment on him, and let him go. This proposal, instead of mollifying them, made them more instant to have him crucified. He bethought himself, at length, of another expedient, which he expected would have both saved him, and allayed their fury. You know, said he to them, that it is a custom for your governors to release to you some one criminal on these festivals, whom you shall name. Tell me, therefore, shall I deliver you this man, or *Barabbas*, who lies in prison for an insurrection and murder ? He judged indeed, and reasonably too, that they would not carry their resentment or boldness so far, as to prefer a rebel and a murderer before an innocent person ; and therefore it was that he gave them only the choice of these two. But, to his *surprise*, the people, instigated by the priests and rulers, commanded *Barabbas* to be released, and *Jesus* to be crucified, *spite* *of* *all* *he* *could* *say* *in* *his* *behalf.*

(S) From this time, however, *Pilate* and *Herod* laid aside all their resentment, and were perfectly reconciled to each other. But, whilst this was doing, *Pilate's* wife had sent to warn him against having any hand in condemning of that just person, on

whose account she had been terrified with some dreadful dream that night (9). The *Roma* s were very obnoxious of these kinds of superstition ; so that this message made him still more afraid to yield to the pressing instances of the tumultuous *Jews.*

(9) *Matth.* xxvii. 19.

*Jesus
scourged
and mock-
ed.*

SINCE, therefore, he could not work on their reason and conscience, he resolved to try what he could do on their pity ; and ordered Jesus to be sent to the pillar, and to be severely scourged (T) ; which was accordingly done, and (as we may suppose, from the natural barbarity of the *Roman* soldiers, as well as from the additional indignities which they offered to him presently after) was executed with the utmost severity. After they had untied him, the whole cohort gathered about him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, set a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand ; and, whilst some bowed the knee to him in mockery, and saluted him king of the *Jews*, others buffeted him, spit upon him, and used him with the utmost insolence and inhumanity. Pilate thought this a proper time to bring him forth to them in this sad and deplorable guise, not doubting but the sight of so dismal an object would have melted them into pity and remorse. But he little knew the temper of the *Jews*, and that the more abject and miserable the person appeared, on whom they had fixed such great hopes and expectation, the more they would detest and abhor him. And so he found it happened on this occasion, though to his greatest surprize ; and the very people, who but six days before, followed him with their loud *Hosannahs*, could not now behold him in that abject state, without crying out with greater vehemence, *Away with him, crucify him*. Pilate, surprised at this horrid cruelty, refused again to comply, alleging that he found no fault in him ; upon which the priests and elders,

(T) This punishment was not like that used among the *Jews*, of which we have given an account in a former volume (1), and did neither exceed forty stripes, nor was reckoned dishonourable, since even their monarchs were subjected to it. But, among the *Romans*, it was very severe and shameful, the person being stripped naked, at least down to the girdle, had his hands tied to a ring fastened to a stone pillar, not above a foot and an half high, if so much, so that his body was bent forward almost double, which gave such an advantage to the executioners, that

the blows came down, as it were, with double force.

This peculiar part of our Saviour's suffering is rightly supposed to before told by the psalmist (2), in these words : *The plowers plowed upon my back, and made long furrows* : as likewise that of his being buffeted, and scornfully spit upon, in the halls of the high-priest, and of the governor, by the prophet *Isaiab* (3), in these terms : *I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair ; neither did I bide (or defend) my face from being shamefully spit upon.*

(1) Vol. iii. p. 130.

(2) Ps. cxxix. 3.

(3) Ch. I. 6, & seq.

finding

finding it impossible to get him condemned for sedition, began *Accused of to accuse him of blasphemy*: We have a law, said they to *blasphemy*. him, which condemns him to death for calling himself the Son of God. At these last words, *Pilate*, still more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and asked him several questions; to which Jesus disdaining to answer, he tried again to provoke him to it, by reminding him, that it was in his power to condemn or release him. Jesus gave no other answer to it, than by reminding him in his turn, that all his boasted power came to him from above; and that he should therefore be accountable for his abuse of it, though the greater guilt should fall on those who had delivered him up unto him. These last words made such an impression on the governor, that he went out to the people, fully determined, as he thought, at any rate to release him. But, during this interval, the priests and rulers, who knew but too well the temper of the *Roman prætor*, bethought themselves of an expedient which would quickly bring him into a compliance; so that before he could well discover his resolution to them, they began to cry Out with one accord, and in a threatening tone, Thou art not *Cæsar's friend*, if thou lettest a man go, who, by assuming the royal title, and forbidding to pay the usual tribute, has declared himself *his open enemy*. This argument proved more powerful than all the rest; and *Pilate* now no longer daring to refuse their unjust demands, for fear of bringing his loyalty to *Cæsar* into question, having first washed his hands (U) before them all, and declared himself guiltless of the blood of that innocent Person, delivered him up to be crucified, and released the seditious murderer, according to their desire¹.

As soon as *Pilate* had pronounced that most unjust sentence against the most innocent of men, the *Roman soldiers* led him back to the hall, where they stripped him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments; and, having laid his cross on him, they led him with two other criminals out of

¹ Vid. Matth. xxvii. per tot. Mark xv. pass. Luke xxiii. per tot. John xviii. & xix. pass.

(U) This mock ceremony seems to have been a kind of form used by judges in cases of this unjustifiable nature. Else *Pilate* could not but be conscious, that all the water of the sea could not wash away the guilt of his

unrighteous sentence; no, not though the impious *Jews* did then pray, that the sin and punishment of it might fall on them, and their unhappy posterity (4).

(4) Matth. xxvii. 25.

Bears his cross to mount Calvary. the city, to a place called in Hebrew, *Golgotha*, and in Latin, *Calvary*, to be crucified (X). His tender body, quite spent with watching and sufferings, beginning to sink under its weight, they compelled a *Cyrenean Jew*^m, named *Simon*, to help to bear his cross after him. In this doleful march he beheld some women melting into tears at the sight of his deplorable condition; but it seems as if the more dreadful fate, which waited the unhappy *Jews*, had made him quite insensible of his own misery; for, turning to them with his usual compassion, he bid them rather weep at the more dismal prospect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them wish their wombs had been barren, and their breasts incapable of yielding any nourishment to a generation, whose infidelity would shortly render them the sad objects of the divine vengeance, and the scorn and hatred of the worldⁿ.

Prophecy against the Jews.

IT was now about the sixth hour of the day, answering to our mid-day (Y), when they came to the place,

^m De his vid. sup.vol. ii. p. 408, & seqq.

ⁿ Luke xxiii. 27.

(X) This mount hath been described in a former volume, to which we refer (5); and shall only add here, that the *Jews* suffered no criminals to be put to death in any of their cities, much less in the metropolis; and this was done in imitation of what had been practised in their camps in the wilderness (6), and was typified by the red heifer and scape-goat, of which we have spoken in a former volume (7); so that Christ, the grand propitiatory victim, was led, loaden with the sins of mankind (8), to be offered up without the gates of *Jerusalem*.

(Y) The difference between St. Mark, who calls it the third hour (9), and the other two evangelists, who call it the sixth (1),

is easily reconciled by their different ways of dividing the day, namely, either into twelve hours, beginning at the sun-rise (2), which the two last follow, or into four parts, called also hours; but which they distinguished only by three, six, nine, and twelve; and these were the usual hours to repair to the temple or synagogues, &c. to pray (3); and to this last way of reckoning the former seems to allude, calling it the third hour, probably because the sixth was not quite begun. Perhaps also he is there speaking, not of his real crucifixion, but of the *Jews* obtaining *Pilate's* sentence of it against him, which was certainly near the third hour, or our nine of the clock in the morning.

(5) Vol. ii. p. 408, &c. (E).

(6) De hoc vid. int. al. vol. iii. p. 55.

(7) Vol. iii. p. 46, &c. seq. &c. not. p. 53, &c. (Z).

(8) Ibid. in fin. not. (Z).

(9) Ch. xv. 34.

(1) Luke xxiii. 44. John xix. 14. (2) Matth. xxi.

3, &c. seq. John xi. 9.

(3) Ut Att. iii. 1. x. 9. De his vid. &c. Dis. in

2d. Græwin, Moys. &c. Aar. 4, iii. c. 1. sed. 6, 7, &c. seq.

where they offered him some wine mixed with myrrh (Z), which, when he had tasted, he refused to drink. They then stripped him of his cloaths, and, extending his body on the cross, fastened him to it, with nails driven through his hands and feet, whilst he was earnestly praying to his Father to forgive them a deed which they committed through ignorance. After which they reared up the cross, and fixed it on the *Jesus* ground, so that his body hanged on four wounds, made on *cisid* the most tender and sensible parts of the body. With him *tween two* they crucified two malefactors (A), one on each side, accord-*thieves*.

(2) This mixture was probably given to intoxicate the sufferers, that they might be less sensible of their torment; and Jesus might refuse it upon that very account, because it became him, who was then going to offer himself a free and voluntary sacrifice to God for the sins of men, and was to shew them a pattern how to bear afflictions with due resignation to the divine will, to avoid a thing which might too far discompose his thoughts, and shew too ill a precedent to his followers.

One of the evangelists makes this mixture to consist of myrrh and wine (4), and another of vinegar and gall (5). Hence some suppose, that though the former was usually given on such occasions, yet the soldiers, out of spite and contempt, gave him the latter, which would have a contrary effect. But we much doubt whether the *Romans*, naturally delighting in being cruel to persons in misery, could be capable of so much compassion towards criminals. Their barbarous sports and spectacles argue rather the reverse. Besides, the *vinum myrratum*, we are told (6), was highly esteemed by them, info-

much that one of the laws of the twelve tables forbade their dead to be washed or sprinkled with it. And who can imagine, that they would bestow it on such criminal, as they condemned to this kind of death, which was held in the greatest ignominy and reproach among them?

It is more likely, that the evangelist, who wrote in the *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, made use of the word *מַר*, *mar*, which signifies bitterness, or any bitter ingredient, and that his translator mistook it for *מָר*, *mor*, *myrrb*; and thus the two evangelists will be reconciled, and the prophecy fulfilled. *They gave me gall to eat, and, in my thirst, vinegar to drink* (7). For the whole tenor of this psalm seems to be a continued prophecy of Christ's sufferings, as well as of that judicial blindness, ruin, and dispersion, which fell on the impenitent *Jews* (8).

(A) These are reasonably supposed to have been two of the gang of those free-booters, whom the *Jews* called *לִשְׁפָנִים*, *lifshin*, and the *Romans* *prædones*; such as, we have observed in a former section, used to infest those countries, and had given *Herod* so much trouble to suppress them.

(4) *Mark xv. 23.*

(7) *Pf. lxix. 21.*

(5) *Mat. xxvii. 34.*

(8) *Ibid. ver. 22, ad fin.*

(6) *V.d. Plin. l. xiv. c. 13.*

ing to that oracle, which foretold his being numbered with transgressors. (B).

WHILST Jesus was hanging on the cross, he beheld his sorrowful virgin mother standing by, on whom was now verified the saying of old *Simeon*, that a sword should pierce her very soul ; and with her stood his beloved disciple, with *Mary Magdalen*, and some other women. The sight of her grief, which must be supposed to be beyond expression at this dismal juncture, revived his tenderness for her ; so that, being now come to the last period of his life, he recommended her to the care of that favourite disciple, intreating them to

* Conf. Isai. liii. ult. & Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37. xxiii. 33.

(B) Pilate had likewise ordered the title of his accusation to be fixed to the cross ; it was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, the three most known tongues at that time, and in these words ; *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews*. The chiefs were therefore highly affronted at it, and came to beg of Pilate to have it altered, and, instead of calling him King of the Jews, to have it inserted that he had assumed that title. But he as stiffly refused it, and sent them away with this haughty answer, *What I have written, I have written*. Here, whilst the soldiers, who were set to watch him, fulfilled one prophecy of him in the division they made of his garments, and casting lots on his robe, because it was without seam, and woven from top throughout (9) ; the priests and elders were verifying another, in the scornful taunts and injurious reflections they cast upon him in the height of his anguish, and dying pangs. He saved others, said they, in a deriding tone ; but cannot save himself : he pre-

tended to trust in God ; let him now deliver him, if he had such delight in him (1). Their example was followed by all the multitudes that were gathered to see the dismal sight. The very criminals, who were crucified on each side, could not forbear reviling him, till one of them, stung at last with some lively remorse, gave his fellow-sufferer a severe rebuke for his iniquity : and, addressing himself to the suffering Jesus, who was then, more than ever, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and sympathizing with his torments and agonies, in the humblest terms confessed his own guilt ; and in that pathetic and glorious confession he made of him, whilst under the same shameful sentence and punishment, gave such a final instance of his faith and piety, as no age of the Christian church since that time could ever parallel ; and for which he received this comfortable assurance, from him that had the keys of life and death, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise* (2).

(9) Conf. Ps. xxii. 18. & Luke xxiii. 34. John xix. 24. (1) Conf. Ps. xxii. 7, 8. & Matth. xxvii. 41, & seq.

(2) Luke xxiii. 39, & seq.

shew to each other from thenceforward the indearing duties of mother and son ; and from that time *John* took her to his own house P. In the mean time an horrid darkness overspread the *Af, ange* face of the earth ; the sun hid himself, as it were, from so *darkness*, dismal a sight (C) ; all the spectators were seized with a sud- and other den terror and amazement. Some returned to *Jerusalem*, signs. smiting their breasts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilst the rest, more hardened, stood in a kind of mournful silence, expecting the event. This unnatural darkness and disorder, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, that is, from noon to three of the clock after it, was followed by a greater, when *Jesus*, quite spent with pain and anguish, cried out, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani* (D) ; and, having tasted the

P John xix. 25, & seq.

(C) This darkness was the more miraculous, because it happened in the time of the opposition of the two luminaries, when consequently there could be no eclipse of the sun. For we have formerly observed, that the pass-over began in the full moon (3) ; besides, the total darkness of the sun's eclipses lasted but at most twelve or fifteen minutes ; whereas this is recorded to have lasted three full hours (4). Whether it reached the whole hemisphere, or only the land of *Judea*, is not easily determined, the antient fathers being divided about it. *Origen* and some others confine it to the latter (5), whilst others (6) extend it over the former. These quote the famous astronomer *Ptolemy*, the freed-man of the emperor *Adrian*, who affirms, that in the fourth year of the CCII. *Olympiad*, which is supposed to be that of the death of Christ, there was such a total eclipse of the sun at noon day, that the stars were plainly to

be seen. It has indeed been disputed, whether this year of Christ's crucifixion answered to that of the *Olympiad* above-mentioned ; and what is there of this nature that some bold critics will not dispute ? but we shall refer our readers for a fuller view of the controversy to the learned doctor *Dawson*'s dissertation on that subject. *Tertullian*, in his usual elegant way, refers the heathens to their public records for this surprising phænomenon, wherein midnight happened at noon-day (7). And *Suidas* introduces *Dionysius the Areopagite*, then at *Heliopolis*, in Egypt, expressing himself to his friend *Apollobanes* concerning this unnatural eclipse ; that either the Author of nature suffered, or was sympathizing with the sufferer.

(D) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-second psalm, of which those are the title, or first words, and in which there are the most lively

(3) Vol. iii. p. 20, & seq. & notes, p. 38, & seq.

(5) In *Mattb ubi supra*, & ali.

(7) *Apollg.* c. 21.

(4) *Mattb. xxvii. 45.*

(6) *Jul. Afric. ap. Syncell. Euseb. in oblong.*

Hieron. &c. ali.

strokes

the mingled vinegar, which was offered to imbitter his last gasp, recommended his spirit into the hands of his heavenly

strokes of all the remarkable particulars of his passion; some of which we have already quoted, others we have elsewhere explained in a manner wholly new, and yet satisfactory, as we have found, to many of our readers (8). The word שָׁבְתָנִי, *sabatani*, here used, instead of the Hebrew עֲזֹבָתַנִי, *bazabtani*, shews that it was quoted out of the Chaldee paraphrase, which was then the most in use, and in which alone that word is to be found (9). So that he seems here to have, as it were, reminded his heavenly Father, how he was now fulfilling all those prophecies contained in that psalm, which is a kind of epitome or summary of all the other oracles relating to his sufferings and death. In consequence of which, he was praying to him, that he would make good to him, and to his spiritual posterity, that is, to his church, all those gracious promises which are contained in the latter part of the same psalm, from the twenty-second verse to the end.

The *Jesus* therefore, who well knew that there was no other way, to quote either a psalm, or any other section of holy writ, but from the first words of it, as we have elsewhere shewn (1), might have saved their invectives against Christ, as if he had been then seized with a kind of despair (2), and objecting to him the words

of the psalmist, *I never saw the righteous forsaken, &c.* (3). Our commentators might likewise have saved themselves the trouble of accounting for this seemingly despairing expostulation, from the supposition, that the Deity had wholly withdrawn every spark of comfort and hope from him, whilst he was thus undergoing the punishment due to sin; some of whom have carried it to such an height, as cannot be read without horror (4). Wherea the supposition above-mentioned, that he was then repeating this noble psalm, which, after the recapitulation of his unparalleled sufferings, concludes with the most comfortable promises both to him and his followers, shews him to have been so far from either doubt or despair, that he comforted himself under the terrible weight of the former, by the assured prospect of the latter. And that he really died in this godlike temper of mind, all the other circumstances of his passion and death, as well as his last dying ejaculations, and the noble testimony which the centurion gave of it, do plainly shew.

And here we beg leave to make one remark more on bishop *Tiare's* metrical version, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, wherein that learned prelate, speaking of the psalm we are now upon, thinks to have found in it such difference of style, matter, &c. that he cannot

(8) Vol. iii. p. 54, sub not.
connect. p. 111. l. viii. sub an. A. C. 27.

(9) Vid. Munst. in Ps. xxii. note (b). Prid.

(1) Vid. vol. iii. p. 4, & seqq. (A).

(2) Psal. xxxvii. 24, 25, & seqq. (B).

(4) Vid. int. al. Calvin. in loc. & institut.

ly Father, and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghost Christ expires on the
(E).
IT crost.

forbear supposing they are two different psalms, absurdly tacked together by the Jews, and which ought to be divided at the twenty-second verse above-mentioned, where a kind of new theme seems to begin.

But, with due submission to his lordship's great judgment, we think this difference of stile, &c. highly consistent with the two-fold design of it, the one to foretel the great humiliation of Christ, and the other to shew his glorious exaltation immediately following it (5). The subject of those two prophecies being vastly different, it could hardly be otherwise, but the stile must be so likewise. We may add, that the fifty third chapter of *Isaiah*, which runs almost parallel in both these cases, and is allowed by all Christians, as it was once by the antient Jews, to relate to the Messiah (6), might be as properly divided into two, as this psalm; which yet never came into any man's head, on account of that difference, or any other; no, not even in that of the Jews, though so closely pinched by it, that they have even ventured to split the person there spoken of into two.

Before we dismiss this noble psalm, we should take notice of the difference between our reading of the word כָּרַע, caru, they pierced my hands, &c. and that of the present Jews, who write it כָּרַע, carae, which they pretend

is the true reading, and signifies like a l., as if the meaning had been, my hands and feet, like those of a lion (which they were forced to add to make it sense), were watched or observed. And this exchange of the latter for the former they scruple not to charge us with, as done designedly by the sacred historian (7). But, as our reading hath been abundantly proved the most authentic by so many commentators, and other, ancient and modern, we shall refer our readers to them, particularly to those quoted at the bottom of the page (8).

(E) For, immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell, as it were, into convulsions: the earth quaked, the rocks were cleft asunder, the graves opened, the dead raised; and the veil, which covered the most holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby those holy myste ries of the Mosaic dispensation, which had now in his death their full accomplishment; in token of which he broke out in his last agonies with those signal words, *It is finished*. Here the centurion and infidel soldiers, observing his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumstances which attended it, were struck with such admiration and dread, that they confessed him to be the son of God (9). Not so did the Jewish priest, and elders, who

(5) De locand. Philip. ii. 1, & 9.
Illi. p̄t. & n̄t. past. & parallelism in loc. v. Nro. Test. p̄spt.
ir. al. aut lib. Nitzachon.

(6) Vid int al. Mrin. datus. r Ifn.
(7) Vid. ir. al. aut lib. Nitzachon. (8) Justin Mart. datus. c m̄. Tryph. Hottinger
differt. in loc. Calmet, & al. (9) Mat. xxvi. 50, & seq. Mark xv. 39. Luke
xxii. 47, & f.

remained

IT was now past three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up ; and this was the eve of their sabbath, and of one of their grand festivals. That the solemnity of it therefore might not be sullied or disturbed by the hanging of the three bodies on the cross ¹, they went to beg of *Pilate*, that he would order their legs to be broken, and that they might be taken down, and carried off. This was immediately executed on the two criminals ; but when they came to *Jesus*, and found him already dead, they broke not his legs ; but one of the soldiers, seemingly out of wantonness, struck his lance into his side, which immediately issued forth water and blood. These last circumstances happened, not without a peculiar direction of Providence, not only as they fully assured us of his being really dead, but as they verified two signal prophecies concerning him ; the one, that not a bone of his should be broken ² ; and the other, that they, the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, should behold him whom they had pierced ³.

WHILST these things were transacting on mount *Calvary*, *Joseph of Arimathea* (F), a wealthy and honourable Jewish ruler, and a secret disciple of *Jesus*, but yet of such courage and integrity, as to protest against their violent and unjust proceedings against him, went boldly to *Pilate*, and begged leave to take down and bury his sacred remains. *Pilate* at first could scarcely believe, that he could be so soon dead ; but, being assured of it by the centurion, he readily granted his request. *Joseph* had a garden adjoining to the place, in which

¹ De hoc vid. Deut. xxi. 22, & seq.

² Vid. Exod. xii.

46. Numb. ix. 12, & alib.

³ Zechar. xii. 10. Conf. cum

Joh. xix. 36, & seq.

remained inflexible in spite of all these prodigies, and pursued their malice to the utmost, and without the least relenting.

(F) The same which is called in the sacred Hebrew books *Ramah*, and *Ramatbab*, and signifies an high place ; and this is the reason why we meet with several of the same name, which have been confounded one with another. This therefore here spoken of by the evangelists, and which

St. *Jerom* places between *Toppa* and *Lydda* (1), and some modern travelers on an eminence between the former and *Jerusalem*, being consequently on the west of that metropolis, was very different from *Ramatbaim Zophim*, *Samuel's* native place, which was situate on the north of it ; as the reader may see by comparing *Saul's* journey in search of his father's asses (2), with the map of *Palestine* (3).

(1) Epitaph. in *Paul.*
Palest.

(2) 1 Sam. ix. 4, & seq.

(3) Vid. Rel.

he had hewn a new tomb in the rock, which he designed for *Christ* himself, but was now, by a particular providence, better dis-*buried*. posed of, and was made the repository of his Master's body (G). In the mean time, the jealous *Jews* went to *Pilate*, and acquainted him, that *Jesus*, whom they there stile, this deceiver, had formerly boasted that he would rise again on the third day; and that it was therefore lightly necessary to *His tomb* have his tomb well guarded till then, lest his disciples should *sealed and privately* steal him away, and then give out, that he was really *guarded*. risen, which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. *Pilate* easily agreed to what they asked; and, to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, Ye have a guard (H); go ye therefore, and make every thing as sure as you

(G) We have formerly observed in what manner criminals, that died by the hands of justice, were to be buried apart (4); but, in reconding him in this maiden grave, they seem to have fulfilled another signal prophecy in the same chapter of *Isaiah*, where the history of his sufferings is so lively represented, and where this remarkable circumstance is foretold, that though he was numbered in his death with the transgressors, yet he should have his grave among the great or wealthy (5). *Nicodemus*, another of his private disciples, assisted at this doleful rite; and these two, having hastily embalmed the body with a large quantity of myrrh and aloes, and wrapt it in a new winding sheet, deposited it in this new sepulcre, wherein no corpse had as yet been laid; and covered the mouth of it with a large stone, not to be removed but by a good number of hands; after which they went to prepare themselves for the

celebration of the ensuing solemnity (6).

(H) We think there is here a material circumstance, which has hitherto past unobserved, and which still more secures the truth of *Christ's resurrection*; to wit, his tomb being guarded, not by a *Roman*, but a *Jewish* watch. The former might have been liable to suspicion, and these pagan soldiers, little minding whether the *Jews*, or *Christ's* disciples, were most in the right, might have been bribed by the latter to connive at an attempt to impose on a whole nation, which they hated and despised. But a *Jewish* guard, or, as they are elsewhere called, the officers and band of the high-priests (7), and were perhaps the same who had so lately brought him from the garden into the pontiff's palace, where they had made him suffer so many indignities, these, we say, could not be supposed to join in such a cheat.

Now this seems to be the rea-

(4) See before, vol. iii. p. 132, note (X).
distrib. in loc. & parallel. in fin.
42, &c. Luke xxiii. 50, &c. John xix. 38, &c seq.

(5) *Isai.* lxx. 9. *Vid. Mar.*
Matth. xxvii. 57, & seq. *Mark* xv.
3. *Conf. cum vii. 32, 45. Matth.* xxvi. 47. *Mark* xiv. 43. *A&E* iv. 1, &
alib.

you can. So they went, and set a guard at the door of the sepulcre, and set their seal upon the stone^c; and, by their extraordinary care to prevent any private attempt, made the truth of his resurrection appear in the strongest light, as we shall see in the next section.

S E C T. VII.

The History of the Jews from Christ's Resurrection to the total Destruction of their City and Temple, and Dispersion of that People.

WE have hitherto seen Jesus Christ, the Son of GOD, in his lowest humiliation; despised, rejected, and abhorred; persecuted, tried, and condemned to a death of the utmost shame and ignominy; expiring on a cross, and laid in a grave; and, in all these respects, in the lowest and most abject condition of a man. The third day after his death, being the first day of the week, or our *Sunday*, and the fifth of *April*^a, offers him to our view in his glorified state, and risen again from the dead, according to his own promises, and the oracles written of old concerning him^b. By the earliest dawn of this day, those pious women, who had accompanied him thro' his last three years trav'l, and had prepared a costly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming at least of his so sudden resurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had seen him deposited two days before. They do not seem to have known any thing of a guard being set over it. their

^a Matth xxvii 62, ad fin
4036

^a Vid USSR ann sub A M.
^b Conf Ps xvi 10 & Acts n. 31, & alib

son why *Pilate*, who, by his late behaviour, appears to have entertained a much higher notion of Christ, might now be so far apprehensive of his keeping his promise, that, to prevent all suspicion from him or his soldiers, he tells the *Jewish* chiefs, You have a guard of your own, make the best use you can of it. We do not, however, pretend to insinuate, that they were permitted by the *Romans* to keep any troops of militia of their own; but only, that, since the high priest-

hood had been joined to the royalty in the time of the *Macabees*, they used to have a considerable body of life guards, it is more than probable, that, after those two dignities were parted, the pontiffs were still allowed the same, though perhaps in a less number, or else it will be difficult to guess what to make of those soldiers and officers of the high-priests, which are so often mentioned in the gospels, and in the *Acts*.

great concern was only how to get the ponderous stone rolled from the entrance. But that obstacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewise put the guards to flight; so that at their arrival they found the stone rolled on one side, and an angel cloathed in resplendent array sitting upon it. Their surprize was still greater, when they heard the heavenly messenger reprove their officious, but untimely piety, in words to this effect. *Why seek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to suffer death, and to rise again on the third day? Be hold the place where he was laid, and from which he is risen; and go and acquaint his disciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in Galilee, according to his promise. They did so accordingly, and, with the greatest joy and wonder, went and told them what they had seen and heard, but those, still backward to believe, looked upon it as the effects of fancy and delusion.*^c

Two of them, however, had the curiosity to run to the sepulchre. John, who was the youngest of the two, came first, and, stooping down, found that the body was really gone; but, when Peter came next, he went into the place along with that beloved disciple, and, to their surprize, found the grave-cloaths, and the napkin, not hastily and confusedly thrown by, but neatly folded up separately; upon which they began to entertain some hopes, and returned to acquaint the rest with the news.^a Whilst they were thus together, and the women with them, Mary Magdalene, who had stood in the garden, prying about, to find whether the body had not been removed to some other place, came hastily to them, and assured them, that the Lord had appeared to her there.^b But neither could this further confirmation dispel either their sorrow or unbelief, till Jesus at length came and shewed himself to them, gave them a gracious *Ail hâl*, and bid them be of good comfort; for he was alive again, and, according to his promise, would shortly meet them in Galilee (A).

THAT

^a Matth. xxviii. 1, & seq. Mark xvi. 1, & seq. Luke xxiv. 1, & seq. John xx. 1, & seq. ^b John ibid ver. 3, & seq.

* Ibid. ver. 15, & seq.

(A) In the mean time, the frightened guards, leaving the garden with the utmost speed and confusion, went to acquaint the chief-priests and rulers with what had happened, upon which a

counsel was immediately called: here one might have reasonably expected, they would either have yielded to so much evidence, or, at least, suspended all further resolutions, till they had made a full

*to two
disciples
going to
Emmaus.* THAT evening two of the disciples going to a village called *Lemmas*, till at wout fifty furlongs, or eight miles, north-west of *Jerusalem*, were discouling with each other about the strange transac^{tions} of the day, when Jesus overtook them, and, without making himself known, asked them the cause of their melancholy entertainment. *Cleophas*, one of the two, in a kind of surprize, that he should seem so great a stranger to the transaction of the last week, began to give him his account both of them, and of those of that day; particularly their surprize at the vision, which the women had seen at the sepulchre, concluding the whole with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon Jesus as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation; yet it being now three days since they had seen him expire on a shameful cross, their hopes were almost at an end, in spite of the womens report of his resurrection, and its being in some measure confirmed by some of the apostles, who had been that morning at the sepulchre. Here Jesus took occasion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the scriptures, where both his sufferings and death, resurrection and glory, were so plainly foretold, and to give them a thorough expostion of them from the first to the last. By this time they were got to the village, where Jesus made a shew as if he de-

*Expounds
the Scrip-
tures to
them.* full inquiry into the fact. But, instead of that, they chose, at any rate, to suppress a truth, which was sure to cast the deepest guilt on the late unjust sentence against Christ (1), and accordingly bribed the watch with a considerable sum, to give out, that his disciples had stolen him away whilst they were asleep; punishing them, at the same time, that if the master came to the governor's ears, they would find means to pacify him, and bear them harmless. Upon which, they went and spread abroad that report, which was readily swallowed by the greatest part of the Jews, and went still current among them for many years (2). However, the Jews have since found out another way to oppose

this signal truth, by denying that of his crucifixion, under pretence, that it was a punishment unusual and unwarranted among them. We have had frequent occasion to mention this, and some others of their poor and shameful evasions, and shall not repeat them here.

Much less shall we take upon us to answer all the cavils, which our modern sceptics have raised against this important article, which has been so strenuously defended by so many abler hands, and more particular of late by some learned pens, and in a manner wholly new, but so convincing, that nothing need be added to it (3), as indeed nothing has, or can be replied to it.

(1) *Vit. iust. al. Actis v. 23.*

(2) *Matt. xxvii. 9, &c seqq. The defence of it. Works on the resurrection, &c al.*

(3) *Trial signed*

signed to go farther ; but they had been so comforted by his discourse, that they intreated him to spend that night with them, the evening being then just upon closing. He went in with them accordingly ; and, being sat down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been wont to do ; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vanished. This surprising discovery, added to the warmth *Disapp. pears.* which their heart, had felt, whilst he expounded the Scriptures to them on the road, would not suffer them to tarry longer there ; but they went to communicate their joy that very night, to the rest that were then gathered together at *Jerusalem*, and who acquainted them at the same time with his having appeared unto them ^t.

ALL these circumstances had been so far from convincing them hitherto, that they rather concluded from his so sudden disappearing, that they had only seen some spirit in his likeness. They seemed still more confirmed in it, when, being sat down to supper, with the gates fast, for fear of the *Jews*, he surprised them with his presence, and gave them his usual salutation, *Peace be to you*. To convince them, therefore, of their mistake, he commanded them to draw near, and consider his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and satisfy themselves by all proper means, that he was no spirit or phantasm, but their real risen Lord and Master. Whilst they were still fluctuating between joy and doubt, he reminded them of his former promises, explained those oracles to them, in which these things were presignified of him, renewed his former commission and power to them to preach and confirm his gospel, and left them for that night with his usual blessing, full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the several transactions of that glorious and signal day ^g (B).

Thomas, one of the eleven apostles, called *Didymus*, happened to be absent at this juncture ; so that, when the rest informed him of it, he plainly told them, that he should never believe it, till he had thrust his fingers into the print of the nails, and his hand into his wounded side. Eight days

^f Luke xxiv. 13, & seq.
xx. 19, & seq. & alib.

^g Luke xxiv. 34, & seq. John

*Appears to
the twelve
at supper.
Year of
Christ 33.*

(B) This last was the fifth appearance he made of himself on this one day ; to wit, 1. to *Mary Magdalen* ; 2. to the other women ; 3. to *Peter*, in some man-

ner not plainly recorded, but mentioned transitorily by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* (4) ; 4. to the two disciples : and, 5. to the whole college at supper.

(4) Luke xxiv. 34. ^z Corinfb. xv. 5.

Appears to after, being the twelfth of April, Jesus appeared again unto Thomas; them, when Thomas was there, and invited him to come and take that full demonstration, which he had so stiffly insisted on; but the incredulous servant, being now fully assured without it, fell at his gracious feet, and, with an humble ecstasy of joy, confessed him to be his LORD and his GOD: upon which he was dismissed with this gentle reproof, *Thou believest, Thomas, because thou hast seen; but blessed are they that have not seen, and yet believe*^b. Some days after, they all left Jerusalem, and went according to his appointment into Galilee; where he appeared again unto them, and, after his usual salutation, said unto them, *All power is given me in heaven and earth. Go therefore and preach to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c i.* Seven of them being soon after gone to the sea-side to fish, namely, Peter, John, James, Thomas, Bartholomew or Nathanael, and two others not named, and having toiled all night in vain, Jesus manifested himself again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle; and, after they had dragged their loaded net to the shore, condescended to eat and drink with them. After breakfast, Jesus, addressing himself to Peter, asked him whether he loved him more than the rest; and, being answered in the affirmative, commanded him to feed his flock. He repeated the same question twice more to him, insomuch that Peter, being grieved at it, broke out into this expression; *LORD, thou, who knowest all things, must know that I love thee.* After this treble confession of his unfeigned love, designed probably as a kind of expiation for his treble denial of him, Jesus plainly told him, that the time would come when he should make a much more authentic acknowledgement of him, when he suffered himself to be bound and led to a glorious martyrdom for his sake, and in imitation of him, intimating thereby, as the evangelist hints, his crucifixion, by which he was to glorify GOD, as he did accordingly many years after, with a constancy becoming a chief apostle (C).

*His commission to
Peter.*

*to seven
others.*

Thus

^b John xx. vers. 24, & seq.

ⁱ Matth. xxviii. 16, &

(C) This was now the third time of his appearing to the full body of his disciples after his resurrection. After that prediction, Jesus b.d Peter came after him; who, turning about, and seeing the beloved disciple, asked his ma-

ster, whether he would have him also follow him. But Jesus rebuked his untimely curiosity, with telling him, If I will have him tarry till I come, what have you to do with it? Hence arose a strange notion among the rest, that that disciple

THUS did our risen Saviour manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, in all convincing proofs ; instructing *Appears to them* still further in his heavenly doctrine, discoursing more *forty days* familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the glorious prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length, the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together, to the number, as St. Paul tells us, of above five hundred, and led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never failing love, care, and protection, to the end of the world, renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with the promise of a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work, the conversion of the world¹.

HAVING finished his discourse, he bid them return to *Jerusalem*, where he would meet them before his ascension, as he accordingly did ; and ordered them to remain there till they had received the promised Comforter, by whom they should shortly after be endowed with power from above, answerable *the Comforter to them*. Great need they still stood in of such a divine director, since these last words filled them again with hopes, that their Master was now going indeed to restore the kingdom of *Israel*. Jesus was here again obliged to check their untimely curiosity, but referred the further display of this important point to that promised heavenly instructor. And now, having finished his glorious work, he led them forth toward *Bethany*, to the mount of *Olives* ; where being arrived, he tenderly gathered them about him, and in their full sight went up to heaven, leaving his gracious blessing upon the , *Ascends and the comfortable assurance, that he was going to prepare into heaven a place for them in his own kingdom* ; whilst they, in an adoring posture, followed him with their wistful eyes, till a bright cloud received him out of their sight (D). Whilst their eyes

^x 1 Cor. xv. 6.

¹ Mark xvi. 17, ad fin.

disciple should not die (5) ; tho' in all probability Christ meant no more than his tarrying on earth till his coming to take vengeance on the *Jewish* nation, which St.

John actually lived to see totally dispersed.

(D) This happened, according to our learned *Usher's* computation, hinted a little higher, on a

(5) *John* xxi. 24 tot.

eyes were thus fixed still towards him, two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and said unto them, *Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up to heaven? The same Jesus, whom you have now beheld ascending thither, shall in the like manner come down again from thence*^m; meaning either at the end of two thousand years, as some think, when he will reign another thousand upon earthⁿ, or, as is mostly thought, at the last day to judge the world; till which time he will there remain, and reign at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footstool^o. (E).

THE

^m *Mark xvi. ver. ult. Luke xxiv. 46, ad fin. Act. i. 6, & seq.*

ⁿ See what we have said on that head, vol. iii. p. 39. See also *Acts iii. 19—21. Rom. xi. 11, & seq. 25, & seq. & alib. Conf. Psal. cx. I. Matt. xxii. 44. Acts ii. 35. Hebr. i. 13. x. 12, 13.*

Thursday, the fourteenth of May, which is the ninth month of the Jewish year, and in the thirty-sixth, or, according to others, the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of Tiberius's reign. There is an antient tradition, which adds, that it was about the time of noon when he was taken up, and ascended from one of the summits of mount Olivet, where the print of his feet, where he last stood, was still to be seen, and on that account has been had in great veneration ever since. The reader may see what we have said of it in a former volume (5).

(E) It will not be amiss to close this history of the Saviour of the world with those other testimonies which we find concerning him, both in Josephus, and in some eminent heathen authors. We begin with the former, because we have elsewhere promised to say something further concerning that known and much

controverted passage of his, which runs to this effect (6) :

" At the same time there was " one Jesus, a wise man, if at " least he may be called a man, " who was a great worker of " miracles, and a teacher of " truth to all that were desirous " to learn it, and had a great " number of disciples, both of " Jews and Gentiles. This was " (or, as St. Jerom read it, *cre-
debatu*), was believed to be) " the Christ, whom Pilate, thro' " the envy of the heads of our " nation, caused to be crucified; " but this did not hinder his " disciples from cleaving steadfast- " ly to him. He was seen by " them three days after his " death, according to the pro- " phecies concerning him. The " Christian sect subsists to this " day; they call themselves by " his name, and acknowledge him " for their head."

This passage being not only

(5) See before, vol. ii. p. 405, & seq. Es notes.
c. 4.

(6) *Antiq. I. xviii.*

THE disciples, thus warned, returned immediately to *Je-* *Christ's* *rusalem*, where they spent their time in prayers, fastings, and *discipli-*
such tarry at
Jerusa-

found in all the manuscripts of that historian, but quoted by St. *Jerom*, *Eusebius* (7), and other antiquits, the main objection against it is, how *Josephus* could express himself in such a manner concerning Christ, and yet live and die a *Jew*. To which may be added another difficulty; to wit, how he could acknowledge him the promised *Messiah*, after he had once complimented the *Roman emperor* with that title. But those, who believe it to have been foisted in by some pious Christians, will find it still much more difficult to account how they could get it inserted in all future copies, and suppress all the old and genuine ones.

Those who know how much has been already writ for and against it, will easily excuse our not entering further into that controversy, than referring our reader to the authors themselves, whom he will find quoted at the bottom of the page (8).

All that we shall add, by way of lessening the two difficulties raised against the genuinitas of the text, is, 1st, That *Josephus* was no less a courtier than a *Jew* and a pharisee; he might, as an historian, who made great show of sincerity, be forced to publish a truth, the suppression of which would have brought his character in question, and yet not have resolution enough to sacrifice his temporal interest to his conviction. The cruel treatment which the

disciples of Christ met with from *Jews* and *Gentiles* might be a sufficient collacle to a man of his moulding himself into their number. He might, and had in all probability conversed with several learned Christians, who might have inspired him with a great veneration for their Divine Master, and, from the many prophecies concerning him, have convinced him of his being the *Messiah*; and at the same time his brethren of the pharisaic leaven might trump up their notion of a double *Messiah*; to wit, one a sufferer, and the other a great and glorious conqueror.

For no time could be more likely to produce such a wild distinction, than that about which he wrote his history, when all their hopes were wholly quashed, the sceptre visibly departed from *Sudab*, the second temple destroyed, the nation ruined, the utmost length of their computation of *Daniel's* weeks long since ended, and the Christians everywhere beating them out of all other reinternment, and forcing them at length to trust themselves to this broken plank; and was not a man of *Josephus's* character as likely to prefer this soothing notion to the manifest danger of becoming a professed Christian, as any of his fraternity?

But, lastly, who can tell how far the ill treatment which he met with from thence last, at the

(7) *Lib. de scriptor. Vid. & Euseb. eccl. hist. lib. 1. cap. 11. iii. c. 9.*
 (8) *Vid. int. al. Huet. demonstr. evang. prop. sect. 11. & Arnold. dissert. de loc. sup. an. 1661. Prod. Calmet, &c al.*

such other exercises as were likeliest to qualify them for the reception of the promised Comforter. They were about an hundred and twenty persons, probably exclusive of the women, who did not use to be reckoned in the number, though they kept still with them, and, among the rest, the virgin *Mary*, who is here particularly mentioned, and for the last time. The place they used to assemble in, was a large upper room (F), where, a few days after their Master's ascension,

Peter

¶ *Acts i. 14.*

siege of Jerusalem, of which we shall speak in the sequel, their invincible obstinacy and ingratitude, their cruelty, hypocrisy, and irreconcileable hatred to him (9), may have provoked him to lay this heavy charge upon them, of crucifying the Messiah, and to aggravate it with those other testimonies concerning him, without being himself thoroughly satisfied with them, through prejudice and interest.

If therefore this text ever suffered any alteration, it seems to have been only in the omission of the word *credebat*, which, we find, was in St. Jerome's copy, though not in that of *Eusebius*, *Rufinus*, and others, where it was left out; but whether through carelessness, or wilfully, must be left to the reader's candour. And, after all, we may as well suspect the great character which the Jewish historian gives to *John* the baptist, and to St. *James*, whom he calls the brother of Christ (1), which yet cast no small honour to th' last, whose martyrs they were. *

Concerning the testimony of heathen writers, we have already mentioned those which confirm the

supernatural eclipse which happened at Christ's passion, and the appeal which the apologist fathers made to the heathen records for that and other facts. Tacitus confirms also Christ's having been put to death by Pilate governor of Judea, under the emperor Tiberius (2). We might add some others, were we not afraid of swelling this note too much. The readers may see them in the apologies above mentioned, and in the authors quoted at the bottom of the page (3).

For the same reason we shall forbear mentioning the testimony of the Mohammedan, and all debate on the apocryphal gospels, epistles, and other writings, concerning him, and all useless inquiries after his person, shape, mien, and other such particularities of neither importance, nor the least certainty. As for his pretended correspondence with the king of Edessa, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume (4).

(F) The words οτι, υπερών
(5) certainly imply some upper room of an house, and not of the temple, as some have imagined. This might be therefore that large

(9) See bel *Jud. l. vi. c. 11.*
I. xv. c. 4.

(1) *Antiq. l. xx c. 8.*

(2) *Annal.*

(3) *Vid. int. al Minut Felt. H. Grot. de verit. Ic Clerc in eund. abbadie, &c al.*

(4) *Vol. x. p. 160 sub not. ad fin.*

(5) *Acta i. 13.*

Peter addressed himself to the rest, and reminded them how necessary it was, before they entered into their grand commission, to choose a new member into the apostolic college, from *Choose a* among those who had been conversant with Jesus from *John's new mem-* baptism to that present time, to fill up the vacancy which the *ber to suc-* traitor *Judas* had made to their number. The proposal being *Judas.* approved, two candidates were offered to them, namely *Jo-* seph, surnamed *Iustus*, and *Barsabas* (who is supposed by some to be the brother of *James the Less*, and, by others, the same with *Barnabas*) ; and *Matthias*, who was one of the seventy disciples (G). After a short prayer to the discerner of all hearts, to direct them to the person whom he had made choice of, they cast their lots, and *Matthias* was chosen into the apostolical ministry, and their number completed again ^{q.}

WHEN fifty days from Christ's resurrection were finished, *The Holy Ghost de-* which ushered in the grand feast of pentecost ^r, whilst the dis-*sciples were all assembled at their usual place, suddenly there* was heard a mighty sound from heaven ; a vehement wind filled the room they were in, when there appeared a kind of clo-*ven tongues of fire sitting upon each of their heads ; upon which* they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, illuminated with his heavenly light, inflamed with his divine heat, inspired with the knowlege of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other su-*pernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious task, the con-*version of the world. They set themselves immediately about it, *Jerusalem* being then filled with people, who came from all parts of the world, both *Jews* and *proselytes*, who flockt thither, as usual, to that grand solemnity. These, hearing

who are endowed with the gift of tongues.

^q Acts i. 15, ad finem.
& seq.

^r De hoc vid. vol. iii. p. 25,

one in which Jesus had celebrated the last passover with his disciples (6) ; and is supposed to have belonged to one of them, namely to *John*, surnamed *Mark*, and is said to have been turned, in pro-cess of time, into a stately church.

(G) The traditions concerning these, two, and others of their colleagues, are so uncertain, that there is no relying on them ; otherwise this *Joseph* should be the same with that often mentioned in the

gospel among the relations of our Saviour ; and, by his surname of *Barsabas*, he should be the same with *Barnabas*, who is yet said to be a *Cyprian* levite (7). *Matthias* should likewise be the same with *Zaccheus* (8), though this last became a disciple but a few weeks before Christ's death, and the apostles chose only those for candidates, who had been with him from the beginning of his ministry.

(6) *Mark* xiv. 14, 15.

Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. N. de Iyra, Corn. a Lap. &c al.

(7) *Acts* iv. 36.

(8) *De his vid.*

of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond measure surprised to hear such poor illiterate *Galiilæans*, who never knew any but their own mother-tongue, and that no better than as simple fishermen, express themselves with such unheard-of reading's and energy, and display in all their different tongues and dialects the most sublime mysteries of the gospel. The sacred historian mentions fifteen different countries, out of which this assembly consisted *. Whilst therefore some, struck with amazement at what they saw and heard, were questioning what the issue of such a prodigy would be, others absurdly attributed it to some excess of new wine, which they supposed the apostles had been guilty of that morning. Which when *Peter* understood, he first exploded the supposition, by reminding them, that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning, where-s the *Jews* never eat or drank till after that hour, when the first public prayers were over; and then proved to them from the Scriptures, that there was nothing happened in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold, and elegantly described, by one of the prophets^t. I rom that he proceeded to those other circles, which had pre-signified the death and resurrection of Christ, the true Messiah, all which he shewed to them, with such powerful and convincing eloquence, *They con-* that three thousand of his audience were immediately converted *vert* 3000 to his doctrine, and continued strict and zealous professors of souls. *it*^u.

An old cripple healed. *SOME* time after, *Peter* and *John*, repairing to the temple as usual, at the evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple, who sat begging at the gate. This drew immediately a great concourse of people about them, to the place called *Solomon's porch*; where *Peter*, having reproved their stupidity in gazing at them, as the authors of so signal a miracle, assured them, that they had wrought it by no other power than that of Jesus Christ, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the cross. He concluded with such a powerful discourse on the danger of an obstinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unspeakable benefits of a speedy faith *Add* 5000 and repentance, that five thousand more were added to *more to the them*^v (*H*). *church.*

But

* Acts c. ii. 8, & seq. t Joel ii. 28, & seq. conf. cum Isai xxix. 19, & seq. xliv. 3, & seq. cum Act. xi. 15, & seq.
 u Act ii. vers. 37, ad fin. v Acts iii. 1, & seq.

(H) Thus did this new church of Christ daily improve, not in the number only, but in the zeal and fervour, holiness and charity of

BUT the malice of the priests and rulers against Christ's religion did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and signal miracle on the impotent man, the number of converts it drew after it, the zeal, boldness, and eloquence, of the apostles, all contributed to awaken their fears with their wonder, and to put them upon fresh means to suppress what they called this new and dangerous sect. The apostle, and the cripple, were brought before them, and Peter, in an elegant speech, assured them, that it was by the name and power of speech to their great Master, now gloriously enthroned in heaven, that *the灾害* they had wrought this miraculous cure; demonstrated to them *diss.* from the Scriptures, that he was that chief corner-stone, which was long since foretold to be rejected by the builders^x, and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, since there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be saved, but that of Jesus Christ, crucified indeed by them, but raised again by his own victorious power. The scribes, having nothing to oppose to these pregnant proofs, and yet ashamed to confess that charge, and afraid to use violent means, by reason of the admiring multitude, contented themselves for the present with forbidding them to preach any *Applies more in this name*, to which Peter replied, We have received *forbid to* a contrary command from God, and you may easily judge *preach* *which of the two ought to be obeyed*.

• Peter, upon his return to his colleague, acquainted them with what had past, and the orders they had received from the Jewish chiefs, upon which they joind unanimously in prayer to God, to strengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, that they might boldly go on in their ministry, and preach his crucified Son in spite of all opposition and discouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently

^x Psal. cxviii. 22.

^y Acts iii. & iv. pass.

of its members; beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon earth, disclaiming all property, selling all they had, and cheerfully laying it at the apostles feet, to be distributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their worldly goods, as well as in their hearts and affections, so perfectly united, that they became the wonder of the

world, even of their very enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promises of Christ performed, and his church miraculously planted and propagated, by that heavenly Spirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all the oppositions of Jews and Gentiles (9).

(9) *Matth. xvi. 18.*

shaken,

Inspired shaken, and their hearts inspired with such zeal, that neither *with fresh threatenings nor persecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths,* could put a stop either to their preaching, or to its miraculous success: for such it really was, being still attended with some fresh miracle (I), which at once confirmed the believers, and still added fresh ones to their number.

Imprisoned, and miraculously released In the mean while the sanhedrin, which consisted chiefly of sadducees, finding their endeavours ineffectual, began to think it high time to try some severer means; and to that end ordered them to be seized, and cast into a common gaol. But, before the next morning, an angel had opened the prison-gates to them, and bid them return to their preaching, which they did accordingly. By that time the council was set to determine something concerning them, word was brought to them, that the prisoners were escaped by some miracle; there being on that morning not one of them to be met with, though the prison-gates were found closely shut. Whilst they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came, that *The sanhedrin*—they were preaching as usual at the temple. Their fears now increasing with their surprize, they sent for them, yet without violence, and, *Caiphas* having expostulated with them, how they dared transgred their command, they boldly answered for themselves, that, since obedience ceased to be due to magistrates as soon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had strictly followed their duty in preaching the resurrection of Christ, and the remission of sins through him, and giving the same irrefragable proofs of those saving truths, which they themselves had of them².

THIS noble answer, which gave them to understand, that they were not to be frightened into a base compliance, railed their indignation to such a degree, that they were just ready to vent it in some severer manner, when *Gamaliel* (K), one of their members, a person of greater coolnes, and a learned pharisee,

² *Acts iii. iv. pass. & xv. 17.*

(I) These miracles, we are told (1), became so frequent and known by this time, that they drew multitudes of people from all the neighbouring cities and countries to *Jerusalem*, who brought their sick friends, paralytics, lunatics, demoniacs, &c.

to be healed by the apostles; insomuch that the very shadow of Peter passing by cured many of them, who, by reason of the throngs that followed him, could not by any other means get access to him.

(K) This was the person at

(1) *Act. v. 15, & seq.*

whose

pharisee, stood up, and moderated their resentment for the present, by reminding them, that, if this council were merely *Gamaliel*-human, it would soon be crushed, as many others of the like el's advice nature, which he named, and they knew had lately been ; *to them*. but, if it was of *God*, it was vain, as well as impious, in them Year of to oppose it. Wherefore, concluded he, my opinion is, that Chr. 33. we let these men alone, and wait the event, lest we should be found at length to contend with an almighty power. His counsel was readily agreed to, and the apostles, being called in, after having received a severe correction and rebuke for their contumacy, were dismissed, and joyfully rejoined their colleagues * (K).

ABOUT the same time the apostles, at the complaint of some *Grecian* proselytes, ordained seven deacons from among *Seventy-dea-* the number of believers, to be overseers of the ministry in the *cons chose*. relief of the necessitous members. We know little of five of them, besides their names, which the reader will find in the margin (L). But *Stephen*, who is mentioned at the head of

* *Acts iv. ver. 33, ad fin.*

whose feet St. *Paul* had been brought up *(2) ; some add also *Stephen* and *Barnabas* (3) ; he is affirmed by an antient writer to have been already converted to Christianity (4) ; others pretend, that he was not till after the martyrdom of *Stephen*. But we have no certainty of any of these facts, nor of several others that are said of him, concerning which the reader may consult *Basnage* in the place last quoted.

(K) About this time the tetrarch *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*, died at *Julias*, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, from the death of *Herod the Great*. He was buried in a magnificent tomb, which he had erected during his life ; and, as he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was resumed by *Ti-*

berius, and annexed to the province of *Syria*, then under the government of *Flaccus Pomponius* ; but with this restriction, that the revenues of that country should still be kept within the limits of it. *Josephus* tells us, that *Philip* was of so opposite a disposition to his father or brother, that his government was mild and quiet ; that he went always attended with a small number of servants, some of whom carried a chair after him, which served him as his tribunal, to be ready to receive every petition or complaint, and to do justice every-where upon the spot (5).

(L) These were, *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenæus*, and *Nicolas* ; this last is there called a proselyte of *An-*

(2) *Aet. xxii. 3.*
Juifis, lib. iv. c. 3.
I. xviii. c. 6.

(3) *Vid. Luc. Rev. de S. Steph. Basnag. b. 8. des*
(4) *Recogn. c. 65, & seq.*

(5) *Antiq.*

of the rest, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghost, who wrought such wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the Jews. He had confuted several of the heads of them in their respective synagogues ^b concerning their notion of the perpetuity of the Mosaic law, for which he was accused before the sanhedrin.

St. Stephen's defence before the sanhedrin. Here the high-priest having given him leave to speak for himself, he began his defence with an historical deduction of the true worship of God, exclusive of the Mosaic rites; which last, he shewed by authentic proofs, were to be done away, to make room for a more spiritual religion under the promised Messiah. This speech was accompanied with such powerful eloquence, angelic majesty, and with such a severe reproof for their constant resisting the Holy Ghost, and persecuting those who delivered his divine oracles to them, that, not being longer able to bear what they called his blasphemy, they condemned him to death, and hurried him, as was usual in such cases, out of the city; where the witnesses, who were to throw the first

Year of Christ. 34. stones ^c, laid their upper-garments at the feet of young Saul, then a zealous pharisee, and enemy to Christianity, but since the great apostle of the gentiles; and having, according to the Mosaic law, laid their hands on the condemned person, overwhelmed him with stones, whilst he called on God to forgive them his death, and on Jesus to receive his departing soul ^d. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death; but most of them, after Usher, Pearson, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine Master.

^b Acts vi. 9, &c seq.

^c See vol. iii. p 131.

^d Acts

vii. 58, & seq.

tioch. The rest being also all Greek names, shews them to have been Hellenists, and that this new order was made in favour of the converts from them.

Some have affirmed this last to have been the author of the beastly Nicolaitans, that sprung up in the earliest age of the church (6); others have strenuously vindicated him from it

(7). We can gather nothing certain concerning it. Philip is probably the same who converted the Samaritans (8), baptized the eunuch of queen Candace (9), and had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy (1). As for the other five, we know no more of them than what has been mentioned above.

(6) Epiphani. barref 25. & nos. Coteler.
mu' l. iii. Euseb. Theodoret. August & al.
(9) Ibid. ver. 26, ad fin.

(7) Clem. Alexandr. fro-
(8) Acts viii. 5, & seq.
(1) Ibid. xxi. 9, & seq.

THE death of this glorious protomartyr was soon followed *The Christian persecution against the Christian converts, which yet the divine Providence turned into a means of prosecution.* pagating the gospel far and wide, by the dispersion of a great *A means of number of them, who, after Stephen's death, left Jerusalem propagating and Judea, according to our Saviour's advice, When you are persecuted in one city, flee into another.* So that few but the apostles staid at Jerusalem, whilst the rest went and preached, some at Samaria, some at Cyprus, and others elsewhere; but still among the Jews; for the time for the conversion of the gentiles was not yet come (M). During this persecution, Samaria having received the gospel by the preaching of Philip, and Simon Magus, who had formerly bewildered them maritans with his sorceries, being himself become a convert, the apostolic college at Jerusalem deputed thither Peter and John, who, being come, imparted the Holy Ghost unto them by their prayer, and imposition of hands. Simon, observing the wonderful efficacy of this last ceremony, would have purchased the same power of the apostles at a large sum; for which profane proposal Peter sharply rebuked him §, and afterwards have branded his memory by giving that new and unheard-of sin the name of simony.

ABOUT the beginning of the next year, L. Vitellius, being sent by Tiberius proconsul of Syria, came to Jerusalem about the feast of the passover, where he was honourably received by the magistrates of that metropolis, in requital of which he remitted to its inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were set to sale. He likewise put all the pontifical habits, which used to be kept in the fortress of Antonia under the custody of a Roman officer, into the possession of the Jewish high-priest, to be thenceforth kept and disposed of at their pleasure; after which, having deposed Caiaphas from the pontifical chair, and raised Jonathan the son of Annas or Ananus

• Matth. x. 23.
14, & seq.

† Acts viii. 4, & seq.

‡ Ibid. viii.

Year of
Chr. 35.

(M) One of the chief instruments of this new persecution was the young Saul mentioned a little higher, who, observing with what zeal the sanhedrin endeavoured to crush the growing church, got a commission from them to seize, bind, and imprison, all its members, where-ever

he met them; pursuant to which, he made a terrible havock among them, without regard to quality, age, or sex, till, being himself miraculously converted in the midst of his bloody career, as he was going to Damascus, he became as zealous a promoter of it (z).

to that dignity, he departed for *Antioch*, his capital^b. Soon after this a tumult happened at *Samaria*, in which *Pilate* acted with such arbitrariness and cruelty, that it proved a main step to his ruin. A certain impostor had appeared there, some think the *Simon* lately mentioned, who persuaded the *Samaritans*, that, if they would repair to their sacred mount *Gariz-zim* (for such they held it above all mountains, as we have often seen in this chapter), he would direct them to the sacred vessel, which *Moses* had formerly buried there. The credulous people came in shoals armed to him, and encamped before a village called *Tirathaba*, waiting for others to join them there, till they could make a sufficient body to go up and take possession of the pretended holy treasure. *Pilate*, who had timely notice of it, sent a strong body of horse and foot, who attacked them with such fury, that they killed a great number of those deluded wretches, took many of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest, after which he ordered those of the best rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay. The *Samaritans* had immediately recourse to *Vitellius*, and complained of the massacre done among them, assuring him at the same time, that their assembling in arms was not with a seditious view, but to secure themselves from the intolerable oppressions of the Jewish governor. *Vitellius*, who was well acquainted with his cruel and rapacious character, upon this complaint, dispatched his friend *Marcellus* to take the government of *Judaea* upon him, and sent orders to *Pilate* to repair immediately to *Rome*, there to answer the *Samaritans* accusation before *Cæsar's* tribunal. *Pilate* was forced to obey; but, being detained by contrary winds, *Tiberius* was dead before he could reach *Rome*. This deposition, which was but the forerunner of much greater evils to that cruel oppressor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic government^c (N).

DURING

^b Conf. JOSEPH. antiqu. I. xv. 14. & xviii. 6.
ibid. c. 5.

Antiq.

(N) The acts of *Pilate* have made so much noise among the learned, that it will doubtless be expected we should give our English readers some idea of them, since they are so confidently quoted by a great number of antient fathers (3), and have been as strenuously opposed or defended by learned moderns (4). It seems indeed very probable, that every governor of a province of the Roman empire was obliged to send an account, at least, of the

(3) *De his vid. Iust. Mart. apol. ii. Tertul. apol. v. Euseb. eccl. hist. I. ii. c. 2. Oros. I viii. c. 4. Cib. f. Epiphan. bær. 50. Greg. Turon. &c al. mult.*
(4) *Vid. int. al. Cesaubon. exercit. 16. Baron. annal. Fabric. apocryph. N. T. & al. ab eo ceter.*

most

DURING these transactions in *Judea*, *Herod* had been carrying on his unsuccessful war against *Aretas*, of which we have

most material transactions that happened in his time ; and, if so, the crucifixion of a person of the Messiah's character, through the tumultuous malice of the *Jews*, and contrary to *Pilate's* own inclination, was of too signal a nature not to be transmitted to *Rome* by him, though but to dis-
culpate himself of that unjust deed, and to throw all the odium or it on the sanhedrin.

It is true, those acts that have been transmitted to us vary in many particulars, according to the several hands they have passed through ; and some of them carry such a face of forgery, that they cannot be reasonably supposed the same with those which those ancient writers speak so positively of, and have given us such seemingly authentic fragments of. So that to conclude them all to be forged by some pious zealots, is to carry scepticism beyond its due bounds. For who can think, that men of such sense, learning, and integrity, as the apologists were, should dare to appeal to those records in favour of the persecuted Christians, which, if once found to be forged, must have done their cause the greatest prejudice ? How could they speak of them, not only as of things commonly known and acknowledged, but with the same confidence, and seeming exactness, as if they had seen them, consulted, and copied them out of their archives ? Is it not more reasonable to believe, that there

were such records, tho' grievously blended and corrupted in those after-ages, which, through the baseness of arch-heretics, and the blind zeal of others, produced such numbers of other apocryphal writings ? *Eusebius* tells us, that even the pagans did, in the beginning of the fourth century, trump up a new account of the *acta Pilati* (5), doubtless to oppose to those cited by *Justin* and *Tertullian* in the foregoing one. Another mongrel sect, called *Quatuordecimani*, had likewise a set of them quite different from the rest, and from which, *Epiphanius* tells us (6), they defended some of their tenets. And where is the wonder, that records of such an important nature should be corrupted and altered, by designing men, so long after ? Is it not rather a greater one, that those of the two apologists above-mentioned, who wrote as if they had the authentic copies of the true ones before their eyes, should have been preserved to us ? We shall now give our readers the substance of what relates to our Saviour in as few words as we can.

Pilate to Tiberius, &c.

" I have been forced to consent at length to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, to prevent a tumult from the *Jews* ; tho' it was very much against my will. For the world never saw, nor probably will, a man of such extraordinary piety and uprightness. But the high-

(5) *Ub. supra*, l. ix. c. 4.

(6) *Harr. 50.*

have already spoken ; and *Tiberius*, vexed at the success of the latter, had sent express orders to *Vitellius* to invade his country, and either to take him prisoner, or send his head to *Rome*. *Vitellius*, in his march into *Arabia*, designed to have passed through *Judea* ; but was happily diverted from it by Vitellius the Jewish heads, on account of the Roman standards. Upon and Herod this condescension Herod and he came to *Jerusalem*, where come to they were highly honoured, and offered the usual sacrifices, and removed Jonathan from the priesthood, to give it to his brother Jerusa-

" priest and sanhedrin fulfilled in it the oracles of their prophets, and of our sibyls. Whilst he hung on the cross, an horrid darkness, which covered the earth, seemed to threaten its total end. His disciples, who pretend to have seen him rise from the dead, and ascend into heaven, and acknowledge him for their God (7), still subsist ; and, by their excellent lives, shew themselves the worthy disciples of so extraordinary a Master. I did what I could to save him from the malice of the Jews ; but the fear of a total insurrection made me sacrifice him to the interest and peace of your empire," &c.

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconsistent with the character of such a governor as *Pilate* was, if we except his saying there, that Christ's death had been foretold by the prophets and sibyls ; but *Joseph of Arimathea*, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know, or be told by some of his own people. As for the rest, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjust sentence

might make him the more diligent in sending such a favourable relation of the transaction, as might best prejudice that capricious emperor in his favour. Some apocryphal writings tell us, that he was forced to do it in his justification ; and that *Tiberius*, who had long lingered under a decay, which eluded the skill of his physicians, had been advised to send for Jesus from *Judea*, to cure him by his miraculous power. They add, that, when he received this account from *Pilate*, he not only highly resented it from him, but much more from the Jewish sanhedrin, whose court he ordered the former to demolish, that being the only place where they were allowed to sit in council, that they might never more pronounce another sentence from it. But this story we would be far from putting on the level with the acts of *Pilate* in point of evidence. As for that prætor, there is no record what became of him after his being sent to *Rome*. Only an antient tradition, supported by some seeming authentic monuments, says, that he was banished to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, where his misery forced him to kill himself with his own sword.

(7) These last particulars are only in *Tertul.* & *Euseb.* ubi supra.

ther *Theophilus*^k. Here they received the news of *Tiberius*^s death, and of the installation of the emperor *Caius*, of which *Tiberius* a fuller account shall be given in its proper place : and *Vitellius* succeeded ^{by Caius,} afraid to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor. *Jerusalem* was the first eastern city, it seems, that heard the news of his succession, and offered up sacrifices for him^l. By this time, *Artabanes* having succeeded *Aretas* in *Arabia*, *Vitellius* went and made an alliance with him near the *Euphrates*, where *Herod* gave them a magnificent entertainment under a stately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpose near the banks of that river. The *Roman* general sent immediately an account of this transaction to the emperor, and was surprised to find by his answer, that *Herod* had been beforehand with him, and had acquainted him with all the particulars of it ; for which he bore him a mortal grudge ever after^m.

ALL this while the Christian church increased to a surprising degree, not only in *Judea*, but in all other parts of the world ; to which the apostles themselves, after having left *bishop of James the Less* bishop of that of *Jerusalem* (O), dispersed *Jerusalem*.
them-
legat. ad Caium. ^m JOSEPH. & DIO. ubi supra.

(O) When this choice or installation was made, whether immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, or after the death of the proto-martyr, or in any intermediate space between, is not easy to guess ; and that he was made bishop of *Jerusalem*, and that this metropolis was made the first Christian see, we have not from any sacred writers, but from the fathers (8), and antient tradition ; and both add, that he wore a golden plate on his forehead, probably in imitation of the Jewish high-priest (9). It is supposed, that both St. Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, gave him the preference of being the first bi-

shop, on account of his being so nearly related to Christ. For he was the son of *Cleophas* or *Alpheus*, the brother of the blessed Virgin, from whom he was therefore his first cousin, and hence called his brother, according to the Hebrew custom (1).

This his preference is further confirmed by his being mentioned by the apostle before *Peter* and *John*, who are there called the two other pillars of the church (2) ; and especially by his sitting as president at the first council at *Jerusalem*, when the question about the circumcision of the heathen converts was condemned (3). For there *Peter* having opened the point to the assembly,

(8) Clem. Alexandr. Hegesip. ap. Eus. b. eccl. hist. l. ii. c. 2. Epiphon. baref. 29. &c. 78. (9) De quo vid. vid. iii. p. 80; &c. seq. (1) Guilt. i. 19. Joseph. antiqu. l. xx. c. 8. (3) Galat. ii. 9. (3) Acta xv. 4. &c. seq.

The apostles dispersed themselves. either about or soon after this time. It is out of our province, not only to follow them out of *Judaea*, but even to enter into many transactions of theirs within it, which have no concern with the *Jewish* history we are upon. Such

and *Paul* and *Barnabas* related the main particular of their conversion, *James* stood up, and summed up the whole debate; and, having delivered his own opinion, and backed it with Scripture authority, he gave the definitive sentence, which was assented to by the rest (3).

The fathers above-mentioned speak very much of his great sanctity, mortified life, miracles, &c. for which he was surnamed, by *Jews* as well as Christians, *The Just*. They add, that he had also that of *Obliab* or *Ophliab* given him, which signifies the fortress of God; and that he was even allowed to enter into that part of the temple which was only permitted to the priests, though he was not of that order, and that the people crowded about him, to kiss the hem of his garment (5).

Baronius quotes a story out of the *Talmud* (6), That a *Jew*, named *Eleazar*, having been bit by a venomous serpent, *James* was sent for to cure him in the name of Jesus the son of the carpenter, which was strenuously opposed by a *Jewish* rabbi there present; and that, whilst they were debating about the lawfulness of the cure, the venom grew to such an head, that the patient died; upon which the stiff-necked rabbi congratulated him for dying without breaking the rules of the *Jewish* doctors.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to St. *James*, but were

condemned by the church, which receives none but the epistle that bears his name, and which he is supposed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Christ 62; when, his great sanctity having rendered him obnoxious to *Ananus* the son of *Annas* the high-priest mentioned in the gospel, he drew him into the following snare. He sent for him to declare to the mistaken people what they ought to think of Jesus, concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived some wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in some gallery, or high balcony of the temple, where the people from below inquired of him concerning the crucified Jesus; to which the good old bishop answered, That Jesus, whom you crucified, sits now at the right hand of God.

As the populace below were of the *Jewish* leaven, the priests and pharisees, that headed them, expected them to have broken out into invectives and blasphemies, instead of which they all broke out into hosannahs to him; upon which the chiefs cried out, *The Just*, alluding to his surname, is also in the delusion, and ordered him to be thrown headlong down. His fall not having made an end of him, they overwhelmed him with stones, whilst he prayed to God for them, for which one of them came and knocked his brains out with a club (7).

(4) *Actis xv. 13, &c seq.* See also *Lifley's Anti-Slavery.*

(5) *Hieron. in Galat. i.*

(6) *Annales, an. 63.*

(7) *Euseb. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 23.*

as their councils held at *Jerusalem*, their converts, miracles, ordination of bishops, and many more of that kind ; which regarding only the first propagation and planting of the Christian church, we shall refer our readers for them to those Christian annalists, historians, and other authors, who have written on the subject, and which are too numerous, and too well known to need being mentioned in the notes.

THAT we may therefore resume and finish our history without any further digression, we shall conclude what relates to the Christian church with the miraculous conversion of *Cornelius* the *Roman centurion*, the first-fruits of that of the gentile world ; because it is there that we formerly fixed the final departure of the poor remains of the *Jewish sceptre or power*^a. We there observed, after the learned Mr. *Mede*, that the words of *Jacob* might, and, by the event, ought to be read, *The sceptre shall not depart, &c. till Shiloh come, and to him the nations be gathered* ; which could not therefore be totally removed, till this promised conversion of the gentiles was in some measure accomplished. It had indeed begun to dwindle long before, but there were still some remains left ; they were still governed by their own laws ; their *Sanhedrin* had still a great power, even of life and death, as we observed in the case of *St. Stephen*. But from this time it was so curtailed and reduced, that no footprint was to be seen of it, even before the last siege of *Jerusalem*, which was to give the finishing stroke to that and several noble prophecies ; and, as this conversion of the *Roman centurion* was to usher in a new and singular epoch, it is no wonder it was accompanied with such remarkable and miraculous circumstances (P).

WE

^a See before, vol. iii. p. 317, & seq. & not.

(P) Of this sort were the extraordinary piety and charity of that new profelyte, and the vision that appeared to him, and directed him where to send for *Peter*, who was to preach Christ to him ; the surprising vision which that apostle had about the same time ; the explanation and the command which he received from the *Spirit* ; the great readiness with which *Cornelius*, and his company, received the word preached ; and their being endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the *Holy Ghost*, even before their baptism.

All which are so well known, that we shall not dwell longer upon them ; but only observe, that there was a farther necessity of some such extraordinary and miraculous circumstances to determine *Peter*, and satisfy the rest of the apostles, and *Jewish converts* ; since it plainly appears, that, notwithstanding Christ's repeated commission to them to convert all nations, yet they so little dreamt of the heathen being to be brought into this fold, that the former would never have gone to profelyte this or any other heathen,

Marullus succeeds Pilate in Judæa. We return now to the *Jews*, who, soon after the death of *Tiberius*, received a new governor from *Rome*, named *Marullus*, instead of *Pontius Pilate*, or rather of *Marcellus*, to whom the care of *Judæa* had been committed after his deposition.

Agrippa promoted by Caius. At the same time *Caius Caligula* gave his old friend *Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, and grandson of *Herod the Great*, of whom we have formerly spoken^o, the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, and added to it that of *Abylene in Syria*, which had formerly belonged to *Lysanias*. *Agrippa*, whom

St. Luke calls by the common name of *Herod*^p, had been brought up at *Rome* with *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius*; and, by his extreme generosity, or rather profuseness, had gained himself many friends at court; but they were of the courtly mould. For after *Drusus's* death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, lest they should

His former poor condition. revive the memory of his son, *Agrippa* found himself reduced to the greatest extremities, indebted over head and ears, peniless, and almost friendless. In this condition he came into

Judæa, and shut himself up in a castle in *Idumea*, resolving through shame, vexation, and misery, to starve himself to death. His wife *Cyprus*, the daughter of *Phasael*, did what she could to assist him; wrote to his sister in his behalf; and these two furnished him with some present subsistence, but all too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this *Herod*, *Herodias's* husband, added some further favours, made him a magistrate of *Tiberias*, and assisted him with some small sums.^q But this kindness was soon at an end; and, *Herod* having one day upbraided him with it at some banquet, *Agrippa*, who could not brook the affront, retired to *Flacus* governor of *Syria*, where he had not staid long before he disengaged him, and was forced to retire again into *Italy*. After many other rubs and misfortunes, which the reader may seen in *Josephus*^r, he was at length, through the ill offices of one of his freedmen, thrown into prison, and loaded with chains, by *Tiberius*. He continued in this miserable condition till that prince's death, when *Caius*, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendship, sent for him from his prison to his

^o See before, pag. 443. (N).
^q Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

^p Acts xii. 1, & seq.

then, nor the rest have been pacified for his so doing, if these remarkable occurrences had not reminded them, that an happy entrance was to be thereby opened to the rest of the gentile world (8).

(8) De hoc vid. Acta x. & xi. post. & alib.

own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain *Raised* for one of gold of the same weight, put a diadem on his head, *from his* and gave him the two tetrarchies above-mentioned, with the *imprison-* title of king. *Agrippa* did not, however, come immediately *ment and* into his new dominions; but continued about a year longer at *chains by* *Rome* with the new emperor. He obtained at length leave of *Caius*. him to come and visit his *Jewish* territories, and to set things ^{Year of} *in the best order, and took Egypt in his way. He embarked* ^{Christ 41.} *at Puteoli at the end of July, and came a few days after in* ^{Embarks} *Affronted* *sight of Alexandria.* The magnificence of his entry into that *for Judea.* city, though he chose to make it in the night, to avoid its being too much observed, drew the envy of the *Alexandrians*, who could not behold this new upstart *Jewish* king in such splendor, without offering several indignities to him, though at *Alex-* the *Jews*, not only winked at it, but beheld it with a secret *andria*. pleasure. He was likewise there informed of the indirect means which *Flaccus* had taken to render the *Jewish* nation odious to the emperor. All which made him willing to leave the place as soon as possible. The great oppressions, persecu- *Jews per-* tions, and horrid butcheries, which the *Alexandrian Jews* *secuted at* suffered from this base governor, for refusing to worship the Alex- new-made emperor, and his behaviour to the ambassadors, *dria*. sent to him to represent their loyalty in all other cases that were consistent with their law, are out of our province; the reader may see a full account of it in *Philo* above-mentioned^r; and we shall see by-and-by, that those of *Judea* were like to have suffered as much from him, though they had such a powerful advocate as king *Agrippa* to intercede for them, had not *Caius's* death put an happy period to his impious project of being acknowledged as a deity.

WHILST these horrid cruelties were acting at *Alexandria*, *Agrippa*, who had left that city to get into his new kingdom, took care to acquaint the emperor with them, who dispatched *Bassus* immediately to seize that bloody governor, and bring him to *Rome*, where he was stripped of all his riches, banished *Flaccus's* into an island of the *Archipelago*, and at length put to death *cruelties* *punished.*

In the mean time *Herod Antipas*, who had formerly treated *Herod* *Agrippa* with such contempt, could not now behold his glory, *Antipas's* and his being in such favour with *Caligula*, without the deepest *ambition*, envy. His wife, an haughty woman, could not brook, that he should be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilst her brother was now raised to that of a king; and did not cease teasing him, till she made him take a journey to *Rome*,

^r In *Flaccum.*

and every to obtain the same title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her presence would greatly influence that monarch ; but *Agrippa*, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious designs, had taken care to send *Accused to* thither one of his freedmen, named *Fortunatus*, to accuse *Herod* of having had an hand in *Sejanus's* late conspiracy, and, as a proof of it, to mention the arsenals which he had filled with arms sufficient to furnish seventy thousand men. As soon therefore as *Herod* was entered into the presence of, and had paid his respects to, the emperor, *Fortunatus* presented him with *Agrippa's* letter. *Caius*, having read it, asked *Herod* whether he had really such a great reserve of arms. He was forced to confess it ; upon which he was stripped of his *Tetrarchy*, and sent into banishment to *Lions* in *France*. *Caius* understanding, however, that *Herodias* was *Agrippa's* sister, he offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the sums she had lent her brother ; but she refused his generosity, and, since she had been the cause of her husband's disgrace, she chose to accompany him, and to share the same fate with him (Q) ; upon which *Caius* gave both his tetrarchy, and all his treasure, to *Agrippa*, after *Herod* had enjoyed the former forty-three years^s.

A new storm raised against the Jews. In the mean time *Caius*, having taken it into his head to cause his statue to be set up in the very sanctuary of the temple, sent orders to *Petronius*, then governor of *Syria*, to see it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obstruction from the *Jews*. *Petronius*, who knew the zeal of these, as well as the impetuosity of his master, could not set about such a command without some dread ; and, to gain time, sent for the best statuaries and materials from distant parts, whilst he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. This last action having alarmed the nation, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received ; upon which he was addressed by all the heads of the *Jews*, who in the temple.

Year of Chr. 39. Year of *Caius's* statue or- dered to be reared in which he was addressed by all the heads of the *Jews*, who in the temple.

* *Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 9. Vid. & Dio, lib. lix. Pauso, ubi supra.*

(Q) *Josephus* tells us elsewhere, that he was banished into *Spain* (9), and that he died there ; so that he must either have fled thither afterwards, or, which is more likely, he was sent thither from *Lions*, when *Caius* and

Agrippa came to this last place, and made some stay in it. This was the *Herod* to whom Christ was brought before his death, and used with such extraordinary contempt (1).

(9) *Bell. Jud. I. ii. c. 26.*

(1) *I. a. xxii. 7, &c seq.*

the humblest manner assured him, that they would sooner hazard the loss of all that was dear to them, even their lives, *meekly* than suffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor *post* it strove to bring them into a compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their opposing, or of his not obeying, the emperor's command, and that their resistance would be interpreted as a downright rebellion. They answered him, that the prayers and sacrifices they offered daily for the emperor were a sufficient token of their loyalty. However, added they, we are so far from designing to rise in arms upon this occasion, that we will suffer ourselves to be butchered in the most cruel manner; and this will be all the resistance you will meet from us, if you go on with your design.

SOON after this, *Aristobulus* the brother of *Agrippa*, accompanied with some of the royal family, came to *Petronius*, ^{Ius inter-} and begged that they might have leave to try to mollify the ^{cedes for} emperor by an embassy, and that he would second it with a letter to that monarch in their behalf. *Petronius* at length consented to write to the emperor, but forbade them to send any embassy, or let their reluctance be so much as suspected at the *Roman* court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, thro' *Petronius* want of proper hands; and that the statue, which he designed *excuses* his should be a masterpiece of its kind, was not yet reared, because *delay*. he feared lest the taking so many men from their other labours, should bring a scarcity on the land, and lower the tribute; with such other reasons, which, instead of appeasing, greatly exasperated the emperor. He was just reading the letter, and in the height of his resentment, when king *Agrippa*, who was then *Agrippa at Rome*, came into his presence. He was greatly surprised to *address* see such a mixture of passions in his looks and gestures, and the emperor began to fear he had either offended, or been in some way *or in fit-* misrepresented to him; when *Caius*, who easily observed his *vour of the disorder*, broke the secret to him in words to this effect: Your Jews. Jewish subjects are strange creatures, to refuse to acknowlege me for a god, and to provoke my resentment against them: I had commanded the statue of *Jupiter* to be set up in their *Caius's re-* temple, and they have, it seems, opposed it, and raised a kind *proof to bim.* of universal insurrection.

At these words *Agrippa*, like one thunderstruck, after having in vain tried to keep himself up, fell into a swoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when, having taken a little *Agrippa's sustenance*, he set himself about writing to the emperor the *pathetic letter* which the reader may see at length in *Josephus*, and the *letter to him.*

⁴ *Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. ii. Vide & legat. ad Caium. substance*

*Strata-
gem to ob-
tain his
suit.*

substance of it in the note (R). *Caius*, instead of being moved at the king's concern, was rather the more exasperated against the *Jews*, and against him, for his concern for such an ungrateful race, as he called them, whom all his favours could not work into a compliance to his will. However, he began to relent, when he read the letter ; and *Agrippa*, who drew a good omen even from his not answering it, took the liberty to invite him to a sumptuous entertainment, which *Caius*, who really loved him, easily accepted. Here the *Jewish* king, having well warmed his guest with wine, began to extol the great and signal favours he had heaped upon him ; and, by his large encomiums, and expressions of gratitude, found means to get a fresh promise of whatever he should ask. To this

(R) He began with justifying the love he had expressed for his own country in their last interview, and to which he was bound, not only by the law of nature, but even by those of his own religion, he being descended from a race of such noble ancestors, as had, during a long series of successions, enjoyed the regal and pontifical dignity ; for so he really was by his grandmother *Mariamne*, the beloved wife of *Herod the Great*, who was of the race of the *Azmonean* princes, as we have often hinted in some former sections.

He went on with acquainting him, that he chose to intercede for his own nation in writing, rather than by word of mouth, as he thought it the most respectful way of the two ; and that the many signal favours he had received from him, gave him grounds to hope, that he should now obtain a favour, which would cost him nothing, but would be esteemed by the *Jews* as the greatest he could bestow on them : That *Jerusalem* could not but be thought worthy of his regard, since it was the first city of the east which had proclaimed him emperor, and offered up sacrifices

for him : That, as to the temple of that metropolis, it had been highly reverenced by *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and many others of his ancestors, for whose memory he professed a singular honour, and whose pious conduct, he hoped, he would imitate upon this occasion : That, as to himself, the greatest favours he had heaped upon him would only increase his unhappiness, if he did not think fit to grant him this last : That it was impossible for him to outlive the profanation of that sacred place, and the disgrace and ruin of his nation.

He concluded with reminding him, that he should be justly esteemed a traitor to both, if he should be wanting in using his utmost interest at this juncture ; and that the world would not fail to think him discarded of his imperial favour, if he did not succeed in a petition of this nature. This long and pathetic letter was immediately sealed, and sent to the emperor ; and *Agrippa* waited with the utmost impatience for an answer, but in vain ; *Caius*, though mollified by it, not vouchsafing to take the least notice of it to him.

Agrippa

Agrippa answered, Since it is your pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such an one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your head ; and that is, that you will lay aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*. This petition, which shewed not only the greatest disinterestedness, but also the most unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that, if his statue was not already set up, he should forbear doing it ; adding, that he had altered his design *Caius's* out of friendship to *Agrippa*. However, the lightness of his *orders* temper soon made him repent of his complaisance to him ; so *counter-manded*. that he designed to have made a second attempt, unknown to him. At the same time his resentment against *Petronius* being kindled afresh, he sent him an order to dispatch himself ; but *Caius* was assasinated time enough to prevent either mischief taking effect (S).

Agrippa, who was still at *Rome*, did not a little contribute *Agrippa's* to the succession of *Claudius* (T) ; in consideration of which, this *policy at last confirmed to him all Caligula's grants, gave him Judea, Rome.*

¶ Antiq. ubi supra. Sueton. in Caligul.

(S) During this interval, besides the raging persecution in *Alexandria*, there happened some others in other places, and upon other accounts, particularly in *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*. But we choose to refer our readers for them to *Josephus* (2), rather than swell this history with things that happened out of *Palestine*.

It will be sufficient to observe here, that, as the *Jews* in other parts withheld the preaching of the gospel, where-ever the apostles and primitive converts brought it, and with the same vehemence as those of *Palestine*, they seldom, if ever, failed sharing in their punishment.

(T) It must be owned, that the part which *Agrippa* acted in

this election between the new emperor and the senate, is not much to his honour, and was more becoming a consummate courtier than a king (3), as we shall see in the *Roman history*. But the wonder will cease, when we remember, that he had been brought up at that court, had spent most of his life there, and that the various vicissitudes his fortune had formerly led him through, would not suffer him to be over-nice at such a juncture, when his kingdom and all depended upon his securing the friendship of the next successor. In other things he really acted in a quite different character, as the sequel will shew.

(2) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 12. per sic supra citat.

(3) Vid. Joseph. & Dia. loc.

Claudius's *Samaria*, and the southern parts of *Idumea*, entered into a friendship solemn alliance with him, and made several edicts in favour to him. of the *Jews*. At his request, he gave likewise the kingdom of *Chalcis* to his brother *Herod*, who was also his son-in-law; *Agrippa* had the honours of the consulship, and *Herod* those of the praetorship, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the senate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in *Greek*, which was usually done in *Latin*^w. All these grants were engraven on copper, and set up in the capitol; thus was *Agrippa* raised to the height of glory, his territories extending to the farthest limits of his grandfather *Herod the Great*, and his power and credit with the senate being much greater than his, when at the highest pitch.

*Agrippa
comes to
Judaea.*

He returned soon after into his kingdom, where he shewed a more extraordinary attachment to the *Jewish* religion, than any of his predecessors, and began with the solemn performance of the vow of *Nazareat*^x; after which he caused the golden chain, which *Caius* had given him, to be hung up in one of the most conspicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to posterity of the instability of human affairs. He deposed *Theophilus* from the high-priesthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharas* the son of *Boethus*. He divested him of it soon after, to bestow it on *Jonathan* the son of *Annas*, who had already enjoyed it after *Caiaphas*; but he modestly refused it, telling the king, that he thought himself sufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother *Matthias*^y.

*His cha-
racter.*

*Year of
Christ 43.*

Agrippa was not only a zealous observer of the *Jewish* religion, but he was likewise an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generosity and clemency (U). He had been at an immense charge in building, beautifying, and fortifying, a new quarter on the north side of the city, which he called *Bezeiba*, or the new city, and in procuring the emperor's leave to surround it with a strong wall, which if he had obtained, would have rendered that metropolis impregnable. But *Vivius Marsus*, who had this year succeeded *Petronius* in the government of *Syria*, represented the danger of such a design, which had already been carried on to some forwardness, in such lively colours, that *Claudius* immediately sent him an order to desist.

UPON

^w *Antiq.* l. xix. c. 3, & 4. *Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 18. *Dio*, lib. lx. ^x *De hac vid.* vol. iii. p. 68, & seq. ^y *Antiq.* ubi supra, c. 5, 6, 7.

(U) So considerable was he, hours, that, in one of his progresses to *Tiberias*, he had no less than

UPON his return to *Jerusalem*, he deposed *Matthias* the son of *Annas* from the high-priesthood, and gave that dignity to *Elionaeus* the son of *Cithaeus*; and, as he was very fond of pleasing the Jewish nation, he began to persecute the Christians, who till then seem to have been very quiet at *Jerusalem* ever since St. *Paul's* conversion. The first who fell a victim to his popular zeal, was *James* surnamed *Boanerges*, ^{Beheads} James the ^{Def. greater} whom he caused to be beheaded (W). The pleasure which this action gave to the Jews, encouraged him to imprison *Peter* also, with a design to cut him off immediately after the feast, which was that of the passover, and fell on that year on the first of *April*, in the forty-fourth year after Christ. *Peter* was therefore strongly guarded, having four quaternions of soldiers at his prison-door, and being fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; whilst prayers were put up for him by all the Christians in and about *Jerusalem*, and obtained him a miraculous deliverance. For, on the very night before his designed martyrdom, an angel came and ^{Peter mi-} *raculously* awaked him out of a sound sleep, knocked off his fetters, *delivered*.

than five kings, who came to compliment him there. These were *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, *Sampsigeran* king of *Emesa*, *Cotis* king of *Lesser Armenia*, *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and *Herod* king of *Chalcis*. This meeting, however, gave *Marsus* such a jealousy, that he came thither himself; and, though *Agrippa* complimented him so far, as to go seven stades to meet him, yet that governor commanded them all to depart, and return to their respective kingdoms. This action so affronted the Jewish king, that he desired the emperor to recall him from his government, and easily obtained it; but *Claudius* died just before the orders had reached Syria (4).

As to his clemency and generosity, we have a signal instance of them in the case of one *Simon*, a surly fanatic lawyer, who had ventured to exclaim against him in a public assembly, as unfit to

enter into the court of the Israelites, because he was an Idumean by the father's side. The king, who was then at *Cæsarea*, only sent for him to the theatre, made him sit down by him, and, instead of reproofing his boldness, mildly asked him, whether there was any thing in him, or his actions, which he thought contrary to the Jewish law. This behaviour so mollified the man, that he answered him in the negative, approved of all he did (for *Agrippa* was very fond of those public shews), and in a submissive manner begged pardon for his former speech, which was readily granted to him (5).

(W) This was not the *James* whom we mentioned a little higher to have been a near relation of Christ, and on that account chosen bishop of *Jerusalem*, and was not martyred till many years after; but one of the sons of *Zebadee*, and brother of *John*.

(4) *Antiq. I. xix. c. 7.*

(5) *Ibid. ad fin.*

opened the prison-door, and led him safe through some of the streets of the city, and left him to go and seek for some safe asylum ; which he accordingly did, after he had gone and acquainted some of the brethren with his miraculous deliverance ^a.

SOON after this disappointment, *Agrippa* returned to *Cæsarea*, where he designed to have exhibited some public games in honour of *Claudius Cæsar* ; and was attended thither with a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre, in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sun-beams, darting upon the silver ground of it, were reflected with such an uncommon lustre, that the people beheld him with a kind of divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech

*Agrippa's magnifi-
cent ap-
pearance
at Cæsa-
rea.*
*Speech to
the Ty-
rians, &c.*

to the deputies of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who had been some time in disgrace with him, and were now come to beg his pardon, and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations. Here the ambassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court sycophants, as is usual in such cases, gave a great shout, crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man ; and added some gestures of a kind of adoration. The king, too sensible of the people's praise, approved, instead of checking, their impious flattery ; upon which the angel of the *Lord* smote him with a dreadful disease ^b, under which having lingered five days, he expired in all the misery that can be expressed or imagined (X). He left a son of the same name,

*Dreadful
death.*

who

^a *Acts* xii. per tot.
l. xix. c. 7.

^b *Ibid.* ver. 20, ad fin. *Antiq.*

(X) The sacred historian says, that he was eaten of worms (6) : and *Josephus*, that he was seized with such violent pains in his heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baseness of his flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind of divine immortality, who was now going to expire in all the torments and agonies of a miserable mortal.

The latter adds, that, whilst he was as yet in his prison, an

owl happened to perch over his head ; upon which a *German*, who was there bound with him, foretold him his future rise and happiness ; but bid him take notice, that the next time he saw that bird, it would prove ominous to him, and that he would live but five days after it ; which happened accordingly. For, whilst he was applauding himself with the shouts and compliments which the assembly were paying to him, on occasion of his oration, the same bird

Year of
Chr. 44.
~~~~~

who was then but seventeen years old, and had been brought up at *Rome*, and three daughters, *Berenice* married to *Herod*, and then sixteen years of age, and *Mariamne* and *Drusilla*, both young and unmarried, though contracted the former to *Julius Archelaus*, the son of *Gabrias*, and the latter to *Epiphanes* the son of *Antiochus* king of *Comugene*. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. *Claudius* was going to bestow the kingdom on his son, according to a former promise; but was dissuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be trusted with the care of such a nation; upon which *Judea* became *Judea* again a province of the empire, and *Cuspius Fadus* was sent <sup>made a</sup> governor of it, with this particular order, that he should act <sup>by Clau-</sup> nothing in concert with *Marsus*; that he should severely pu-<sup>dius.</sup>ish the inhabitants of *Cæfarea*, and *Sebaste* or *Samaria*, for the indignities they had offered to the memory of the late king (Y); and that he should send the troops that were kept in *Judea* away into *Pontus*. But he was soon after persuaded to let them abide still in the former, which proved a source of new troubles and miseries b. It was about this time that the famine foretold by *Agabus*, a Christian prophet c, began to *A famine* rage; against which the new churches planted at *Antioch*, and *in Judea*, other places, sent the believers at *Jerusalem* a liberal supply, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas*; whilst *Helen*, queen of *Adiabene*, is said to have relieved the *Jews*, and afterwards the Christians, in the pious and plentiful manner we have before related d.

*Fadus*, upon his arrival in *Judea*, was forced to suppress the banditti, who were by that time grown very numerous and powerful; and to quell an insurrection which the *Jews* had raised against the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, which was the same city with *Rabbah* the capital of the *Ammonites* e. In the mean time *Claudius*, having recalled *Marsus* out of re-

b Antiq. ubi supra. p. 167. &c not.

c Acts xi. 27, ad fin. e Antiq. l. xx. c. 1, & 2.

d Vol. x.

appeared over his head, perching upon a rope, from which he concluded, that his life and glory was at an end (7).

(Y) These ungrateful wretches, not contented with making the greatest rejoicings at *Agrippa's* death, and blackening his memory

with the vilest outrages, had pulled down the statues of his three daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried them into their public stews; where they prostituted them in such a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (8).

(7) Conf. antiqu. l. xviii. c. 8. & l. xix. c. viii.  
cap. 1.

(8) Antiq. lib. xx.

spect to the late king, had sent *Cassius Longinus* into that government, who came immediately to *Jerusalem*, and insisted upon the pontifical vestments being put into his possession, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortress of *Antonia*. The *Jews*, surprised at this new demand, begged leave that they Year of Chr. 45. might send a deputation to the emperor against it, and did not obtain it from that governor, till some of the heads of the nation had put their sons as hostages into his hands. But, upon the ambassadors applying to *Claudius*, in which they were backed by the young *Agrippa*, they obtained a grant, that those sacred robes should be kept in the possession of the high-priest, in the manner *Vitellius* had granted it six years before. At the same time *Herod* king of *Chalæs* obtained of that emperor the superintendency of both the temple and sacred treasury; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity; in pursuance of which, he deposed *Cantharas*, and raised *Joseph* the son of *Camu* to it. After *Herod's* death, young *Agrippa* obtained the same grant for himself, and enjoyed it till the time of the *Jewish war*.

DURING *Fadus'* government there arose a notable impostor, named *Theudas* (Z), who drew great numbers of the ~~an impostor causes an insurrection.~~ *Jews* after him, bidding them follow him beyond *Jordan*, and promising them, that he would divide the waters of that river, as *Joshua* had done, by his single word. *Cuspius* sent some troops of horse and foot against him and his followers, killed some of them, took others prisoners, and, amongst them, *Theudas* himself, whom he caused to be beheaded, and his head to be brought to *Jerusalem*. This, according to *Josephus*, is the most remarkable thing that happened during *Fadus'* government: he was soon after succeeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, an apostate *Jew* of sacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous *Philo*, often quoted in this *The sons of chapter h.* One of his first exploits was the crucifying *James* *Judas* *Ga-* and *Simon*, the sons of *Judas* surnamed *Galileus*, head of the *Gaulonitish* sect, spoken of in a former section; and about cified.

<sup>f</sup> *Antiq.* l. xx. c. 1, & 2.

<sup>g</sup> *Idem ibid.*

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.* c. 3. &

*bel. Jud.* l. ii. c. 11.

(Z) We must take care not to confound this *Theudas* of *Josephus* with another mentioned by St. *Luke*, and said to have appeared just after the death of *Herod the Great*, as has been taken notice

of in a former section (9); and is supposed to be the same with the son of *Ezechias* mentioned by *Josephus* under the name of *Judas*.

(9) See before, p. 522. & (N).

the same time Herod king of Chalcis, having deposed Joseph the son of Cami, gave the high-priesthood to Ananias the son of Zebdeus, and died soon after, in the eighth year of Claudius. That emperor gave his kingdom to young Agrippa, in prejudice of Aristobulus the eldest son of the deceased.

Ventidius Cumanus succeeded Alexander in the government Ventidius of Judæa, and it was in his time that those troubles began, <sup>sent gover-</sup> which ended in the ruin of the Jewish nation. The great <sup>nor</sup> of Ju- concourse of people, which their festivals brought to Jerusa- dæa. lem, obliged the Romans at such times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to prevent tumults. It was now the paslover, when one of the Roman soldiers upon duty had the Jews in- impudence to expose his nudity to open sight: this indignity <sup>sulted by a</sup> raised the resentment of the Jews to such an height, that Roman they went and complained of it to Cumanus, and in an info- soldier. lent manner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at first to appease them by fair means, but, finding them grow more tu- multuous, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; the sight of which alarmed them so, that they fled in the greatest Year of fright and confusion, insomuch that upwards of ten thousand Chr. 48. were stifled to death in their flight, by running over one another in the narrow passages that led to and from the temple. <sup>10000 of them kill- ed.</sup> The copies of Eusebius and St. Jerom say thirty thousand. Soon after this disaster, another happened in Samaria, where some Galilæan Jews, going to one of the feasts, were insulted, and one of them killed, and the rest went to complain to Cumanus against the Samaritans; but he, being bribed by these, refused to do them justice; upon which the matter was brought before Quadratus governor of Syria, who sent both parties to Rome, and Cumanus with them, to answer for themselves there (A). The Samaritans were cast, and condemned to die,

(A) They were all sent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Those among the Jews were Annas and Jonathan, who had been both high-priests, Annas the present pontiff, and his son the captain of the temple, or rather chief of the Levites, who were the keepers of it, with some others. Those of the Samaritans were likewise considerable persons, and these joined interest with Cumanus; but the

credit of young Agrippa at the Roman court easily turned the scales in favour of the Jews.

Those in Judæa had not met with so favourable a judge; and Quadratus, who had the power to try and condemn even the governors themselves, if he found them guilty, though he remitted the grand trial to Caesar's court, had caused a great number of the most stirring among them to be, some crucified, and others beheaded, besides those that had

*Samaritans severely punished.* die, *Cumanus* sent into banishment, and *Celer*, one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the same guilt, condemned to be dragged through the streets of *Jerusalem*, and then put to death <sup>i.</sup>

*Felix made procurator of Judea.*

*Year of Chr. 54.*

(*wave*)

*The sicarii*

In the year following *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in *Judea*, succeeded *Cumanus* in the government of it, under whom the Jewish affairs went still from bad to worse (B). The land swarmed with robbers and banditti, and within with false prophets, and pretended miracle-mongers, who were still blowing the coals of discontent and sedition; so that there passed scarcely a day in which there was not some dreadful execution made upon some of those miscreants <sup>k</sup>. To these we may join the *sicarii* or assassins (C), who committed the most horrid murders

<sup>i</sup> *Antiq. lib. xx. c. 4, & 5.  
1. ii. c. 12.*

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid. c. 6. Bell. Jud.*

been killed in the several engagements, especially in the canton of *Acrobotane* (1).

(B) *Josephus* says, that the Jewish nation, especially *Jonathan* the late high-priest, had de-fired him for their governor. He had been the year before chosen one of the judges by *Quadratus*, in the dispute between them and the *Samaritans*, and had perhaps ingratiated himself to them by his mild behaviour towards them; but, after he became their governor, he behaved like a tyrant. *Tacitus* says rightly of him (2), that he governed them with the arbitrariness of a monarch, and with the genius of a slave. He was the brother of *Pallas*, and therefore made no difficulty of committing the greatest oppressions and cruelties, till the flame broke out into an open rebellion, and ended in the most dreadful ruin and misery that ever nation felt.

(C) These were another sort of robbers, who came and mixed themselves among the crowds and assemblies, with short daggers under their cloaks, and stabbed all that came near them in open day, and then were the first to cry out murder! They not only, by this vile method, rid themselves of their enemies, but would hire themselves to murder any others for a small sum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public resort.

They are supposed to have been the spawn of the *Gaulonitiſſe* faction, which began near fifty years before, as we have seen in a former section (3); and, in spite of all the severities which the Romans made them feel, still kept up their seditious spirit, and daily increased in number. They were afterwards better known by the name of *zealots*, and under that specious title committed such

(1) *Antiq. l. xx. n. 5.  
supra, c. 6.*

(2) *Hist. l. v. c. 9. Conf. cum antiq. ubi  
(3) See before, p. 477, & seq.*

murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for committing their religion and liberties. Among the false prophets, and horridly pretended Saviours, by whom that infatuated nation was seduced, there was a signal one that came from Egypt, and had False Moses drawn above thirty thousand men after him, by the large promises he made to them of a speedy deliverance. He was, however, soon dispersed by the Roman troops ; but one was no sooner gone, but there started up another, so that the most violent remedies rather inflamed than asswaged their seditious disease. But Felix did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious rout alone, but on all others indiscriminately, whom his avarice or resentment marked out for destruction. This obliged the good old priest Jonathan, who had been most instrumental in procuring him the government, to expostulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. Felix at length, unable to bear his just censures, hired one Doras, a person in whom Jonathan put great confidence, to assassinate him ; which was accordingly done (D). This murder going unpunished, because the person who should have revenged it was the chief actor in it, proved the source of an infinite number of others, which were committed every-where, the temple not excepted ; and the Jewish chiefs, and even the pontiffs, made no scruple to hire the assassins above-mentioned, to rid themselves of any persons that were obnoxious to them<sup>1</sup>.

We have already taken notice, that Drusilla, Agrippa's daughter, had been contracted to Epiphanes ; but, he refusing the circumcision, her brother gave her to Azizus king of Emesa, who consented to that ceremony out of love to her, she being one of the finest women of that age. But, as her virtue was far enough below her beauty, Felix, who was become enamoured with her, easily persuaded her to forsake her husband, and to be married to him, tho' a pagan, and one of the worst Marries of that kind<sup>m</sup> (E). He was himself, perhaps, made more sensible

<sup>1</sup> Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 12.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. & seq.

unheard-of crimes, as hastened the total ruin of their city and nation. We have seen in a former volume (4), whence they pretended to derive their origin ; though, by their actions, one would rather think it came from hell, as we shall see in the sequel.

(D) It is impossible to guess

from Josephus, in what year this murder was committed ; only by his expressions it seems to have been done about the beginning of Felix's government (5).

(E) Her two sisters did not prove much more virtuous than she. Berenice the eldest, and formerly married to her uncle Herod

(4) See vol. iii. p. 135, (A).]

(5) Antig. ubi supra, c. 6.

*St. Paul brought before him.* sible of it than ever, when the apostle St. Paul was brought before him, and made that noble discourse on *justice, temperance, or chastity, and a judgment to come*; which threw him into such a fit of remorse and trembling, as made him cry

*Year of Christ 60.* out to him, *It is enough: go thy ways for this time; and, when I am more at leisure, I will send for thee* <sup>a</sup>. It proved, however, but of short duration. Felix afterwards sent for him indeed more than once; but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a desire of being made better acquainted with those important truths, which he had heard of him; so that, after near two years, finding himself disappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he chose to leave his prisoner in bonds, to ingratiate himself with the exasperated Jews <sup>b</sup>.

*Festus succeeds Felix.* He was accordingly succeeded by *Portius Festus*, who upon his coming found the nation in that distressed condition we have been speaking of; and, which was still worse, the very priesthood had begun a civil war among themselves ever since *Year of Christ 62.* the last year of *Felix's* government, the occasion of which seems to have been the frequent depositions of the pontiffs, and their pretensions after it to a greater share of the tythes than the inferior priests could afford them (F). *Agrippa* had

the

<sup>a</sup> *Acts xxiv. pass. & antiq. ubi supra, c. 7.*

<sup>b</sup> *Acts ubi supra, ad fin.*

king of *Chalcis*, being become a widow, was shrewdly suspected of holding an incestuous intercourse with her brother *Agrippa*. To suppress that suspicion, she married *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and of part of *Cilicia*; but she soon after broke off with him, and, by her loose behaviour, confirmed the reports that had been spread concerning her unlawful intrigues. Her husband, on the other hand, who had embraced judaism on her account, was no sooner forsaken by her, than he cast off her religion, and returned to his paganism.

*Mariamne* the youngest had been married betimes to *Archelaus*, the son of *Chelicias* or *El-*

*chias*, probably of the *Herodian* family; but she likewise forsook him to marry one *Demetrius*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, and one of the richest and most considerable of that city, and was then their *Ataburca* or chief (6).

(F) We have observed, in a former volume (7), that the *Levitites* were to gather in the tythes from the people, and to allot a tenth part of them to the priests. These allowed the high-priest a proportion of it suitable to his dignity, and divided the rest among themselves. When therefore the number of deposed pontiffs began to increase to such a degree, as to leave the inferior ones too small a quantity for their

(6) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5.*

(7) *Vol. iii. p. 61, &c seq.*

the year before deposed *Ananias*, and put *Ishmael* in his room : *A crux* there were still several more such discarded pontiffs alive, who *were* ~~were~~ all pretended to the same income of the tythes, which they *were* ~~were~~ enjoyed with that dignity, which must of course impoverish *priests*. the inferior sort, who therefore refused it to them. The *Horrid* rancour rose at length to such an height, that each party used *murders* to go along accompanied with a troop of the *sicarii*, and, committed upon every encounter, fell foul on each other, killing all that opposed them, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple sometimes, with blood. *Festus* was therefore *Festus's* forced to begin his government with the greatest severity, in *severity* order to suppress this treble butchery ; namely, that of the *against* priesthood against each other ; that of the seditious laity *against them*, and the *Romans*, and those that contentedly submitted to them ; *others*. and that of the banditti abroad, who infested the whole country, and robbed, plundered, and massacred every-where without mercy. The suppression of all these different parties, and the severe examples he made of their leaders, impostors, and of the most stirring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greatest part of his time and labour during his short government.

THREE days after his arrival in *Judea*, he went to *Jerusalem*, where *Ananias* the late high-priest, and the rest of the brought Jewish chiefs, came to demand justice against *Paul*, who was before still kept prisoner at *Cæsarea*. As soon, therefore, as he was *Festus*, returned thither, he caused him to be brought before him ; Year of Christ 62.

¶ *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6.*

~~~~~

fustenance, it bred a mutiny among them. The latter refusing them their competency, they sent their armed men to force it from them, to plunder their houses and barns, and to kill all that opposed them. This obliged them to hire the *sicarii* to repel force by force ; and those that could not stand thus in their own defence, were stripped of all they had, and left to starve.

Josephus says, that *Felix* had sent a good number of them in chains to *Rome*, to answer for their crimes, which yet he adds were of a light nature ; and

might therefore be some of this oppressed sort, who had armed themselves against the cruelty of those tyrants. He adds, that they were kept prisoners some years, till he came himself thither on purpose to procure their freedom, which he did by the interest of *Poppaea*, who was a lover of their nation, and was soon after married to the emperor *Nero*. He highly applauds the piety of those priests, who, says he, were content to live upon nuts and dry figs, rather than pollute themselves with the usual food of the gentiles (8).

(8) *In vita suo.*

and after a full hearing of both sides, especially of the prisoner's defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies still insisting that he was worthy of death, and *Festus* being willing to oblige them with a second trial at *Jerusalem*, *Paul* took hold on the privileges which the law gave him, to appeal to *Cæsar*, and prevent thereby the effects of their further malice. *Agrippa*, and his sister *Berennice*, being come to *Cæsarea* to compliment the new governor, and having expressed a desire of seeing this celebrated prisoner, *Festus*, who knew that prince to be thoroughly versed in the Jewish laws and customs, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here *Paul*, being permitted to speak for himself, made such a noble defence, that *Festus* acquitted him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning; whilst *Agrippa*, conscious of the truth and force of his reasoning, owned himself almost convinced by him; and, after some private conference with the governor, it was declared, that he might have been released, if he had not appealed to *Cæsar*.⁹

Agrippa displeases the Jews. Builds a palace to overlook the temple. In the mean time *Agrippa*, who came often to *Jerusalem*, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the superintendence given him after his uncle *Herod*, took it into his head to build himself a palace there, of such an height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The Jews were the more displeased at it, because *Festus* and the *Romans* would likewise come and take a view of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition-wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The Jews, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to *Rome*; and these, by the intercession of *Poppaea* (G), got a grant from the emperor for keeping up the wall. *Ishmael*, the then high-priest, being at the head of this embassy, was, for his laudable zeal, deposed by *Agrippa*, who bestowed that dignity on *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabbis*, the son of

Ishmael deposed.

⁹ *Acts xxv. & xxvi. pass.*

(G) *Josephus* highly commends that emperors piety; though, setting aside her love to the Jewish nation, she had not one virtue that could intitle her to this compliment. On the contrary, she was known to be a lewd princess, the promoter of a great number of murders, which she made her

husband commit on the greatest persons of the empire, and prevailed at length on that mad monarch to repudiate, banish, and at length put to death, his virtuous wife *Ostavia*, to marry her; as we shall see more at large in the *Roman history*.

the late pontiff *Cansharas*. *Josephus* adds, that *Poppæa* detained *Ishmael* and *Chelcias* as hostages at *Rome*¹.

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, *Nero* nominated *Albinus* to succeed him: in the mean time, *Agrrippa* succeeds having given the high-priesthood from *Cabbis* to *Ananus*, a *Festus* in proud sadducee, this last took that interval before the arrival *Judeæ* of the new prætor to call a council, and to have *James* the St. James apostle and bishop of *Jerusalem*, and some other Christians, *bishop* of condemned and stoned to death (H). Upon the governor's *Jerusalem* arrival at *Alexandria*, complaint was made to him of this *fined* presumptuous and unlawful step. *Albinus* resented it, and sent the new pontiff a very threatening letter; and *Agrrippa*, who feared the consequence of his anger, took care to depose him, and to put another in his room, to wit, *Tisus* the son of *Damneus*, before the governor was got to *Jerusalem*. *Judeæ* gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was such a cruel rapacious monster, that *Felix* and *Festus*, bad as they were, were honest men to him; and yet he was still, in one respect, better than his successor, in that he endeavoured, at least, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by some pretext or other.

His first care was to suppress the *sicarii*, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder *suppresses* than ever. He punished with the utmost severity as many as *the sicarii* came into his hands, and they only became the more impudent by it; insomuch that they ventured one night, during one of their feasts, to enter into the city, and to carry off *Eleazar* the son of *Ananias*, the late high-priest, who was secretary of the temple, and to send his father word, that they would not release him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their associates, whom *Albinus* kept in prison. *Ananias*, *Ananias*; who was a very opulent person, easily bribed with a round *ill-timed* sum the rapacious governor to consent to it; but his *complaisance* was attended with very bad consequences; being forced *sance*, still to redeem some near relation at the same price, as often as any of the banditti were got into the governor's hands².

¹ *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 7. ad fin.

² *Ibid. c. 8.*

(H) So says *Josephus*; but we have related the manner of his death, according to the testimony of some ancient writers, in a late note, to which we refer the reader.

This *Ananias* was the fifth son

of that *Ananus* or *Annas* mentioned by the evangelists, that had enjoyed the high-priesthood after their father; an honour and happiness that never happened to any but him, says that Jewish historian (g).

(g) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.*

Outrages. On the other hand, *Agrippa* having given the high-priesthood committed from *Jesus the son of Damneus* to *Jesus the son of Gamaliel*, by the two those two pontiffs got each of them a strong escort of armed rival pontiffs. those two pontiffs got each of them a strong escort of armed men, and committed the vilest outrages; not only against each other, but against the inferior sort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the lowest misery (1).

The disbanded workmen of the temple turn scurri.

ABOUT this time all the work of the temple being quite finished, and eighteen thousand hands at once discharged, as we observed in a former section¹, a proposal was made to that prince to employ them in taking down an old stately gallery of the temple, four hundred cubits high, which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it anew; but *Agrippa*, considering the expensiveness and length of the work, absolutely refused it, and told the Jewish chiefs, that they might employ those hands in paving the city with white stones; but that not being agreed to, the greatest part joined themselves with the banditti for fear of starving. *Albinus*, after a two years government, was recalled by *Nero*, and succeeded by *Gessius Florus*, the last and worst governor that ever *Judaea* had. *Josephus* seems at a loss for words bad enough to describe him by, or a monster to compare him to²; his rapines, cruelties, conniving for large sums with the banditti, and, in a word, his whole behaviour, were so open and barefaced, that he was looked upon by the Jews more like a bloody executioner sent to butcher, than as a magistrate to govern them. His design was to provoke them to such an open rebellion, as might either give him the brutish pleasure of seeing them destroy each other, or prevent his oppressions, murders, and other hellish works, being inquired into. He succeeded but too well in it; and a war was kindled accordingly, through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the Jewish na-

Gessius
Florus's
bloody go-
vernment.
Year of
Chr. 64.

¹ Pag. 430, & seq. (A).

² Antiq. ibid. c. 9. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(1) About this time the *Levites* and *fingers*, who, as we have formerly observed (1), had no particular dress to distinguish them from the laity, obtained leave of *Agrippa* to wear white robes like the priests, and some other privileges, which were contrary to the Jewish law, and did not

a little displease the better sort of the Jews, as well as the whole priesthood. *Agrippa* was likewise become odious to his subjects, on account of his high taxes on them, to support his extravagance, sumptuous building, public spectacles, games, and such-like profusions (2).

(1) Vol. iii. p. 87, & seq.

(2) Antiq. ubi sup. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1. 3.

sion. This great event, so plainly foretold by Christ, so Dreadfully punctually fulfilled, and so lively described and related by a *warning Jewish historian*, and an eye-witness, might well deserve a *to the larger place* in this chapter; but as it is so very well known, and Jews. abounds with such dreadful murders, cruelties, and other circumstances, fit only to fill a reader with horror, we shall content ourselves with giving some of the most remarkable strokes of it in the note, to avoid drawing this chapter to too great a length (K).

Judea being thus distracted within and without, and *Com-* groaning now more than ever under a tyrant, who openly *plaints* promoted those mischiefs he should have remedied; vast num- *made to* bers of *Jews* forsook it to seek an asylum among foreign na- *Cestius* tions, whilst those that staid behind applied themselves to *Gallus.* *Cestius Gallus*, the then governor of *Syria*, who was at *Year of Jerusalem* at the passover, and besought him to pity their wretched state, and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. *Florus*, who was present when these complaints were preferred against him, made a mere *jest* of them; and *Cestius*, instead of making a strict inquiry into his conduct, dismissed them with a bare promise, that *Florus* should behave better for the future; and set him-

Chr. 62.
~~~~~

(K) About four years before this dreadful war broke out, and about seven before the siege of *Jerusalem*, whilst the *Jews* still enjoyed some kind of peace, a country fellow, named *Jesus*, came to the feast of tabernacles, and was on a sudden seized with a kind of phrensy, as the *Jews* thought it, which made him cry out without ceasing; *Wo to the city! Wo to the temple!* A voice from the four corners, a voice against *Jerusalem*, a voice against the nation! &c. and in this lamentable tone he ran through all the streets of the city night and day; and on the sabbaths, and other festivals, was heard to speak those words louder, and in a more dismal tone, without ever losing his voice, or being hoarse with crying; and, what

was still more surprising, neither threats, nor the most severe punishments that could be inflicted on him, could make him desist, or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than those dreadful woes, till he saw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the siege of the city, when he cried out in a more dismal tone, *Wo also to myself!* and was in that instant killed by a stone thrown in by the besiegers (3). There were several more such prodigious warnings sent to that unhappy nation in the sequel, which, tho' all too little to bring them to a better mind, are sufficient to convince us, that God did not doom them to this dreadful destruction, till their impiety and hardness of heart had forced that severe punishment from him.

(3) *Bell. Jud.* l. vii. c. 12.

The number self about computing the number of *Jews* that were at *Jerusalem*, by that of the lambs which were offered at that feast, in order to send an account of it to *Nero*; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions five hundred and fifty-six thousand. *Josephus* thinks they rather amounted to three millions <sup>v.</sup>

*The cause and beginning* about the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been kept in suspense ever since the time of *Felix* (M), being at length decided in favour of the *Syrians*, the decree was no sooner brought to *Jerusalem*, but, as if it had been agreed, that this should be the Year of signal for a revolt, the *Jews* every-where resolved to take up arms; and thus began the fatal war in the second year of *Florus*'s government, in the twelfth of *Nero*'s reign, the seventeenth of that of *Agrippa*, and in the sixty-ninth year of Christ <sup>x.</sup> *Agrippa*, who was at this time at *Jerusalem* at the beginning of this revolt, strove in vain to asswage them by a long and elaborate speech, as well as by other proper means; they only listened to him, till he came to insult on their submitting to *Florus*, till a new governor could be obtained from *Rome*. This single proposal exasperated them to such a degree, insulted by that they began to pelt him with stones, and forced him to the *Jews*.

<sup>v</sup> Bell. Jud. I. ii. c. 13, & alib.  
& bell. Jud. I. ii. c. 14.

<sup>x</sup> Conf. antiqu. I. xx. c. ult.

(L) This computation could not be very certain, because, though none but *Jews* offered these lambs at the feast, yet those who had contracted any legal pollution were excluded from it. Besides, one lamb might serve for twenty persons, though never for less than ten. However, they took this last number for each lamb; and found that of the lambs to amount in the whole to two hundred and fifty-five thousand. But as, among the poor, one of them might serve for more than ten, and as far as for twenty, *Josephus* rightly guesses, that there must have been a much greater number of men, though, considering the bigness of the place, one would wonder how it

was possible for it to contain even that.

(M) This contest, in which the *Jews* maintained, that that city belonged to them, because it had been built by *Herod*; and the *Syrians* pretended, that it had been always esteemed a *Greek* city, since even that monarch had reared temples and statues in it; grew to such an height, that both parties came at last to blows, and took up arms against each other. *Felix*, at length, put an end to it for a time, by sending some of their chiefs of each nation to *Rome* to plead their cause before the emperor, where it hung in suspense till this time, when *Nero* decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. *Florus* beheld all this with inhuman pleasure, and without putting the least help to quell the sedition, though earnestly intreated to it by the *Jewish* heads. *Agrippa* sent them indeed three thousand men; but what could they now do against such an enraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil soon spread all over the kingdom; and though the *Jews* were every where the sufferers, yet did not their desperate rage abate in the least. Nothing was now to be seen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and quality, even down to the sucking babes. The *Jews*, on their part, neither spared *Syrians* nor *Romans*, but retaliated their cruelties where-ever *ribly* <sup>they</sup> got the better of them, for which vast numbers of their *secuted* peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode.

The *Cæsareans* fell suddenly on those of their city, and most *Horrid* sacred twenty thousand of them; two thousand were *mur.-slaught'ers* dered at *Ptolemais*, and fifty thousand at *Alexandria*. In a <sup>made of</sup> word, there was neither town nor city, where the pagans <sup>them in</sup> proved either stronger or quicker than they, where they did <sup>other</sup> not commit the same horrid butcheries. At *Jerusalem*, *Florus* <sup>places,</sup> caused his troops one day to go and plunder the high market, <sup>and at</sup> and to kill all they met; and they murdered accordingly three <sup>Jerusa-</sup> thousand five hundred persons, men, women, and children.

Among those that were brought prisoners to him, were some men of quality, and who had been even honoured with the *Roman* knighthood; yet this did not save them from his cruelty; on the contrary, he caused them to be whipped before his tribunal, and then crucified<sup>r</sup>.

*Berenice*, who had staid at *Jerusalem* after her brother, *Berenice* being bound there by a vow of *Nazareth* thirty days, spared *intercedes* neither prayers, messages, nor visits, to mollify the brutish *in vain*. *prætor*, till, at length, she was likely to have lost her life by *Florus's* it, and with great difficulty recovered her palace before his *brutishness* hellish instruments could reach her. Yet, not discouraged by <sup>to her.</sup> it, she went barefoot to him on the very next day, threw herself at the foot of his tribunal, and, in the most submissive terms, intreated him to put a stop to the shedding of so much blood. The brute did not so much as vouchsafe her the least token of common respect, so that she ran a second risk of being torn in pieces before she could get home<sup>s</sup>. This may serve to give a sketch of that governor's character, who, because he was depending on that of *Syria*, failed not to write to *Cestius*, and throw all the fault on the *Jews*, insomuch that this last knew not well which to believe, *Florus*, or *Agrippa*,

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. c. 15.

*Berenice,*

*Berenice*, and other considerable Jewish heads, who gave him a quite different account<sup>a</sup>.

*Thezealots*. In the mean time a great number of assassins having joined themselves to the seditious, beat the Romans out of the fortresses of *Maffada*, *Antonia*, and the towers of *Phasael*, *Mariamne*, and others; killing all that opposed them. They began next to set fire to the palaces of *Agrippa* and *Berenice*;

*Put all to fire and sword.* of the high-priest *Ananias*, and of his brother *Ezechias*; and these two last, who had hid themselves from their fury, being discovered, were murdered without mercy. *Menahem*, one

*Choose Menahem their chief.* of the sons of the late *Judas*, chief of the *Gaulonites*, had put himself at the head of the sicarii, who now called themselves zealots; and, being come to *Jerusalem*, was chosen chief of the seditious there; but was soon after massacred by

*Succeeded by Eleazar.* them, with a great number of his men. His nephew *Eleazar* succeeded him as chief of the zealots, and besieged the Romans so close in their castle, that they at length capitulated, to retire only with their lives; which being promised to them,

*Sythopolitans basely massacred.* he caused them all to be massacred on the spot, though it was on the sabbath<sup>b</sup>. This treachery was cruelly retaliated on the generous Jews of *Sythopolis*, or *Bethshean*, who had offered the Greeks of that city to stand by them against their brethren, who were besieging them. But their sincerity being unhappily suspected by their townsmen, these obliged them to retire into some neighbouring wood; where, on the third night, they came upon them, when they were asleep, and killed 13000 of them, and seized upon all their wealth<sup>c</sup> (N).

*Cestius marches against the revolters.* By this time the revolted Jews had carried their conquests beyond *Jordan*, and had taken the fortresses of *Machæron* and *Cyprus*; this last they rased to the ground, after having put all the Romans to the sword; so that *Cestius Gallus*, who had hitherto kept himself an idle spectator of all these mutual devastations, began to think it high time to bestir himself. He marched into *Judea* with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, massacred all the Jews he

<sup>a</sup> Cap. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 17, 18.

Cap. 19.

(N) It was on this dreadful occasion, that a considerable Jew, named *Simon*, who had signalized himself in the defence of *Sythopolis* against those of his own nation, observing what bloody returns the Greeks made them for their friendship, in a fit of rage

and despair, instead of standing in his own defence, fell on his father, mother, wife, and children, who clung round him, and killed every one of them; after which, getting on the heap of their dead bodies, he ran himself through with his own sword (4).

could come at, and came and encamped before *Gibeon* (O), about the feast of tabernacles. The people at *Jerusalem* no sooner heard of his approach, than they forsook the solemnity, and, though on the sabbath, armed themselves, and came Jews arm out against him with such fury, that they had, in all likelihood, *themselves* defeated him, had not his foot been timely succoured by his *against him* cavalry. He lost above five hundred men, and the Jews but twenty-two. The latter having seized all the passes round about, *Cestius* was forced to stay three days near *Bethoron*, where *Agrippa* joined him, and assisted him with his troops, his person, counsel, and good offices. He tried once more *Treacher-* to bring the Jews to some temper, by sending two of his *roux beba-* chief captains to offer them a pardon, and some terms of *vivour to* peace; but the revolters, instead of hearkening to their pro-*bim.* posals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who nar- Year of rowly escaped with his life. This base action, which was Christ 69. highly condemned by the more moderate Jews, caused a dis- fission between them, which *Cestius* failed not to improve, by sallying suddenly against them, and pursuing them almost up to *Jerusalem*. He staid three days at *Scopas*, a small mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent; and then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of *October*, and put them into such consternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. *Cestius* set fire to the former, and began himself to besiege the latter, and took up his head-quarters in the royal palace <sup>4</sup>.

HAD the governor vigorously pushed on the siege, it is likely he might have put an effectual end to the sedition; but that sinful nation was now reserved for greater evils; and the siege was on a sudden shamefully raised, at the instigation of *Cestius* some of *Cestius's* generals, whom *Florus* had corrupted; which *defeated*.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. c. 20, 21, & seqq.

(O) This city, the capital of the antient *Gibeonites* (5), was distant about fifty stades or seven little miles north of *Jerusalem*, and situate on an eminence, as its name properly imports (6). *Josephus* says elsewhere, it was but forty stades from that metropolis (7).

*Cestius's* army consisted of the

whole twelfth legion, two thousand men picked out of the other legions, six cohorts of foot, four of horse, besides three thousand horse and six thousand foot sent him by *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*, and four thousand from *Soemus*; in the whole about twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse.

(5) Vid. vol. ii. p. 204.  
(7) *Antiq. L.* vii. c. 20.

(6) *Joseph. ubi supra. Euseb. l.c. Hebr.*

*Escapes  
with loss.*

*Jews and  
Christians  
leave Je-  
rusalem.*

*Vespasian  
sent into  
Judaea.*

gave a new life to the seditious. They pursued him to his camp at *Gibeon*, harassing him in the rear, whilst those that kept the passes attacked him in flank. His army, in despair, not being able to move forward or backward, made the mountains echo with their hideous cries; and after a loss of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and of a great part of their baggage, being assisted by the intervening night on the eighth of *November*, happily got down through the narrow straits of *Bethoron*, and escaped<sup>e</sup>. The Jews, after this success against the Syrian governor, set themselves about the properst means to carry on the war against the Romans; and, choosing some of their bravest chiefs to command in the several cantons and fortresses of *Judaea*, *Josephus* the writer of these wars, a brave Jewish priest, of considerable rank, was appointed governor<sup>f</sup> of the two *Galilees*. *Joseph* the son of *Gorion*, and the high-priest *Ananus*, had the government of *Jerusalem*; and *Eleazar*, the chief of the revolters, that of *Idumea*; soon after which they departed to take care each of their particular commands. All this while there reigned such a dissension among the Jews, that great numbers of the better sort, foreseeing the sad effects of the Romans resentment, forsook the city, as men do a sinking vessel; and the Christians, mindful of their Saviour's warning (P), retired into *Pella*, a small city on the other side *Jordan*, in the tetrarchy of *Herod*, whither the war did not reach<sup>g</sup>.

WHILST the new-chosen governors were putting their respective cantons in the best posture of defence, the son of *Gorion* in repairing the fortifications of *Jerusalem*, *Josephus* in fortifying a vast number of places in the upper and lower *Galilee*, and raising of forces to the number of an hundred thousand, preparing arms and ammunition, and *Eleazar* was doing the same in *Idumea*; the news came to *Nero* of all these preparations, as well as of the ill success of *Cestius* against the Jews. *Vespasian*, who had already signalized himself in *Germany* and *Britain*, being then with the emperor in *Achaia*, was nominated to march with all speed against *Judaea* with a powerful army<sup>g</sup>. He came accordingly into *Syria*, gathered all his forces, and those of his auxiliaries, among whom

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. c. 23, 24.    <sup>f</sup> Ibid. c. 25, & seq.    <sup>g</sup> Lib. iii. c. 1.

(P) *Eusebius* assures us (8), upon the testimony of some ancient fathers, that God was pleased to direct them to this sight even before the beginning

of the war; and *Epiphanius* adds (9), by the ministry of an angel sent on purpose to the church of *Jerusalem*.

(8) *Hist. Eccl.* l. iii. & 5.

(9) *Harv.* 29, & seqq.

*Agrippa*

*Agrippa did not fail to meet him at the head of a considerable reinforcement of his own; whilst Titus was sent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from Alexandria into Judæa*<sup>b</sup>. It is likely, Cestius did not long outlive his disgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the Jews, elated at his defeat, if not also at his death, took it into their heads to go and besiege Ascalon. Antony, who commanded there, came out against them, and killed ten thousand of them; they made a second attempt, and were surprised in the way, and cut off to almost the same number. Niger, who headed the Jews, fled into a tower, to which Antony set fire, and, not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but, upon the Jews coming three days after to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had saved himself from the flames<sup>1</sup>.

Vespasian in the very beginning of the next year, having Vespasian sent Placidus to succour the inhabitants of Sephoris (Q) against the Jews, advanced towards Ptolemais with Agrippa; and was there joined by Titus at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter, and came much sooner than was expected. Their whole forces, of horse and foot, consisted now of upwards of sixty thousand men, all excellently disciplined, with which they entered Galilee, and, having burnt Gadara, were marching to besiege Jotapa. Josephus, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vigour forty-seven days, in spite of all the Roman efforts and valour. It was at length taken by assault about the beginning of July (R), and put to fire and sword; not one Jew escaped to carry the dreadful news, Vespasian. but they were all either murdered, or made prisoners. There

<sup>b</sup> Cap. 2, & 3.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. c. 1, & seq. pass.

(Q) We have already observed, that this city was the metropolis of Galilee, and was very considerable for its strength, situation, bigness, and opulence. It was now become obnoxious to the revolted Jews, by reason of its adherence to the Romans; so that it would have undergone a dreadful fate, had not Vespasian sent timely succours to it (1).

(R) The reader may see the strength of this place in Josephus (2), with the many other re-

markable particulars of this obstinate siege (3), wherein the Romans were terribly pestered by the valour and conduct of the besieged; and the general himself wounded in the heel (4). This stout resistance occasioned the great slaughter he made of them, and the vast disproportion between the number of the slain, and of the prisoners, the latter being in all probability only women and children.

(1) *Bell. Jud.* l. iii. c. 3.

(2) *Ubi supra*, c. 7.

(3) *Ibid. c. 8, ad 13.*

(4) *Ibid. c. 14.*

were reckoned forty thousand of the former, and but twelve hundred of the latter ; among whom was *Josephus*, who had hid himself in a deep cavern, but was at length discovered, and by *Vespasian's* generous offers and intreaties, though much against the consent of those *Jews* that were with him (8), went and surrendered himself prisoner to him. When he

*Josephus surrenders himself.*

*His speech to Vespasian.*

*Kept close prisoner.*

was brought before *Vespasian*, the whole army crouding about to see him, he was put under a guard, with a design to be sent to *Nero* ; which when the *Jewish* general understood, he desired to have the liberty to speak to him ; which being granted, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect : My message to you, being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the disposal of me as your prisoner, or sending me to the emperor ; and, as a *Jewish* commander, I should have preferred death to this surrender, had it not been to deliver his Divine commission to you. The interval between *Nero's* end, and your succeeding him, is so small, that I already look upon you as emperor ; and your son *Titus* as your happy successor. Keep me only as your prisoner ; and, if you find I have abused God's name in promising you from him the empire of the world, then punish me with the severest death. *Vespasian* took him at his word, used him with great respect and generosity ; but caused him to be kept close prisoner,

(8) This cavern was cut into the rock by the side of a well, and well stored with provision ; and there *Josephus* found forty of his own men. He went out the first night to see whether there was any possibility of escaping ; but, finding none, he resolved to abide there as long as he could. He was discovered on the third day by a woman ; and *Vespasian*, who had a great desire to see him, sent him two of his tribunes to promise him his life and friendship. Upon his refusal to surrender himself, he sent a third, named *Nicanor*, and an old acquaintance of his ; but he returning likewise without him, the *Romans* were for burning him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to resist any longer, he proposed to the rest to accept of *Vespasian's* generous offer ; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baseness, and threatened to kill him, if he presumed to stir out. He tried once more to remonstrate to them the unlawfulness of self-murder, which he saw them now fully bent upon ; he was forced at last to propose to them to draw lots, who should kill the next, and so on, till the last man ; which being agreed to by the rest, Providence so ordered it, that there were but two left, *Josephus*, and one more ; so that being loth either to kill him, or be killed by him, he at length persuaded him to a surrender, which was accordingly done (5).

Having a design to make some further use of him in his war against the Jews<sup>k</sup>. This prediction of the Jewish historian to the Roman general is likewise confirmed by *Suetonius*<sup>1</sup> and *Dio Cassius*<sup>m</sup>. Something like this, but with a more dreadful prospect to the Jews, *Lactantius* tells us<sup>n</sup>, had been foretold at *Rome* about the same time by the two great apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*; the substance of which the reader will find *of St. Peter and Paul* in the following note (T). As soon as the news of *Jotapa's* *Peter and Paul* being taken had reached *Jerusalem*, the Jews, who heard also, that *Josephus* had been killed in it, made the greatest mourning and lamentations for him for a whole month; but when they came to hear, that he had surrendered himself prisoner to the Romans, they, who had till then retained a singular esteem and regard for him, began now to look upon him as a base betrayer of his country, and to persecute him with the most irreconcileable hatred and disdain, of which they gave him many singular proofs, as we shall see in the sequel.

WHILST *Vespasian* was besieging *Jotapa*, *Trajan* (U) had

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. cap. 12, 13, & 14.

<sup>2</sup> In vit. *Vespas.*

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Lab. iv. c. 21. Vid. *Usser.* sub an. Chr. 67.

(T) That God should in a little time send a prince against the Jews, that should overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground: that, during the siege of it, they should pine with hunger and thirst, even to the eating of one another: that after it was taken, they should see their women grievously tormented before their eyes, their virgins deflowered, their young men torn asunder, and their babes dashed in pieces, themselves reduced to the lowest misery, their country wasted with fire and sword, and the whole nation banished out of their own land, because they had exalted themselves above the most glorious and approved Son of God.

These two apostles, according

to the records of both eastern and western churches, suffered martyrdom on the twenty-ninth of June, the last day of which month falls within the reign of *Nero* (6); and an antient father affirms, that the day of *St. Paul's* death was more certainly known than that of *Alexander the Great* (7); and *Dionysius* bishop of Corinth tells us, that *St. Peter* suffered death on the same day (8). *St. Paul* was beheaded; but *St. Peter* was, according to our Saviour's prediction (9), crucified, but with his head downward, at his own desire, and out of respect to his Divine Master (1).

(U) Probably the same, who was afterwards emperor, but at present only colonel of one of the legions.

(6) *Usser's annal.* sub an. Cbr. 67.

(8) *Ap. Euseb. eccl. hist.* l. ii. c. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *comes in Gen. tom. iii. Vid. Euseb. ubi supra,* l. iii. c. 1.

(7) *Homil. 26, in 2 Corintb. ap. evan.*

(9) *John xxi. 18, & seq.*

(1) *Orig.*

*Jot-pa, and other cities, taken.* been sent to form that of *Japha*, in the neighbourhood, and took it on the twentieth of *June*, but complimented young

*Titus* with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the last assault.

Upon their entering the place, the *Japhians* held out a bloody and obstinate street-fight during six whole hours ; but, being at length overpowered, all the men were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away prisoners<sup>o</sup>.

*Samaritans defeated.* A week after, the *Samaritans*, who had assembled upon mount *Garizzim*, with a design of defending themselves, having been closely blocked up by *Cerealis*, at the head of a *Roman* detachment, were ready to perish for want of water. Many of them suffered themselves to die with thirst ; and those who refused to surrender, were all butchered to a man<sup>p</sup>.

*Joppa taken.* *Joppa*, which had been lately laid waste by *Cestius*, being again repeopled by a great number of seditious *Jews*, who infested the countries about, *Vespasian* sent some troops to take it, which they soon achieved. Above four thousand *Jews* endeavouring to escape the massacre, by betaking themselves to their ships, a sudden tempest drove them back, so that they were all either drowned, or put to the sword. *Tarichea* and *Tiberias* were taken next (V) : the former of these, being situate on an eminence, and by the lake of *Genezareth*, was besieged by land and water, and made a desperate defence, till a dissension happened within ; which being overheard by *Titus*, who commanded at the siege, the town was taken by storm, and all the seditious condemned to die<sup>q</sup>.

*Galilee reduced.* AFTER the reduction of those two places, all the other cities of *Galilee* submitted themselves to the *Romans*, except those of *Gischala* and *Gamala*, and the mountain of *Itabyr* (W). Against *Gamala*, which was situate over-against *Tarichea*,

<sup>o</sup> Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 11.  
c. 15, & seq.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. c. 12.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

(V) These two cities belonged to *Jippa*, but had revolted ; the latter was divided ; some of the citizens, being for peace, were opposed by the seditious party. *Vespasian* sent some officers to persuade them to submit ; but they were driven back, and forced to flee for their lives ; for which he would have burnt the

city ; but the peaceable citizens having represented their case to *Agrippa*, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon (z).

(W) The same with *habor*, spoken of in a former volume (3), with a spacious plain near twenty fadles in square on the top, with a city of the same name upon it. The area was en-

(z) Bell. Jud. I. iii. c. 16.

(3) Vol. ii. p. 401, & seq.

compassed

riches, on the same lake, *Agrippa* having in vain carried on a siege of near seven months, the *Romans* were forced to come and assist him. He tried, however, by a set speech to persuade them to surrender, before they were reduced to greater straits. The only answer they made him was with stones *Agrippa* from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. *insulted* The *Romans*, provoked to behold the little regard which those *before Gamala* wretches paid to their monarch, made such a desperate assault *mala*. against them, that they had got possession of the town; but, *Romans* being inferior in number, they were soon driven out of it with *repulsed*. considerable loss. The assault was renewed with greater fury, and as obstinately opposed by the besieged, who put the *Roman* courage and strength to the severest proof they had as yet felt. At length three stout *Romans* having beaten down *The people* one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and *put to the sword* put all they met to the sword, to the number of four thousand. But a much greater number perished by their own hands, flinging themselves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means. During this siege *Placidus* was sent to *Itabyr* to take *Itabyr*, mentioned in the last note. He went, and *taken*, drew the *Jews* down into the plain by a pretended flight, faced about, and defeated them, and got possession of the mountain.<sup>r</sup>

AFTER this stout siege was over, *Vespasian* sent his son *Gischala* *Titus* to form that of *Gischala*; and this last, who was now besieged, beginning to relent at the great slaughter made at *Gamala*, earnestly exhorted them to prevent, by a timely surrender, involving themselves in the same fate. The citizens were inclinable enough to take his advice; but a seditious *crew* of that town, named *John*, the son of *Levi*, head of the faction, and a vile fellow, opposed it, and, having the mob at his beck, John of overawed the whole city. That day being the sabbath, this *Gischala* wretch begged of *Titus* to forbear hostilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but instead of that fled *over-reaches* to *Jerusalem*, where he committed an infinite deal of mischief. Titus. On the morrow the citizens came and surrendered themselves, *taken*.

<sup>r</sup> *Ibid. l. iv. c. 1, & seq.*

compassed with a large wall, built by *Josephus* in about forty days (4).

As for the town of *Sephoris*, which was extremely rich and strong, it never once rebelled

during all this war, but kept constant to their subjection to the *Romans*; so that *Gamala* and *Gischala* were the two last towns in Galilee to be reduced.

(4) *Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 2.*

and told the *Roman* general of *John's* flight, begging of him, that he would spare the guiltless, and punish the factious alone; which he readily consented to, and only sent some of his horse after the fugitives. But *John* had reached *Jerusalem*, before they could overtake him; they killed, however, near six thousand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thousand women and children prisoners. The taking and garisoning of this last place completed the conquest of *Galilee*, and *Titus* rejoined his father at *Cæsarea*, where they gave their troops some respite before they went to besiege *Jerusalem*.

*Two parties in Ju-*  
*dea.*

*A charac-*  
*ter of the*  
*zealots.*

THE Jewish nation by this time was divided into two very opposite parties: the one, foreseeing, that this war, if continued, must end in the total ruin of their country, were for putting an effectual end to it, by a speedy submission to the *Romans*: the other, which was the spawn of the *Gaulonitish* incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confusion, and cruelty, opposed all peaceable measures with an invincible obstinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, consisted of men of the vilest and most profigate character that ever history could parallel. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the most horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if *Josephus's* character of them may be credited, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men, who had any sense left of goodness and humanity (X). This obliged the contrary party to rite up likewise in arms in their

\* *Ibid. c. 4.*

(X) They covered, however, their hellish brutality with the specious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every-where, that it was offering the greatest dishonour to him, to submit to any earthly potentate, much more to *Romans* and heathens; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themselves under the strictest obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all

foreign authority, or perished in the attempt (5).

This dreadful dissension was not confined to *Jerusalem*, but had infected all the cities, towns, and villages of *Palaestina*. Even houses and families were so divided against each other, that, as our Saviour had expressly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (6), a man's greatest enemies were often those of his own family and household (7).

(5) *Bell. Jud. I. iv. c. 6. & I. v. c. 1, &c seq.  
Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 5, & seq.*

(6) *Mattb. xxiv. pass.  
(7) Mattb. x. 36. Luke xii. 52, & seq.*

own defence against those hell-hounds, from whom, however, they suffered unspeakably more, than they did even from the exasperated *Romans*, as we shall soon see.

THE zealots began to exercise their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and massacring all that opposed them in the coun-<sup>rid</sup>tries round about ; after which they easily entered *Jerusalem* *eries*, with *Zechariah* and *Eleazar* at their head. Here they were, Year of at first, strenuously opposed by the late high-priest *Ananus* Chr. 70. (Y), whose zeal upon this occasion *Josephus* highly com-<sup>~ ~</sup>mends. That pontiff made a pathetic speech to the people, <sup>persuaded by</sup> *the late* <sup>high-</sup>*priest*. exhorting them to take up arms against those factious villain<sup>s</sup>, who had by this time seized upon the temple, and made it their garison, from which they sallied out to commit the vilest outrages and butch<sup>ries</sup>. He easily persuaded them to follow his advice ; upon which they went and armed themselves, and returned in a strong body, and made a vigorous attack against them. The engagement was fierce and obstinate on both sides, and lasted a considerable time. At length, *Ananus* forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them closely besieged. We have lately taken notice of a vile demagogue, *John of Gischala*, who had fled lately from this last place to <sup>of</sup> *Jerusalem*, and was at the head of the seditious : this wretch, *enam'd* under pretence of taking the interest of the peaceable party, *treachery*, was actually betraying them to the zealots<sup>1</sup>. *Ananus*, not suspecting his treachery, sent him to offer the besieged some fair terms of accommodation ; instead of which, when he

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid. l. iv. c. 5, 6.*

(Y) He had been deposed about six years before, as we have already seen, and succeeded by several others. *Matthias* the son of *Theophilus* was now in that dignity, to which he had been raised a year or two before by king *Agrippa* (8) ; but the seditionists in the temple took it into their heads to choose another in his stead, which they did by casting lots first for the twenty-four classes, in which the twelfth was taken, and in that, upon one *Pbannias*, a man wholly unfit for it, and whom they were forced

to teach the manner of performing his office.

This unprecedented boldness, joined to their massacres, and other pollutions of the temple, and even of the very sanctuary, gave such offence, not to the priests only, but to all the religious *Jews*, that they fought from that time for some means of ridding themselves of their tyranny, while the zealots crew made a jest of them, and of every thing that was sacred, serious, or humane.

(8) *Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. ult.*

*In this the case to them, he peruated them to hold out, and call the Idumaeans to their assistance (Z)*

*Horrid  
butcheries  
committed*

ON that very night there happened such a dreadful storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a violent earthquake, that the zealots from within the inner court sawed the bolts and hinges of the temple-gates, without being heard, forced the guards of the besiegers, fallen into the city, and set in the Idumaeans<sup>u</sup>. These two parties, thus joined and strengthened, began to commit the most horrid butcheries on the opposite side. Barely to put them to any speedy death, was what they thought too mild a punishment, they must have the pleasure to murder them by inches, so that they made it now their diversion to put them to the most exquisite tortures that could be invented, neither could they be prevailed upon to dispatch them, till the violence of their torments had rendered them quite incapable of feeling them. Twelve thousand persons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave Ananus (A), and Jesus the son of Gamaliel, who had so nobly opposed them. Inward, the zealots fury and cruelty were grown to such an height, that the whole nation trembled at their very name, none dared be seen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their nearest relations, nor even to give them burial<sup>x</sup>.

THE Idumaeans at length inveighing against the massacring such numbers of worthy persons indiscriminately, the zealots began to set up a kind of court of judicature, to judge those they should think guilty, with some shew of justice. Zecha-

## ■ Cap 7

## ■ Lib v c 1.

(Z) They did so, and procured twenty thousand of them to come to their relief, but when these approached the metropolis, Ananus caused them entrance, and exhorted them in a civil and friendly manner to retire into their own country, at which they were so exasperated, that they accused him of being in the Roman interest, and just going to betray the city to them. They sat down before the walls for that day, threatening Ananus and Jesus the son of Gamaliel, another deposed high priest, in the

severest terms, if they did not open their gates to them (9)

(A) We have observed elsewhere, that he was the son of Annas mentioned in the gospel - it was he that caused St James to be cast down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other cases, he was a brave man, and the only person, almost, who had courage and conduct enough left to stem the tide, and to restore peace to the nation, and it was for this reason that the zealots cut him off.

(9) *Ibid. c 5, 6.*

*rāb* the son of *Baruch* (B) was one of the first who was brought before this mock court, which consisted of twenty-two persons. They brought a dismal catalogue of accusations against him, which he not only refuted with great ease and plainness, but reminded them of their own black and hellish crimes with such noble courage, and in such lively colours, that the consciousness of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at which the zealots were so exasperated, that *Zechariah* they murdered him on the spot, bidding him at the same time to h~~is~~ mur- take that solution at their hand, which would ~~privy~~ <sup>de</sup> ~~red~~ in surer to him than that of his judges, after which they *the temple*, drove these out of their seats, as persons unfit for their purpose (C)

(B) This brave and worthy person is by many Christian commentators supposed the same with the *Zebubiah* the son of *Barachiah*, said by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (1). It is, indeed, objected, that he speaks there of him, as of a person long since put to death, but it is replied, that he spoke prophetically, and according to the prophetic style, made use of the present for the future. And it must be owned, that unless these two historians speak of the same person, it will be difficult to find out the *Zebchariah* mentioned in the gospel, the last of those just persons, the shedding of whose blood was to fill up the measure of the *Jerusalem* iniquities; unless we suppose him, with Mr *Burke* and others, to be the same which is mentioned in the *Old Testament* (2), and is called there the son of *Jehorada* the priest, and was actually murdered in the temple by order of the ungrateful king *Joash*. However,

we shall not enter into the merit of the controversy, but refer our reader to those who have written upon it, and which the reader will find at the bottom of the page (3).

(C) They threw the body of *Zebubiah* out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the side of it, at the *Punias*, ashamed to act any longer in concert with such bloody atheists, retired into their own country, after having set at liberty two thousand prisoners, and left the zealot to reign in their crucifixes without any further assistance. From this time these bloody hell hounds, who were glad at heart to see their backs turned upon them, gave themselves a loose to all manner of barbarities, and as nothing rendered a man more dreadful to them than the bare suspicion of his being honest or virtuous, so they made the greatest havock among all who had the least pretence to that character (4).

(1) *Mattb.* xxiii. 36.

*C. not.* (Y).

(2) *✓ Cbrm* xxiv. 20, 21. *Se also vol.* iv. p. 147.

*C. not.* (Y).

(3) *Vid* *Gest Hamm Li Clerc*, *Benza*, *Tru L. de Dura*, &

*Fabrie Apocr.* *N. T.* *not.* in *Protruvang. Jacob.* *Calmet.* in *voc. Burk.* in *Maurib.*

*XXIII. 3., &c al.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

THEIR rage did not stop there ; but, after having butchered all the persons of any distinction or character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once seemed to oppose them ; to be inactive, was to be a spy on them ; not to applaud their vilest actions, was to be disaffected ; and to be either rich, or suspected to be so, or even having the misfortune of being disliked by them, was crime enough to deserve death<sup>x</sup>. This obliged many of the Jews to forsake Jerusalem, and take shelter under the Romans, though the gates and avenues of the city were so closely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire to them ; and as many as were caught doing so, were put to immediate death. All this while Vespasian, who was at Cæsarea, remained a kind of idle spectator afar off of the dismal condition of the Jewish nation. His officers, amazed at this so unusual infliction, took the liberty to remind him, what pity it was he should thus neglect the most favourable opportunity of making himself master of Jerusalem, and all Palestine. Vespasian, who had a longer head than they, soon made them sensible, that his continuing thus idle in Cæsarea was the most probable means of effecting the conquest they were speaking of, with the least difficulty, and hazard of his own troops ; since the Jewish strength dwindled daily more and more by their intestine broils and massacres, whilst his own men, after enjoying so long a respite, would be the better able to, crush them into submission or death<sup>y</sup>. Josephus mentions this speech of the Roman general as prophetic ; and, indeed, whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of Zecharia, will be apt to think, that he took his measures from them.

The zealots divided into two factions.

EVERY thing succeeded to his wish. The zealots, after having massacred, or driven away, the opposite party, began to turn their bloody swords against each other. John of Gischala, a wretch of unparalleled ambition, could not brook, that any should share the command with him ; and, in order to make himself absolute, drew the most profligate of the zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who opposed him with no small heat, made another faction ; so that they were ever either skirmishing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilst things went thus on from bad to worse in the city, there arose a new gang of sicarii in the country, who, having seized the strong fortress of Massada, made it their place of retreat. These plundered, burned, and massacred every-where, and carried their plunder into that place. They had at their head one Simon the son of Gories,

Simon  
head of  
the sicarii.  
iii.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. in fin.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. c. 2.

a bold,

a bold, ambitious young man, a native of *Gelasa*, who, to increase his party, caused a proclamation to be dispersed, in which he promised liberty to all the slaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen, that should come over to him. This stratagem had the desired effect; and he saw his party in a very little time swelled into a considerable army, and himself respected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many *Jews* of distinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themselves under his protection from the cruelty of the other parties<sup>2</sup>.

WHILST these things were transacting in *Judea*, *Nero*, Nero's having been declared an enemy to *Rome* by the senate, left death. both it and the world to avoid the more shameful punishment decreed against him<sup>1</sup>, as shall be further shewn in the *Roman history*. *Vespasian*, who was yet ignorant of it, and did not wholly credit *Josephus*'s prediction of his becoming emperor, was making great preparations against the revolted *Jews*, and for the siege of *Jerusalem*, whilst *Simon*, at the head of a great army, was making war against the *zealots*. These last, having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition *Simon* had got, in order to come and invest them, began to think it high time to try to disperse his forces by a vigorous sally. They did so, and were defeated, and put to flight; but *Simon*, not thinking himself strong enough yet to besiege *Jerusalem*, went to invade *Idumea*, with an army of Idumea twenty thousand men. The *Idumeans* marched against him invaded with twenty-five thousand, which was all they could get in by *Simon*. that short time. A fierce battle ensued, which lasted from morning till night, by which time it could scarcely be guessed which side had got the better. But *Simon* found means soon Betrayed after to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous to him. *Idumean* (D), who, having got the command of their forces,

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. c. 3, & seq.  
hist. l. i.

<sup>1</sup> Sueton. in Neron. c. 40. Tacit.

(D) This miscreant, whose name was *James*, was one of the *Idumean* chiefs, and was sent by the rest to reconnoitre the enemy, and know the number of their forces. He set out from the *Idumean* camp at *Oltura*, and privately agreed with *Simon* to deliver up the army and country to him, on condition he should

be treated with honour; which being promised, he returned to his camp, and there represented the enemy's army as vastly more numerous and strong than it really was; by which means he easily obtained the command, and compassed his treacherous design (5).

delivered them up to him, as had been agreed between them. *Put to fire* *Simon* put all to fire and sword, and, by the conquest of *and sword* that province, became more dreadful than ever to the zealots ; who from that time did not care to come out against him, but contented themselves with laying ambushes against him in all the passes ; in one of which they took his wife prisoner. They were on the sudden strangely elated at their success, not doubting but they should now easily force him to lay down his arms, in order to get her released to him. But it happened quite otherwise ; for *Simon* no sooner heard the news, than he posted with his army to the very gates of *Jerusalem*, where he committed such cruelties, and threatened the enemy into such a fright, that they were glad to send him his wife again ; after which he left them, to go and ruin the sad remains of *Idumea*. These miserable wretches, seeing the devastations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take shelter at *Jerusalem* ; but were pursued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis.

*John defeated by the Idumeans.* Thus *Simon* without, and *John* within, seemed to strive which should outdo the other in cruelties, and in the most unheard-of crimes ; whilst those that fell into either hands were sure to be butchered without mercy ; insomuch that there was now no safe place either in city or country. *John* had hitherto tyrannized within at the head of his blood-hounds with uncommon success, when the *Idumeans*, who were left in the city, and were of his party, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted against him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace (E), and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time, the people, having taken a notion, that he would sally out in the night, and set fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worse than the disease ; which was, to open the city-gates, and let in *Simon* with his troops, to oppose those of *John* and his zealots. *Matthias*, the then high-priest, against

b Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 7.

(E) This palace had, it seems, been built there by the princeps *Grapta*, cousin to *Izai*, king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have had occasion to speak in a former chapter (6).

As for the horrid crimes and

bestialities of the zealots within, as well as of *Simon* without, they are of so shocking a nature, that we shall pass them in silence. Those that can read them without horror may see them in the Jewish historian (7).

(6) See before, p. 164, & seq.

(7) Bell. Jud. c. 7, ad c. 9.

whom

whom these last had set up an obscure priest into that dignity, promoted the design, without troubling himself about the consequences, and was sent to acquaint *Simon* with it. *Simon* was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care now was to render his strength as great, and authority as absolute, as he could. To this end he looked indifferently on those that had invited him in, and those against whom he was called, and soon began to exert his authority against them equally, though the former had received him with great hours, and universal acclamations, as their future deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a *His horrid nature* to scare a wretch that had discarded all natural and *ingrat-civil virtues*, to abandon himself to the most monstrous *vi'es. tude*. He made, however, a bold assault against *John*, and his party; but, being as stoutly repulsed, he contented himself for the present with keeping them closely besieged in the temple<sup>c</sup>.

THE Romans, on the other hand, had not stood idle all Gadara this last year; but, being invited by the inhabitants of *Gadara*, *surren-* one of the strongest places on that side *Jordan*, had sent *Pla-* dered. *cidus* to take possession of it. He was forced to fight his way through several stout bodies of the factious, who opposed him. He killed about fifteen thousand of them, as they were en- *Factious* deavouring to pass that river, besides a great number of others, *Jews slain* whom he defeated at several encounters, and many more made by *Placi-* prisoners. In a word, *Placidus* bestirred himself so well, *dus.* that he soon reduced all that part of *Judea* which lies on the east-side of the *Jordan*, except the castle of *Macharon*. All this was done in the winter. In the beginning of the spring *Vespasian* marched out of *Casarea*, and penetrated near half *Idumea* of *Idumea*, plundering and burning every place he came *wasted*. through, except such as he thought expedient to leave with a *Roman* garrison, to keep the country in awe<sup>d</sup>.

SOME months before this time, *Vespasian* received the Galba suc- news of *Nero's* death, and of *Galba's* being chosen his suc- ceessor; upon which he immediately dispatched his son *Titus Nero*, to *Rome*, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his *and slain.* orders concerning the reduction of *Judea*. *Agrippa* desired to bear him company; but the winter not being quite over, and their ships being of a large bulk, they sailed so slowly, that they were got no farther than *Achaia*, when they re- ceived the news of *Galba's* being murdered, after a seven months reign, and *Otho's* being proclaimed in his room. *Otho pro-* *Agrippa* resolved to continue his voyage; but *Titus*, as by claimed. some divine impulse, was now come back to rejoin his father at *Casarea*, whither he was returned after his *Idumean* expe-

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid. c. 9.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid. c. 3.*

*dition.*

Year of dition<sup>e</sup>. They left Cæsarea on the fifth of June, and led Christ 72. their army towards Jerusalem, and took every place in their way thither, except Herodion, Machæron, and Massada, whilst Cerealis, one of their chief generals, with a considerable body of troops, was laying waste the upper Idumea.

WHILST Judæa was thus miserably torn with a foreign, and with their intestine wars, the Roman empire was in as bad a plight with their own. We shall not anticipate on the Roman history so far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Suetonius<sup>f</sup> compares Rome to a vessel tossed about by contrary winds, and ready at every Vespaſian moment to sink, when Vespaſian was happily chosen emperor, chosen em- and restored a calm to the empire. Josephus now reaped the peror. benefit of his former predictions; and that emperor, recalling Josephus them to mind, thought it high time now not only to give set at li- him his liberty, but recompence him for his faithfulness to him berty. with many signal favours<sup>g</sup> (F). As soon as Vespaſian had received the news, that his election had been confirmed at Rome, he left the best of his troops with his son Titus, with orders to go and besiege Jerusalem, and to destroy it utterly; after which he prepared himself to return to the capital of his empire.

*Three*. ALL this while the Jewish dissensions increased, and Elea-  
*factions in* *zar* the son of another Simon, a person of the sacerdotal order, Jeruſa- and of great sense and courage, found means to form a new lem. party, and to draw a considerable number of John of Gischala's

<sup>e</sup> TACIT. SUETON. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 8, & seq.  
<sup>f</sup> In vit. Vespaſ.      <sup>g</sup> Ubi supra, c. 12.

(F) Vespaſian was then at Be-  
rytus, where vast numbers of em-  
bassadors came crowding to com-  
pliment him on his election, and  
to offer him the usual crowns,  
and letters of submission. Here  
he held a grand council, wherein  
having highly extolled the cou-  
rage of the Jewish chief, he re-  
lated to them how he had fore-  
told his coming to the empire,  
even during Nero's life.

Titus, who was there present,  
and had conceived a great esteem  
for him, declared that it would  
be an action worthy his goodness

and justice to grant him his li-  
berty, to knock off his fetters,  
and to restore him to the rank  
and condition which he enjoyed  
before his captivity. It being  
the custom of the Romans to  
break the bonds of those who  
had been unjustly detained in  
them, Vespaſian approved his  
proposal, and caused it to be put  
in execution out of hand; and  
Josephus not only gained his li-  
berty by it, but got the reputa-  
tion of a prophet, and was in  
high credit in the Roman army  
ever after (8).

(8) Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 2.

men to him, under pretence that this last was become so in- *Eleazar makes a*  
human and tyrannical, that it was dangerous to let him lord *strong party*  
it any longer over them. With this new party he seized on *ty against*  
the court of the priests, and confined *John* in that of the *Israelites*. *Eleazar* kept the avenues *well guarded*, that *John*.  
none were admitted to come into that part of the temple,  
but those who came thither to offer sacrifices ; and it was by  
these offerings chiefly, that he maintained himself and his men.  
*John*, by this means, found himself hemmed in by two power-  
ful enemies, *Eleazar* above (G), and *Simon*, who was master  
of the city, below. He defended himself against the former  
by his engines (H), out of which he kept still throwing of  
stones into his court ; and when he fellied out against the  
latter, he set all on fire, where-ever he could reach, by which  
he destroyed great quantities of corn, and other provisions,  
with which they might otherwise have held out a siege several  
years. Thus were these three factions ever watching all ad-  
vantages against each other. *Simon* had the greatest number *Their con-*  
of troops, and a store of arms and provisions, his army con- *dition and*  
sisting of ten thousand zeelots, and five thousand *Idumeans* ; *advanta-*  
but he was the most disadvantageously situated of the three. *ges.*  
*John* had the advantage over him in this last respect, but had  
only six thousand men, and was forced to get provisions for  
them by his constant fallies. He was superior to *Eleazar* in

(G) We have formerly ob-  
served in our description of this  
stately building, that the inner-  
most court was raised consider-  
ably above the rest, having a ter-  
race and nineteen steps to ascend  
to the area of it (9).

(H) *John* had luckily found  
a great quantity of large cedar-  
trees, which king *Agrrippa* had  
caused to be brought from *Leba-  
nus* at a vast charge, to raise the  
temple twenty cubits higher than  
it was, or, perhaps, that part  
which we observed in the note  
last quoted, to have been sunk  
that number of cubits, through  
the weakness of the foundation ;  
but his project was set aside by  
reason of the war.

*John*, having possession of this

court, soon put the timber to  
other uses, and caused towers,  
and other engines, to be made  
with it, in order to besiege his  
competitor within ; and indeed  
he ceased not harassing him, but  
whilst he was forced to defend  
himself against *Simon*, who be-  
sieged him from without. The  
flight of steps and terrace, men-  
tioned in the last note, not per-  
mitting him to bring his towers  
near enough to the wall of the  
inner cincture, he was projecting  
to have removed them towards  
the western side, where the  
ground wa. all plain ; but Pro-  
vidence so ordered it, that *Titus*  
began the siege of the city be-  
fore he could compass it, which  
made him set his project aside.

(5) See before, p. 432, sub not.

number of men ; this last having but about two thousand four hundred. But he was more strongly situated, and was continually supplied with provisions, by the offerings which the people constantly brought to the temple, and which they often abused by luxury and drunkenness<sup>b</sup>.

*Titus's army and allies.*

THIS was the sad distracted state of *Jerusalem*, when *Titus* marched his army against it. He had, besides the three legions which had served under his father, the fifth legion, which had been so roughly handled by the *Jews* in *Cestius*'s time, and now burned with a desire of revenge. Besides these, *Agrrippa*, *Scoenus*, and *Antiochus* (the two former of whom accompanied him in person), and some allied cities, had furnished him with twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horse, besides vast multitudes of *Arabs*, and a choice number of persons of distinction from *Italy*, and other places, who came to signalize themselves under his standards. *Titus* ordered the fifth legion to take the road of *Emmaus*, the tenth that of *Jericho*, the other two legions marched after him in the order, which the reader will find in the following note<sup>i</sup> (I). It was now the beginning of *April*, and near the feast of the passover, to which there was a greater resort of *Jews* this year, than had ever been known, even from beyond the *Euphrates* (K).

*Titus,*

<sup>b</sup> *Bell. Jud.* I. vi. c. 1.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.* in fin. & cap. 2.

(I) *Josephus*, who was an eyewitness of it, because he was still ordered to follow the emperor, gives it us as follows (1) :

The auxiliaries marched first, and were followed by the pioneers, whose business it was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quartermasters, who marked out their encampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army, under a sufficient escort.

*Titus* came next, attended with his guard, and a select number of troops, followed by a body of horse, who marched just before the warlike engines ; and after these came the tribunes and

chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a chosen number of troops. Then appeared the *Roman eagle*, surrounded with the ensigns of the several legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets sounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file six in a front. Lastly, came the sutlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a strong guard of soldiers, which cloed the whole march. In this order they came to *Gophna*, which had a *Roman* garrison ; and on the next day to *Gibeath-saul*, about thirty stades, or three miles and an half from *Jerusalem*.

(K) The chiefs of the *Jews* in *Palestine* had written, it seems,

(r) *Ibid.* c. 1, in fin.

*Titus*, being advanced so near the city, went himself to reconnoitre its strength and avenues, attended only with six *against* Je-hundred horse ; he seemed even to flatter himself, that, upon rusalem. his first appearance, the peaceable part of the *Jews* would open the gates to him ; but, to his surprize, the factious made so sudden and vigorous a sally against him, that he found himself quite surrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, and cut off from his cavalry ; so that he had no other way left to escape their fury, but to make a desperate push, and break his way through them ; which he at length, almost by a mi-

to invite all their brethren, everywhere, not doubting but their presence, and great concourse, would contribute to quell the factious within, as well as oppose the *Romans* without ; so that they came flocking to this solemnity from all parts of the world.

But it seems as if they were directed thither by the hand of Providence to suffer the punishment of their sins, the bulk of the nation being there, as it were, shut up in a prison, to add to that of the destroying sword, the dreadful plagues of famine and pestilence, which shortly after devoured them. *Josephus* reckons eleven hundred thousand who died during the siege.

They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, courage, or any thing but experience, to make a brave defence ; but this they made up by their invincible obstinacy and despair. Their city was strongly situate by nature, surrounded with three stout walls, and many stately and strong towers. The first, or old wall, which, by reason of its vast thickness, was looked upon as impregnable, had sixty of these towers, very lofty, firm, and strong. The second had fourteen, and the third, eighty. The former of these, besides its

extraordinary height and thickness, was raised on an high and steep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and strong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty-three stades, or four thousand one hundred and twenty geometric paces, or near four of our miles.

Besides these vast fortifications, there were several other castles of extraordinary strength, such as those of *Hippicos*, *Ph'sel*, *Mariamne*, and *Antonia* ; to lay nothing of the royal, and some other stately and well-fortified palaces. The temple still exceeded all the rest in strength, both for situation, its wails, towers, and other buildings ; and was at least equal to the best citadels then in being (2). Yet how insufficient did all these, and the vast quantities of arms and ammunition, &c. prove, to save a nation, whom the Divine justice had doomed to the most dreadful destruction ! Well might *Titus*, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible strength of it, cry out, that God must certainly have fought for him, since no human power or strength was equal to that which they had now overcome.

(2) See *Josephus*, *ibid.* c. 6.

*Titus's narrow escape. Jerusalem besieged.*

racle, happily accomplished, even without receiving any wound, or losing more than two of his men<sup>L</sup>. After this narrow escape, he caused his army to draw nearer to *Sopas* within seven stades of the city, in order to besiege it in form, whilst the factious within were applauding themselves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future success. His legion, which had come by the way of *Jericho*, being arrived, he ordered it to encamp on the mount of *Olivet*, which was parted from the town on the east by the brook *Cedron*, and where they were on a sudden so furiously assaulted by the besieged, that they were in danger of being cut all in pieces, had not *Titus* come timely to their rescue (L).

*The three factions within united.*

*John's bloody stratagem.*

*He and Simon join last against the enemy, and then fight against each other.*

IT was then that the three factions, seeing themselves besieged by so powerful an army, and so brave a general, began to think of laying aside all private feuds, and join together in a vigorous defence against the common enemy. This union, however, proved but short-lived; for, on the fourteenth of *April*, which was ushering in the passover, when *Eleazar* had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourse that came thither to sacrifice, *John of Gischala* found means to slide in some of his men with swords hid under their cloaks among them, who immediately drew their weapons, fell on *Eleazar's* party, and the rest of the people, filled the court of the priests with blood, and horrid outrages, and took possession of the place. By this bloody and impious stratagem the three factions were reduced to two, *Eleazar's* men being all either cut off, or after their flight were returned with their chief, and had submitted themselves to *John*, who had now

no enemy but *Simon* within the walls. From that time this *Simon* joined last renewed his hostilities against him with greater vigour: he held now the whole temple, some of the out-parts of it, the enemy, and the valley of *Cedron*. *Simon* had the whole city to range and then in, in some part of which *John* had made such devastations, that they served them for a field of battle; from which they fell in unanimously against the common enemy, whenever

\* Ibid. ad fin.

(L) *Dio* adds to what we read in *Josephus*, that *Titus* had many such bloody encounters with the besieged under the walls, in which both sides fought so valiantly, that it was not easy to say which

had the better; but that the *Jews* were at length repulsed, and gave thereby an opportunity to the enemy to open the siege (3).

(3) *Lib. lxvi. Vid. &c. Tacit. hist. l. v. c. 11.*

occasions served ; after which they returned to their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the Romans. These, in the mean time, were drawing still nearer to the walls, having with great labour and pains leveled all the ground between Scopas and them, by pulling down all the houses and hedges, cutting down the trees, and even cleaving the rocks that stood in their way, from Scopas to the tomb of Herod, and Bethara, or the pool of serpents ; in which work so many hands were employed, that they finished it in four days<sup>1</sup>.

WHILST this work was doing, Titus sent the besieged *The siege* some offers of peace ; Josephus was pitched upon to be the *begin* in messenger of them ; but they were rejected with indignation. *form.* On the morrow they made a shew of accepting them, inasmuch that some of the Romans, believing them in earnest, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly escaped with their lives. He sent a second time *Offers of Niconor* and Josephus with fresh offers, and the former received a wound in his shoulder ; upon which Titus resolved *re-pece received*. to begin the assault in good earnest (M), and ordered his men to raise the suburbs, cut down all the trees, and use the materials to raise platforms against the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour ; the Romans began to play their engines against the city with all their might ; and it was by one of these that Jesus the son of Ananus, who had so long foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation, was killed<sup>m</sup>.

THE Jews had likewise their machines upon the walls, *The Jews* which they plied with uncommon fury : they had taken them *desperate* lately from Cestius, when he retired so shamefully from them ; *defence.* but they were so ignorant in their use, that they made little execution with them, till they were better instructed by some Roman deserters : till then, their chief success was rather owing to their frequent sallies ; but the Roman legions, who had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible

<sup>1</sup> Ibid cap. 7.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

(M) The place where Titus, after having taken a full view round the city, chose to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-priest Jabs, both because it stood on the lowest ground, and because the outer wall was low, and not defended

on that side by the middlemost, so that when the breach was made on the former, it was easy for them to penetrate to the latter, and so come up to, and make themselves masters of, the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortress Antonia.

*The first wall broken and entered.* havock. The least stones they threw were near an hundred weight ; and these they could throw the length of two fadom, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with such a force, that they could still do mischief on those that stood at some distance behind them. *Titus* had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrace above-mentioned ; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, greatly alarmed the *Roman* camp, who immediately ran to arms at the noise of it ; but *Titus*, upon knowing the cause, dismissed them, and caused it to be set up again. These towers, being platted with iron, the *Jews* tried in vain to set fire to them, but were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their shot ; by which the battering-rams were now at full liberty to play against the wall. A breach was soon made in it, at which the *Romans* entered ; and the *Jews*, abandoning this last inclosure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty-eighth of April, a fortnight after the beginning of the siege <sup>a</sup>.

*John's defence of the temple, &c.* John defended the temple, and the castle of *Antonia*, and *Simon* the rest of the city. *Titus* marched close to the second wall, and plied his battering-rams against it so furiously, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a prodigious shake. The men who were in it, made a signal to the *Romans*, as if they would surrender ; and, at the same time, sent *Simon* word to be ready to give them a warm reception. *Titus*, having discovered their stratagem, plied his work more furiously, whilst the *Jews* that were in the tower,

*The second wall taken.* set it on fire, and flung themselves into the flames. The tower being fallen, gave them an entrance into the second inclosure, five days after the gaining the first ; and *Titus*, who was bent on saving the city, would not suffer any part of the wall or streets to be demolished ; which left the breach and lanes so narrow, that when his men were furiously repulsed by *Simon*, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, so that there was a number of them killed in it. This oversight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with such vigour, that the place was carried four days after their first repulse <sup>b</sup>.

*Famine and pestilence.* THE famine, raging in a terrible manner in the city, was soon followed by a pestilence ; and as these two dreadful judgments increased, so did the rage of the factious, who, by their intestine feuds, had destroyed such quantities of provision, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the most unheard-of cruelty. They forced their houses, and, if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for

\* Ibid. c. 8, & 9.

• Ibid. c. 10.

not apprising them of it ; and, if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almost every-where the case, they put them to the most severe tortures, under pretence that they had some provision concealed <sup>b</sup>. I should, says Josephus, undertake an impossible task, were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of those impious wretches ; it will be sufficient to say, that I do not think, that since the creation any city ever suffered such dreadful calamities, or abounded with men so ferocious in all kind of wickedness <sup>c</sup>.

Titus, who knew their miserable condition, and was still willing to spare them, gave them four days to cool ; during which he caused his army to be mustered, and provisions to be distributed to them in sight of the Jews, who flocked upon the walls to see it ; and it is thought, that even the most flagitious among the zealots were so frightened at the sight of it, that they would have agreed to a surrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their black and horrid deeds made them quite despair of. Josephus was sent to speak Josephus's to them afresh, and to exhort them not to run themselves into speech to an inevitable ruin, by obstinately persisting in the defence of the besieged place, which could hold out but a very little while, and <sup>ed.</sup> which the Romans looked upon already as their own. The reader may see his elaborate and pathetic speech in the chapter last quoted, and which, he tells us, drew a flood of tears from him. His stubborn people, after many a bitter invective, began to dart their arrows at him : at which, not at all disengaged, he went on with greater vehemence ; but all the effect it wrought on them, was only that it prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the Romans, whilst the rest became only the more desperate and resolute to hold out to the last, in spite of Titus's merciful offers.

To hasten therefore their destined ruin, he caused the city *The city* to be surrounded with a strong wall, to prevent either their *immured*, receiving any succours or provision from abroad, or their escaping his resentment by flight (N). There was now nothing to be seen through the streets of *Jerusalem*, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above-ground, walking skeletons, and dying

<sup>b</sup> Cap. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. in fin.

(N) This wall, which was near forty stades, or five miles in circuit, was yet carried on with such speed, and by so many hands, that it was finished in

three days ; by which one may guess at the ardour of the besiegers to make themselves masters of the city (4).

(4) Ibid. c. 23.

wretches. As many as were caught by the *Romans* in their fallies, *Titus* caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to inject a terror among the rest ; but the zealots gave it out, that they were those who fled to him for protection ; which when *Titus* understood, he sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and asslire them, that he spared all that voluntarily came over to him ; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were closely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand<sup>1</sup>. A greater mischief than that was, that even

*Horrid butcheries within and without.* those, who escaped safe to the *Romans* camp, were miserably butchered by the soldiers, from a notion which these had taken, that they had swallowed great quantities of gold ; insomuch that two thousand of them were ripped up in one night, to

come at their supposed treasure<sup>2</sup>. When *Titus* was apprised of this barbarity, he would have condemned all those butchering wretches to death ; but they proved so numerous, that he was forced to spare them, and contented himself with sending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as should be suspected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, should be put to immediate death ; yet did not this deter many of them from it, only they did it more privately than before ; so greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection increased still more through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miseries and dying groans of their starving brethren the subject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the sheathing of their swords in sport on those poor wretches, under pretence of trying their sharpness.

*False prophets set up.* WHEN they found therefore, that neither their guards nor severities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourse to another stratagem equally impious and cruel ; which was, to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the despairing remains of the people to expect a speedy and miraculous deliverance ; and this imposture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We shall not so far disgust our readers, as to mention what miserable shifts these poor wretches made use of to prolong the sad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathsome under such circumstances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to support it<sup>3</sup> (O). It

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. c. 12, & seq.      <sup>2</sup> Cap. 15.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. I. vii. c. 7.

(O) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famished condition they were now reduced to. The poor, having nothing to trust

It was upon this sad and pinching juncture, that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating *Amother eats her own child.*  
her own child (P).

WHEN this news were spread through the city, the horror and consternation were as universal as they were inexpressible. It was then that they began to think themselves forsaken by the

trust to but the *Romans* mercy, or a speedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city ; and if in their flight, and wandering out for herbs, or any other sustenance, they fell into the hands of any of *Titus's* parties, sent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully scourged and crucified, if they made the least resistance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, tho' in the privatest manner, to give half, or all they were worth, for a measure of wheat, and the middling sort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into some private place in their houses, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much less to boil or bake it, lest the noise or smell should draw the rapacious zealots to come and tear it from them. Not that these were reduced to any real want of provisions, but they had a double end in this barbarous plunder ; to wit, the starving what they cruelly stiled all useless persons, and the keeping their own stores in reserve (5).

(P) This lady, whose name was *Miriam* or *Mary*, had taken refuge, with a vast number of others, in this accursed city, from the beginning of the war. As the famine increased, the factious zealots, who, as we observed before, lived now altogether

upon the plunder of the helpless, had often forced into her house, and carried off such provisions as she had been able to procure. She had often tried, either by prayers to prevail on them, or by the bitterest curses to provoke them to put an end to her miserable life ; those inhuman monsters still thought it too great a mercy to be granted to her. Filled at length with fury and despair, she snatches her sucking child from her bosom, cuts his throat, and broils him ; and, having satiated her present hunger, she hid the rest. The smell of it soon drew those voracious carrions again to her house ; they threatened to put her to the most excruciating tortures, if she did not discover her provision to them ; upon which she goes, and fetches them the sad relics of her mangled infant, and sets it before them, bids them eat heartily, and not be squeamish, since she, the once tender mother of it, had made no scruple to butcher, dress, and make a meal of it. At the sight of this horrid dish those bloody hell-hounds, who never had till then felt the least spark of remorse or humanity, were seized with such sudden dread, that they went off trembling out of the house, and left the astonished mother in full possession of her dismal fare (6).

(5) *Bell. Jud. ubi sup. c. 7, & seq.*

(6) *Ub. sup. c. 8.*



*The Jews now despair of the divine protection. Strophe.* Their fears were but too just ; since *Titus*, at the very first hearing of this inhuman deed, swore the total extirpation of the city and people. Since, said he, they have so often refused my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine, such a dreadful one especially, to plenty, I am determined to bury that cursed metropolis under its ruins, that the sun may never shoot his beams on a city where the mothers feed on the flesh of their children, and the fathers, no less guilty than they, choose to drive them to such extremities, rather than lay down their arms. In the like manner did that good-natured general expostulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he saw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, especially at the sight of such vast numbers of dead bodies, which, for want of burying room, they were forced to throw down from their walls into the adjacent valleys ; taking heaven to witness, that he was innocent of all those horrid calamities which that infatuated nation had brought upon themselves, and might have prevented by a timely submission " (Q).

*Fort Antonia taken.* THIS dreadful action happened about the end of July, by which time the Romans, having purified their attacks with fresh vigour, made themselves masters of the fortress *Antonia* ; which obliged the Jews to set fire to those stately galleries, which joined it to the temple, lest they should afford an easy passage to the besiegers into this last \*. About the same time *Titus*, with much difficulty, got materials (R) for raising new

\* Ibid. in fin.

\* Ibid. c. 5, & seq.

(Q) We have thus epitomized, at one view, what *Josephus* has scattered in several chapters of this and the foregoing book, of the dreadful effects of this famine, that it might not for the future interrupt the thread of the siege, and destruction of the city, temple, and nation, which we shall now hasten to bring to a conclusion.

All that needs be added to make up the sad account of this calamity, is, that even those,

who, at the hazard of their lives, got safe to the Romans, and were well received of them, did, for the generality, meet with their deaths in the plenty of provisions which they found there. Many of them expired with the meat in their mouths ; others fell into dropsies, and other distempers, or quite lost the use of their limbs.

(R) The greatest part of those that had served hitherto for the siege, were either consumed, or rendered unfit for service. The

suburb

new mounds and terraces, in order to hasten the siege, and save, if possible, the sad remains of that once glorious structure ; but his pity proved still worse and worse bestowed on those obstinate wretches, who only became the more furious and desperate by it. *Titus* at length caused fire to be set to *Gates* *set* to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which *on fire*. his men were repulsed with loss. The *Jews* were so terrified at it, that they suffered themselves to be devoured by the flames without putting an helping hand, either to extinguish them, or save themselves \*. About the same time, *Matthias* the high-priest, who had encouraged the people to introduce *Simon* into the city, met with a requital worthy of that monster of cruelty, being first tortured, and then condemned to *Matthias* death, together with three of his sons, the fourth having *had put to* pily conveyed himself out of reach. The pretence was, their *death*, holding correspondence with the *Romans* ; and the reverend old pontiff only begged as the last favour, that he might be put to death before his sons ; but was denied both that, and common burial. *Ananias* with about seventeen persons more, of rank and merit, were put to death after them ; besides many more for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. All this while *Josephus* did not cease exhorting them to surrender, to represent to them the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and to assure them, that it was out of his mere compassion to them, that he thus hazarded his own life to save theirs : he received one day such a wound *Josephus* in his head by a stone from the battlements, as laid him for *wounded* dead on the ground. The *Jews* fainted out immediately to have seized on his body ; but the *Romans* proved too quick and strong for them, and carried him off \* (S).

By

\* Cap. 9.

† Cap. 15.

\* Ibid.

suburbs, and adjacent parts of *Jerusalem*, which abounded with the most beautiful gardens, orchards, and greatest variety of fruit, and other trees, had been already stripped of all their ornaments for the same use, and were now reduced into a wilderness. *Titus* therefore could not carry on his works with the same speed and vigour, because he was forced to send his men far fresh timber, and other materials, at a great distance, even so far as

ninety stides, or between eleven and twelve miles off

(S) *Josephus*, by his own account, seems to have led but a sad life between the *Romans* and his own countrymen. These looked upon him as a vile apostate, a traitor to his God and country ; had imprisoned him (the Greek says, father, but the sequel shews it to have been his) mother, and made her suffer many hardships, and would have spared no cruelties against him, <sup>it</sup>

The temple plundered.

By this time the two factions within, but especially that of John, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul also on the treasury of the temple, whence John took a great quantity of golden utensils he found there, together with those magnificent gifts that had been presented to that sacred place by the Jewish kings, by *Augustus*, *Livia*, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own use. The repositories of the sacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reserved to accompany the usual sacrifices, were likewise seized upon, and turned into common use; and the last of this to such excess, as to make himself and his party drunk with it. All this while, not only the zealots, but many of the people, were still under such an infatuation, that though the fortress *Antonia* was lost, as we have hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the *Romans* were making ready to batter down, yet they could not persuade themselves, that God would suffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and were still expecting some sudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monster John, who commanded there, either seemed confident of it, or else endeavoured to make them

*The besieged still infatuated.* think him so. For, when *Josephus* was sent for the last time to upbraid his obstinately exposing that sacred building, and the miserable remains of God's people, to sudden and sure destruction; he only answered him with the bitterest invectives, adding, that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which

*Josephus's speech to ibem* he was sure could not be taken by any human force. *Josephus* in vain reminded him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple; and in particular of the seas of blood which he caused to be shed in both those sacred places,\* and which, he assured him from the old prophecies, were a certain sign and forerunner of their speedy surrender and destruction (T). John remained as inflexible, as if all the prophets

if they could have surprised him into their hands.

On the other side, the Roman officers looked upon him as a faithless wretch, who, under pretence of going to exhort the besieged to surrender, did what he could to encourage them to hold out to the last extremity; insomuch that several of them did not scruple to accuse him before

*Titus* of this double-dealing; but, happily for him, that general had conceived too good an opinion of him to harbour any such suspicion, and still vindicated him against his accusers (7).

(T) He alluded probably to the eleventh and following chapters of *Zecbary*, of which we have given some hint a little higher; or it may be perhaps, that he had

(7) *In vita sua.*

phets had assured him of a deliverance; which shews the bad effects of a judicial infatuation. However, a great number *Some of* the people were so moved by *Josephus's* discourse, that they *the besieged* fled presently after the *to Romans*, and amongst them some *ed escape* persons of rank and figure, particularly *Joseph* the son of *to the Ro-* *Cabbi*, and *Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, who had been both high-mans. priests. *Titus* gave them a gracious reception, and sent them to *Gophna*, a place situate between *Samaria* and *Lydda*, till the conclusion of the war; but he was forced to send for them back, to contradict a report, which the factious had cunningly spread, of their having been put to death <sup>a</sup>.

AT length *Titus*, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that *Titus* stately edifice, which he was still extremely desirous *to save*, *willing to* vouchsafed even himself to speak to them, and to persuade *save the* them to surrender. But the factious, looking upon this con-*temple*. descension as the effects of his fear, rather than generosity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to those extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer passage towards it through the castle *Antonia*, he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down, and leveled; which proved so very strong, that it took him up seven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of *July*.

IT was on the seventeenth day of that month, as all *Jose-* *The daily* *phus's* copies have it (U), that the daily sacrifice ceased for the *sacrifice* first interrupt-*ed*.

## Cap. 16.

an eye to the doom which Christ had pronounced against that murdering and apostate city, of which he saw the far greater part already accomplished enough to assure him of the rest. For, as we have elsewhere observed, it is scarcely to be supposed, but that such a man as *Josephus* had more than once conversed with some Christians, who might have apprised him of it, or, as an historian, he might have read it in *some* one of the gospels.

(U) A modern critic supposes an error to be in that date, and

that it was originally written the seventh or tenth of that month (8). But, besides that it is seventeen in all copies of *Josephus*, the *Jews* have kept their fast in memory of this cessation on that very day ever since (9)

This daily sacrifice, called by the *Jews* *Tillenom* *thamid*, by the *Greeks* *τύπλα χορυκά*, and by the *Latinis* *juge*, consisted of two lambs, the one of which was offered in the morning towards sun-rising, after the burning of the sacred incense, and the other in the evening, or, as the *He-*

(8) *Tillenom. nos. in ruin. Jud. 35.*  
fr. ult. *Maimon. Heltch Tabanit*, c. 5.

(9) *Vid. Mebillach Tabanit*, c. 12.  
*Bust. Jnag. Jud. c. 36.*

Romans  
out-wit-  
ted.

Last time, since its restoration by the brave Maccabitical chief, mentioned in a former section <sup>b</sup>, there being no proper person left in the temple to offer it up. *Titus* caused the fastings to be severely upbraided for it; exhorted *John* to set up whom he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple, and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the *Roman* troops <sup>c</sup>. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to set fire again to the gallery that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle *Antonia*. The *Jews*, as we have hinted before, had already burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze, which was likewise encouraged by the besieged, consumed about fourteen more; after which they beat down what remained standing. On the twenty-seventh of *July*, the *Jews*, having filled part of the western portico with combustible matter, made a kind of flight, upon which some of the forwardest of the *Romans* having scaled up to the top, the *Jews* set fire to it, which flamed with such sudden fury, that many of them were consumed in it, and the rest, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were crushed to death. *Artorius* was the only one who escaped, which he did by the stratagem mentioned in the note <sup>d</sup> (U).

*Fire set to the temple gates.* On the very next day, *Titus* having set fire to the north gallery, which inclosed the outer court of the temple, from fort *Antonia* to the valley of *Cedron*, got an easy admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 283.  
lib. vii. c. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Bell. Jud. I. vii. c. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

*brou* hath it, between the two evenings, that is, between three in the afternoon, and sun-setting. It was a burnt-offering, and was therefore set on a slow fire, that it might be the longer a burning. We have spoken of it in a former volume (1), to which we refer.

All that we need to add is, that, if the *Jews* have appointed their fasts right, the ceasing of it here was on the same day on which *Mosai* books the two

tables, the city of *Jerusalem* was destroyed, the book of the law burnt by *Aphisthanos* (*Epiphemus*, or *Antiochus Epiphanes*), and the statue of *Jupiter* set up in the temple, as the reader may see in the three authors last quoted.

(U) This soldier observing one of his companions below, named *Lucius*, promised to make him his heir, if he would catch him in his fall. He did so, and saved *Artorius*, but was himself crushed by his weight (2).

(1) See vol. III. p. 55, &c seq. p. 64, &c (N). (2) Bell. ibid. lib. vii. c. 6.

tried in vain six days to batter down one of the galleries of that precinct with an helepolis (W) : he was forced to mount his battering-rams on the terrace, which was raised by this time ; and yet the strength of this wall was such, that it eluded the force of these also, though others of his troops were busy in sapping it. When they found, that neither rams nor sapping could gain ground, they bethought themselves of scaling ; but were vigorously repulsed in the attempt, with the loss of some standards, and a number of men. When *Titus* therefore found, that his desire of saving that building was like to cost so many lives, he set fire to the gates, which, being plated with silver, burnt all that night, whilst the metal dropped down in the melting. The flame soon communicated itself to the porticos and galleries, which the besieged beheld without offering to stop it, but contented themselves with sending whole volleys of impotent curses against the *Romans*. This was done on the eighth of *August*, and on the next day, *Titus*, having given orders to extinguish the fire, called a council, to determine, whether the remainder of the *Titus* temple (X) should be saved or demolished. That general was *calls a* still for the former, and most of the rest declared for the latter ; *council.* and alleged, that it was no longer a temple, but a scene of war and slaughter, and that the *Jews* would never be at rest, as long as any part of it was left standing ; but, when they found *Titus* stiffly bent on preserving so noble an edifice, against which, he told them, he could have no quarrel, they all came over to his mind. The next day, *August* the 10th, was there- *Jews re-* fore determined for a general assault ; and the night before the *pulsel.* *Jews* made two desperate sallies on the *Romans* ; in the last of which, these, being timely succoured by *Titus*, beat them back into their inclosure<sup>a</sup>.

BUT whether this last *Jewish* effort exasperated the besiegers, *The temple* or, which is more likely, as *Josephus* thinks, pushed by the hand *set on fire* of Providence, one of the *Roman* soldiers, of his own accord, took up a blazing fire-brand, and, getting on his comrade's shoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that surrounded the

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid. c. 9, & 10.*

(W) This was a kind of battering engine : its name signifies a town-taker. We have described it in a former volume (3).

(X) That is, the sanctuary, and most holy place, with all the chambers, galleries, &c. thereto belonging, as the reader may see

them described in a former section. Among those who were for destroying it, was *Tiberius Alexander*, probably the same apostate *Jew*, who had been praetor of *Judea*, and was now commander of the *Roman* legions.

(3) See vol. viii. p. 175, &c seq.

sanctuary, through a window, and immediately set the whole north-side on a flame up to the third story, in the second year of *Vespasian*, the twenty-first of king *Agrrippa*, and on the same fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by *Nabuchadnezzar*<sup>f</sup>. *Titus*, who was gone to rest himself awhile in his pavilion, was awaked at the noise, and ran immediately to give orders to have the fire extinguished. He called, prayed, threatened, and even caned his men, but in vain; the confusion was so great, and the soldiers so obstinately bent upon destroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded. Those that flocked thither from the camp, instead of obeying his orders, were busy, either in killing the *Jews*, or in increasing the flames. When *Titus* observed, that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the sanctuary, and the most holy place, in which he found still such rich and sumptuous utensils, and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tissue; but in the latter he found no utensils, because, in all probability, they had not made a fresh ark, since that of *Solomon* had been lost. Upon his coming out of that sacred place, some other soldiers set fire to it, and obliged those that had staid behind to come out; they all fell foul on the plunder of it, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber-work, and carried off all the costly utensils, robes, &c. they found in it, insomuch that there was not one of them that did not enrich himself by it.<sup>g</sup>

*An horrid massacre.* AN horrid massacre followed soon after, in which a great many thousands perished; some by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's sword, which destroy'd all it met with, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. Among them were upwards of six thousand persons, who had been seduced thither by a false prophet, who promised them, that they should find a speedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themselves on the general's mercy; but were answered, that they had out-staid the time, and were led to execution (Y). They carried their fury to the burning of all

<sup>f</sup> Conf. 2 Kings xxv. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. c. 9, in fin. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. & seq.

(Y) Probably to be crucified; in his return from *Tecoa*, he for *Josephus* tells us there, that, observed a number of them ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> been

all the treasure-houses of the place, though they were full of *the treasure*-  
the richest furniture, plate, vestments, and other things of *sure house*  
value, which had been laid up in those places for security. *burnt.*  
In a word, they did not cease burning and butchering, till  
they had destroyed all, except two of the temple-gates, and  
that part of the court which was destined for the women h.  
In memory of this destruction, and of that of Nebuchadnezzar, they keep a solemn fast on the ninth of the month *Ab*, *fast kept*  
answering, in part, to our *August*, which lasts full twenty-*on this day.*  
four hours; during which time they neither eat, drink, or  
use the least refreshment; but the strictest of them keep them-  
selves barefoot, in prayers and tears, from sun-setting to the  
next sun-set<sup>1</sup>.

In the mean time the seditious having made such a vigorous *The factious*  
push, that they escaped the fury of the *Romans*, at least for *ous d'fire*  
the present, and retired into the city, they found all the ave-*a party.*  
nues of it so well guarded every-where, that there was no  
possibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to se-  
cure themselves as well as they could on the south-side of it,  
from whence *Simon*, and *John of Gischala*, sent to desire a  
*party with Titus*. They were answered, that though they  
had been the cause of all this bloodshed and ruin, yet they  
should have their lives spared, if they laid down their arms,  
and surrendered themselves prisoners. To that they replied, *Their*  
that they had engaged themselves, by the most solemn oaths, *desperate*  
never to surrender; and therefore only begged leave to retire *resolution*:  
into the mountains with their wives and children: which in-  
solence so exasperated the *Roman* general, that he caused an  
herald to bid them stand to their defence; for that not one  
of them should be sparcd, since they had rejected his last  
offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the  
city to the fury of his soldiers, who fell forthwith on plun-  
dering it, setting fire every-where, and murdering all that  
fell into their hands (*Z*); whilst the factious, who were left,  
went

\* De hac vid. supra, 433, sub not <sup>1</sup> Vid. *Mehillath Tahanith*,  
sub. mens. *Ab*. MAIMON, BUXTORF, & al. sup. citat.

ened each to a cross, and still  
alive; among whom were three  
of his acquaintance, whose lives  
he obtained of *Titus*, and ordered  
them immediately to be taken  
down, and their wounds to be  
put under the care of able sur-

geons. He adds, that only one  
of them outlived it; the other  
two died under their physicians  
hands.

(Z) *Josephus* tells us (4), how-  
ever, that he spared the family  
of *Iscates* king of *Adiabene*, of

(4) *In vita sua.*

whom,

went and fortified themselves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thousand Jews, who had taken refuge there<sup>1</sup>.

*The high city taken.* In the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, especially on the royal palace; and this took them up from the twentieth of August to the seventh of September; during which time great numbers came and made their submission to Titus; among whom were the forty thousand citizens mentioned in the last note, some of the Edomites, and two priests, who, upon promise of being spared, discovered to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candlesticks, some tables, cups, and other vessels of massy gold, with many precious stones, rich garments, and other costly things. By this time the warlike engines played so furiously on the factious, that they were taken with a sudden panic; and, instead of fleeing

*Year of Christ 73.* into the towers of Hippicos, Phasael, or Mariamne, which could have reduced them, they ran like madmen towards Siloah, with a design to have attacked the wall of circumvallation, and to have escaped out of the city; but, being there repulsed, they were forced to go and hide themselves in the public finks, and common sewers, some one way, and some another. All the rest the Romans could find were put to the sword, and the city was set on fire. This was on the eighth of September, when the city was taken and entered

\* Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 13.

whom we have already spoken, with several other persons of distinction, who came and surrendered themselves to his mercy; but he kept them still prisoners.

He likewise dismissed above forty thousand of the inferior sort, who came and implored his pardon, and gave them leave to go and settle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themselves with so much blood, that the streams, which ran along the streets, did even put the fire out. And as for the prisoners, they were so very numerous already,

that they could not find buyers for them, tho' they offered them at the lowest prices (5); so that one would have thought it high time for a prince of that excellent character to have wreaked his fury only on the factious zealots, and to have spared the rest. But, in all this, he was acting more like a scourge sent from above against a rebellious nation, than according to his own natural inclination; and it is what he rightly acknowledged, when his army congratulated him on this arduous and glorious conquest (6).

(5) Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 15.  
c. 14.

(6) Vid. Philost. in sit. Apollon.

by Titus. He would have put an end to the massacre ; but his men killed all, except the most vigorous, whom they flung up in the porch of the women, just mentioned. Fronto, who had the care of them, reserved the youngest, and most beautiful, for Titus's triumph ; and sent all that were above seventeen years of age into Egypt, to be employed in some public works there ; and a great number of others were sent into Egypt, several cities of Syria, and other provinces, to be exposed on &c. the public theatres, to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beasts<sup>1</sup>. The number of those prisoners amounted to ninety-seven thousand, besides about eleven thousand more of others, who were either starved through neglect, or starved themselves through sullenness and despair (A).

We have already had occasion to mention the number of the slain, as well as of the prisoners, according to Josephus. Suetonius and Cornelius Nepos indeed make the former a great deal less ; they reckon but six hundred thousand of them in all, but considering the distance of time and place, in which they wrote, it will be easily granted, that they could not be so well acquainted with it as Josephus, who was a Jew, and an eye-witness. Whether this last had exaggerated it in compliment to Titus and the Romans, we will not pretend to say. A curious author has since taken the pains to make a fresh computation out of him, of all that perished in the several places throughout that kingdom, and out of it, from the beginning to the conclusion of the war<sup>m</sup> ; in which we believe our readers will be glad to see the whole amount of the several bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows :

At Jerusalem, by Florus's orders	630	Jews kill-
By the inhabitants of Cæsarea in hatred to the Jews	20,000	ed in and
At Scythopolis in Syria	30,000	out of Ju-
By the inhabitants of Ascalon in Palestine	2,500	dæa.
By those of Ptolemais	2,000	
At Alexandria in Egypt, under Alexander, an apo-	50,000	
state Jew		
At Damascus	10,000	

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. c. 16, & 17.

<sup>m</sup> JUSTUS LEPROSUS de constantia,

lib. ii. c. 21.

(A) Josephus was by this time in such high favour with Titus, that he obtained the liberty of several of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother Matthias, without any

ransom. That emperor had likewise given him leave to save what he thought fit out of the ruins of the city and temple, but he contented himself with the volume of the sacred writings.

At the taking of <i>Joppa</i>	8,400
In the mountain of <i>Cabul</i>	2,000
In a fight at <i>Ascalon</i>	10,000
In an ambush	8,000
At the taking of <i>Ashak</i>	15,000
Upon mount <i>Garizim</i>	11,600
Drowned at <i>Joppa</i> by a sudden storm	4,200
Slain at <i>Tarichæa</i>	6,500
Slain, or killed themselves at <i>Gamala</i> , where none were saved but two sisters	9,000
Killed in their flight from <i>Gischala</i>	2,000
At the siege of <i>Jotapa</i> , where <i>Josephus</i> commanded	30,000
Of the <i>Gadarenes</i> , besides vast numbers that drowned themselves	13,000
In the villages of <i>Idumea</i>	10,000
At <i>Gerasium</i>	1,000
At <i>Machæron</i>	1,700
In the desert of <i>Jardes</i>	3,000
Slew themselves at <i>Massada</i>	960
In <i>Cyrene</i> by the governor <i>Catulus</i> , of which we shall speak by-and-by	3,000
Perished at <i>Jerusalem</i> by sword, famine, pesti- lence, and during the siege	1100,000
According to this account, the whole amounts to	1337,490,

Besides a vast multitude that died in the caves, woods wilder-  
nesses, common-sewers, in banishment, and many other  
ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten  
thousand that were slain at *Jotapa*, more than our author has  
reckoned. For *Josephus* mentions expressly forty thousand,  
but he only thirty thousand (B).

## WHILST

(B) To these if we add the  
ninety-seven thousand prisoners,  
doomed in all appearance to a  
captivity infinitely worse than  
death, and the eleven thousand,  
which, as we hinted above, pe-  
rished either through the neglect  
of their keepers, or their own  
sullen despair, the amount will  
be above one million four hun-  
dred and forty-five thousand.  
What still more aggravates this  
destruction is, that the far great-  
est part of them were strangers,  
that is, were *Jews*, who, as we

observed a little higher, were  
written to, and invited from re-  
mote parts of the world, even  
from beyond the river *Euphrates*,  
by their brethren at *Jerusalem*,  
to come and assist them in the  
defence of their religion and lib-  
erties, their country, city, and  
temple; instead of which they  
met with the most dreadful deaths  
there, and shared in the common  
ruin. *Who* did the Divine Pro-  
vidence order it, that they, who,  
by their strenuous opposition of  
the gospel in all the parts of their  
dispersion,

WHILST the soldiers were still busy in burning the remains of the city, and visiting all the sinks, jakes, and common-sewers, where they found and killed numbers of other poor creatures, who had hid themselves, *Simon* and *John*, the two grand rebels, were found, and brought to *Titus*, who ordered *John* them to be reserved for his triumph. *John*, being pinched taken.

dispersion, had shared in the guilt of the crucifiers of its Divine Author, should be involved in their punishment.

*Titus*, as we have seen, acknowledged more than once the hand of Providence, both in his extraordinary success against them, and in the invincible obstinacy with which they, to the last, preferred their total destruction to his oft-repeated proffers of mercy. *Josephus* hath scarce a chapter, in which he doth not ascribe all these dreadful calamities, and the final ruin of his nation, city, and temple, to an over-ruling power, to the offended Deity, or to the sins of the people; but no-where more pathetically than in that chapter, in which, besides the old prophecies, he sums up a number of dreadful warnings sent beforehand, not so much to reduce them to obedience, as to let them discern the Almighty hand that was now pouring down the most dreadful phials of his anger against them. We have already taken notice of that extraordinary country-fellow *Ananus*, who had kept pronouncing woe and destruction to them during seven whole years. It will not be amiss to close this sad catastrophe with some other signal times out of the same *Jewiſh* historian, which were no less remarkable than dreadful.

Of this class was ~~this~~ strange

comet, which hung over *Jerusalem* one whole year, in the shape of a sword: the extraordinary light that was seen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebrating of the paschal feast, and which was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen, but by the wiser fort as a forerunner of a dreadful war: a cow delivered of a lamb, as she was led to the altar to be sacrificed: the eastern gate of the temple made of solid brass, and so heavy, that it required twenty pair of stout hands to open and shut it, which was flung open in the middle of the night, though fastened with strong bolts and bars: the air before sun-set filled with chariots, and armed men, which passed all over that country, and for the truth of which *Josephus* appeals to several living witnesses, who beheld the dreadful sight, and lastly the voice, which, after a kind of rumbling noise, was distinctly heard by the priests, who were going to officiate on the feast of pentecost, and uttered these words articulately, *Let us depart; let us depart* (7). In spite of all which, the *Jews*, as we have seen, continued as hardened as ever, and listened only to those lying prophets, who flattered them with the hopes of a sudden and miraculous deliverer.

(7) *Bell. Jud. ubi supra*, c. 12.

with hunger, came out first ; and, having begged his life, obtained it, but was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. *Simon*, whose retreat was better stored, held out till towards the end of *October*, when necessity forced him out. He appeared on a sudden on the ruins of the temple in a white robe, and a purple cloak. The *Romans* were at first surprised at him ; but, understanding soon after, who he was, *Terentius Rufus*, who was left commander, seized on him, and sent him to *Cæsarea*, whither *Titus* was got by this time, and from whence he was conveyed, with his bloody colleagues, to *Rome*, to adorn the conqueror's triumph<sup>n</sup>.

*The city raised to the ground.* As soon as the *Romans* had ended their destructive work of burning and massacring, *Titus* sent them on to demolish the city, with all its noble structures, fortifications, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and fortifications, down to the level of the ground, according to Christ's express prediction. He left nothing standing but a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of *Hippicos*, *Phasael*, and *Mariamne*, the former to serve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages some idea of the strength of the whole city, and of the skill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were so punctually executed, that, except those few buildings above-mentioned, there were not so much any remains left that could serve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited (C). Insomuch that, when he came to pass through it, in his way from *Cæsarea* to *Alexandria*, in order to embark for *Rome*, he could not restrain himself from shedding plenty of tears at the sight of so dreadful a devastation, and cursing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it<sup>o</sup>.

*His triumph.* It is not our business to follow that emperor to his capital, or to describe the magnificence of his triumph, the greatest which that city ever saw : that will be best done in the ensuing *Roman* history. All that is proper to be said on that head here, is, that *John* and *Simon*, at the head of seven hundred of the handsomest Jewish captives, were made to adorn the triumphal chariot ; after which *Simon*, having been dragged through the

<sup>n</sup> Bell. Jud. ~~xxii~~ sup. & seq.

<sup>o</sup> Cap. 18, & seq.

(C) The Jewish tradition adds, that *Titus* caused the plough to be driven over it ; which ceremony, according to the *Roman* law, condemned the ground to perpetual desolation. But that, as well as *Josephus*'s account,

seems exaggerated, since there is great reason to believe, there were still many considerable ruins to be seen even in the emperor *Adrian's time*, as we may have occasion to shew in the *Roman* history.

streets with a rope about his neck, and severely scourged, was Simon *and* put to death with some other Jewish leaders, and John was John's sent into perpetual imprisonment P (D). *fate.*

*Titus had left three castles still untaken, namely those of Herodion and Massada on this, and that of Machæron on the other side Jordan.* The first of them was soon after taken by capitulation by *Lucilius Bassus*, who had been appointed lieutenant of *Judea*. He went presently after, at the head of a good number of troops, to besiege that of *Machæron*, which *Machæron* was a very strong place, and likely to have held out a long time. *ron sur- rendered.* But a lucky accident, which the reader may see in the note (E), obliged the besieged to surrender, upon condition that they

P Cap. 24.

(D) *Titus's triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from Judea ; among the principal of which were those which had been taken out of the sanctuary, such as the golden table of shewbread, which weighed several talents ; the seven-branch candlestick, a rich and curious piece of art ; the roll or volume of the law, covered with a costly gold cloth, which was carried the last of the three, as the most venerable of all the trophies. The two former Titus caused to be placed in the temple of Peace, which his father had built ; the latter, together with several curious and costly veils of the temple, and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (8).*

There are still some coins extant of that emperor, stamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman sitting sorrowful under a palm-tree, with the inscription of *Judea capta* ; with some others coined in the twenty-first year of king *Agrippa*, with these words in Greek, Ve-

*spasian emperor, and Cæsar. Judea was taken in the twenty-first of Agrippa.*

To these medals we may add some fragments in bas-relief, representing *Vespasian* and his son *Titus's triumph*, and on which is still to be distinguished the seven-branch candlestick, with other sacred utensils. Some have pretended also to discover the ark in it ; but we have already seen, that there was no such thing in the most holy place : and it is most likely to be only the table of the shewbread, which was not altogether unlike it ; but the misfortune is, that time has so defaced this noble monument, that it is not easy to discover any thing in it with certainty, except the candlestick above-mentioned.

(E) There was in that castle a young nobleman highly esteemed for his valour, who, after having given the besiegers a stout repulse in a sally, unfortunately strayed out of the gates, to speak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An Egyptian, then in the Roman army, came swiftly behind him unperceived, took

(8) Bel. Jud. I. vii. c. 21.

## The History of the Jews.

they should have liberty to retire whither they pleased ; which being readily granted to them, they went and joined some of their revolted brethren, who had sheltered themselves in the forest of Jardes. Hither *Bassus* came, and attacked them, and, after a desperate combat on both sides, totally defeated them, with *Judas* their chief, who had saved himself out of *Jerusalem*, through one of the aqueducts of that city<sup>4</sup>.

*Messada* *besieged.* DEATH having prevented *Bassus* from putting an end to the war, *Flavius Silva*, his successor, assembled all his forces to attack *Messada*, now the only remaining fortress in the rebels hands. The place was prodigiously strong both by art and nature, well stored with all provisions, and defended with a good number of sicarii and assassins ; at the head of whom was one *Eleazar*, the grandson of *Judas the Gaulonite*, often mentioned in this and a former section. *Silva*, having in vain tried his engines and battering rams against it, bethought himself of surrounding it with an high and strong wall, and then ordered fire to be set to the gates. The wind favouring him, pushed the flame to fiercely against the *Jews*, that *Eleazar*, in a kind of despair, persuaded them first to kill all their wives and children, and next to choose ten men by lot, who should kill all the rest ; and lastly, one out of the surviving ten to dispatch them and himself, which was accordingly executed out of hand , only this last man was ordered to let fire to the place, before he finished this bloody tragedy. On the next morning the *Romans*, who were preparing to scale the place, were strangely surprised to see and hear nothing move ; upon which they made such an hideous outcry, that two women, who had concealed themselves from the massacre in some aqueduct, came out, and told them the desperate catastrophe of the besieged, which put an end to that dreadful war<sup>5</sup>.

*The despe-*  
*rate end of*  
*she be*  
*sieged.*

<sup>4</sup> Cap. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. 28.

him up in his arms, and carried him off.

When *Bassus* had got the noble youth in his power, he caused him to be stripped naked, and severely scourged, in the view of the besieged, who filled immediately the air with their cries. *Bassus*, perceiving them so moved at the sight, caused a cross to be

erected, and gave them to understand, that he would crucify him, unless they prevented it by a timely surrender. The stratagem had the desired effect ; and the *Jews*, not being so hardened as those of *Jerusalem*, chose to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the place, on the conditions above-mentioned (9).

(9) Cap. 25, ad fin.

## CHAP. I. The History of the Jews.

Vespasian ordered the Jewish lands to be sold to his own use (F), and all the Jews within the Roman empire to pay "the usual tribute of half a shekel, or two drachms, to his treasury, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the sanctuary".

THE temple and holy city thus destroyed and leveled with the ground, and the whole nation either miserably buried under its ruins, or dispersed into other countries, might, one would think, have opened the eyes of the poor remains of that once favoured people, and crushed at once all hopes and expectation of any other deliverer, but him whom they had rejected and crucified. Many of them were indeed moved, but the far greater part remained in their infatuated state, and, according to Christ's own prediction, have been dispersed ever since over all the world, to attest his truth, and their own obdurate blindness, till the happy time comes when the veil shall be taken off their eyes. When that will be, is one of those secrets which God has been pleased to leave as yet unrevealed; and which it would be vain and presumptuous to search too curiously after. Eusebius adds to their sad catastrophe, that, after the destruction of Jeusalem, Vespasian caused all the sprouts of the house of Judah to be cut off <sup>t</sup>, to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer, or future Messiah. Notwithstanding which, the zealots made several attempts to regain their power; first in Egypt, where it cost some of their heads, and caused their temple at Alexandria, mentioned in family and a former section <sup>u</sup>, to be quite shut up <sup>w</sup> (G). Next in Cyrene <sup>v</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. c. 26, in fin      <sup>t</sup> Eccles. hist. l. iii. c. 12.      <sup>u</sup> See before, p. 301.      <sup>w</sup> Bell. ubi supra, c. 30, ad fin.

(F) He only reserved the town of Emmaus, which he bestowed on eight hundred of his best veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of Nicopolis (1).

(G) These wretches, who were undoubtedly the relics of the Gau-lonitish faction, since even their children suffered the severest torments, rather than acknowledge Caesar for their lord (2), met at first with a kind reception from their brethren of Alexandria. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by sowing their leaven of sedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were

delivered up to the Romans, and six hundred of them put to death.

Vespasian being apprised of it, and fearing lest their Alexandrian temple should afford them a fresh pretence of assembling themselves, and raising some new sedition in Egypt, sent orders to Lupus his governor there to demolish it. But he contented himself with shutting it up. Paulinus, who succeeded him soon after, stripped it of all its ornaments, and rich furniture, and caused the gates of it to be quite walled up, to prevent any further worship being offered up in it (3).

<sup>(1)</sup> Cap. 26.      <sup>(2)</sup> Ibid. cap. 29.      <sup>(3)</sup> Cap. 30, ad fin.

of *Libya*, where one of them, named *Jonathan*, set up for a prophet, and persuaded about two thousand of his brethren there, to follow him into the desert, where he promised to shew them wonders, and where *Catullus*, the then governor, caused them to be pursued and defeated <sup>x</sup>.

**Agrippa  
and Berenice go to Rome.**

AFTER the reduction of *Jernusalem* and *Judaea*, *Agrippa* and his sister retired to *Rome*, probably with *Titus*, who was excessive fond of both, but especially of *Berenice*. We have seen, through the course of this last war, how serviceable the brother had been to that general, accompanying him in person, and assisting him with men and ammunition, for which, we are told, *Titus* got his kingdom enlarged by the emperor, and procured him praetorian honours. But his extraordinary friendship for that prince flowed chiefly from his special fondness for his sister, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if she had been his real wife. We have hinted some former reports publicly spread concerning her incestuous intrigues with her brother, and for which she had given but too good a foundation. *Titus* could hardly be ignorant of it; but her beauty had so captivated him, that he overlooked every thing else; inasmuch that he had promised her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found, that the *Romans* were wholly averse from it; partly on account of her being a *Jewess*, and partly on that of her royal descent. To pave himself therefore the way to the empire,

**Discarded by him.** he was forced to discard her *invitus invitam* <sup>y</sup>, as *Suetonius* elegantly expresses it. What became of her afterwards, is not worth inquiring. As for *Agrippa*, he was the last of the *Herodian* race that bore the royal title, and is supposed to have

**Agrippa's death, and of the Herodian family.** died at *Rome* about the seventieth year of his age, and in the ninetieth of *Jesus Christ* <sup>z</sup>. *Josephus* has this remarkable saying on the *Herodian* line, That they all failed within an hundred years <sup>a</sup>, though they were at first so numerous, as we have seen them in the genealogy of *Herod the Great*.

THIS was the end of the *Herodian* family, and of the *Jewish* nation and polity, and is so much the more remarkable, considering that the succinct account we have of it is written by a *Jew* of such extraordinary character, and that the destruction of the city and people, especially of their temple, is found upon the whole so exactly conformable to the prophecies of *Christ*, denounced against them so long before. One might have expected, that this should have opened their

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. c. 31, pass. <sup>y</sup> Vid. *SUETON.* in vit. *Tit.* ex *Xiphil.* ex *Dione.* *JUSTUS TIBERIUS* apud *PHOT.* *bibl. cod.* 33. <sup>z</sup> *TILLEMONT,* *ruine des Juifs*, art. 83. & not. 41. <sup>a</sup> *Antiq.* l. xviii.

## The History of the Jews.

ays, to acknowledge these, as well as the many others we have mentioned in the course of this and the last sections, which prove him the Messiah, since they had seen their sacrifices, ceremonial law, their temple, their royal stock of *Judah*, &c. which they till then thought were to last for ever, buried, as it were, under the ruin of their metropolis and commonwealth. Instead of which, their chief aim and study ever since has been to find salvoes against all those pregnant proofs ; to depart from the expositions of their antients ; to give a new sense to the prophets, to invent new sceptres for their royal tribe in some unknown parts of the world ; and, in a word, to oppose every thing that we urge against them, as we shall have occasion to shew in the appendix (H).

(H) In the mean time it will not be amiss to take notice, that the *Jews* are no less at variance with *Josephus*, than the Christians have admis'd him. St. *Jerom*, among other praises he gives him, calls him the *Lxxv* of the *Jews* (4). *Potius* and others have been equilly lavish of their incense ; and *Eusebius* adds to the rest, that he had a statue reared to him in consideration of his writings (5). We shall not repeat what we have often observed, of his partiality to his nation, and the total order, both in this writer, and o're former volumes. His countrymen have trumped another *Josephus*, known by the name of *Bengonion*, whose history is compiled out of the *Syrian* version of the true *Josephus* (for he doth not seem to have seen the original) ; and is filled with the most palpable absurdities, falsehoods, and contradictions to him ; and yet the *Jews* give him the highest encou'gements. In particular, rabbi *Sam*, who has published his history, is not ashamed to affirm, that all he wrote was just and

true, without the least falsehood ; that his writings come nearer to those of the prophets, than those of any other *Jew*/ author ; that the hand of God was upon him, whilst he compiled his work ; with some other commendations, which amount almost to blasphemy (6). That fabulous author is so well known to the learned, that we shall spend no time in exposing him. The readers may see enough of them in that mutilated edition which *Munster* has given us of it ; though he has concealed a great number of them. But those that have seen the large editions that have come out since, will find them so full of errors, that he will readily own, nothing but the greatest degree of infatuation and perverseness could induce the *Jews* to prefer him to the true one, who, setting aside his partiality above-mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact historian (7). As to the false one, who is commonly thought to have lived in *France* about the 11th century, we may have occasion to say something more of him in the appendix.

(4) *De vir. illib.* c. 13. in *Joseph.* *Bengonion.* *Confantinop.* 1490. *Sept.* ix. p. 151.

(5) *Hist. eccl.* l. iii. c. 13.

*1490.* *Vid. Basnag. hist. Juif.*

(6) *Præf.*

*al.*



